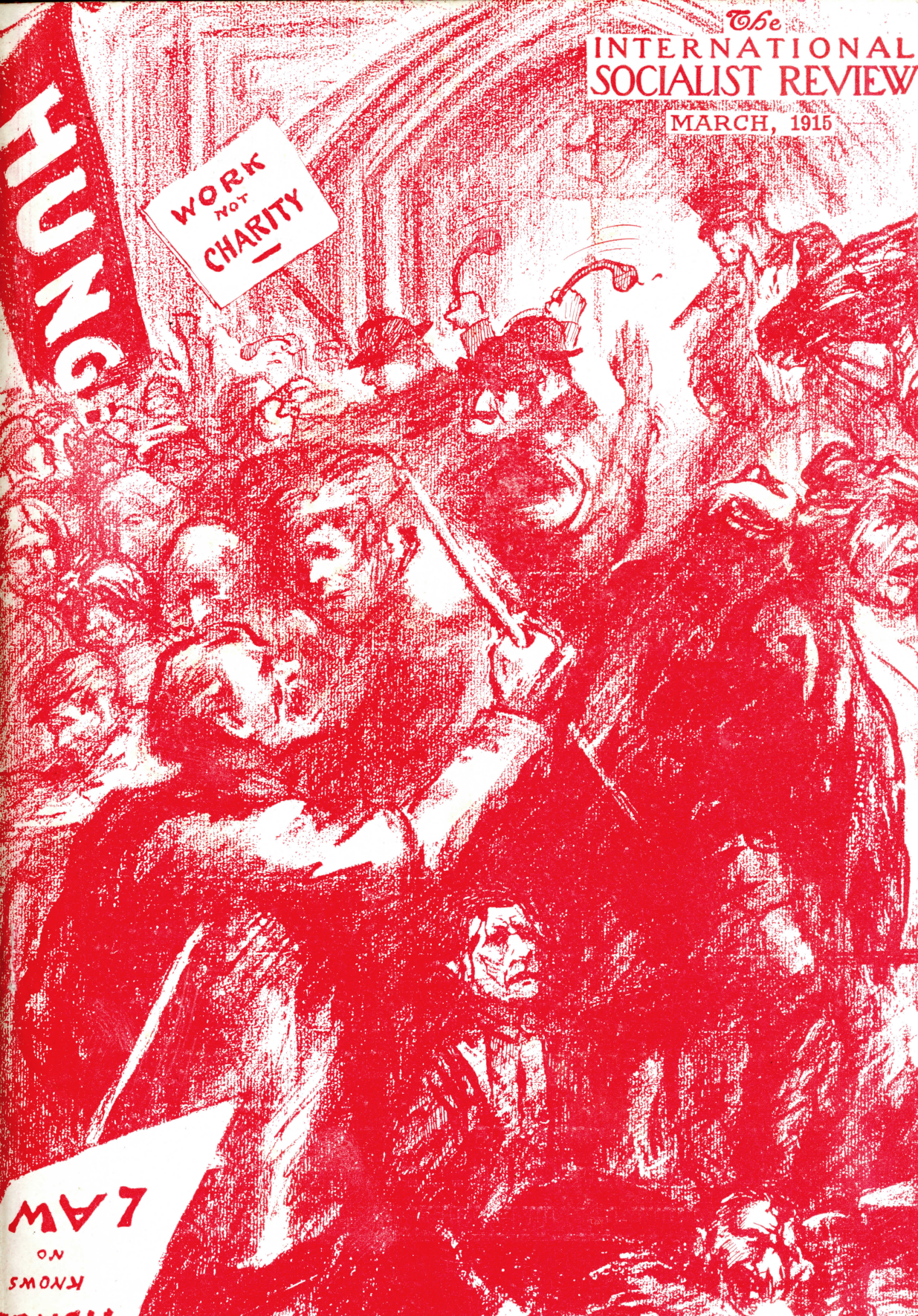


The
**INTERNATIONAL
SOCIALIST REVIEW**

MARCH, 1915



HUNGRY

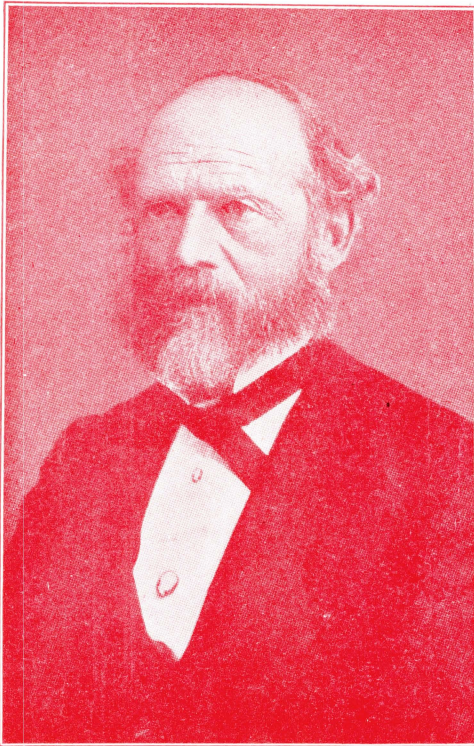
**WORK
NOT
CHARITY**

**LAW
NO
KNOWS**

ANCIENT SOCIETY

OR

Researches in the Lines of Human Progress: From Savagery Through Barbarism to Civilization



LEWIS H. MORGAN

One American and only one is recognized by the universities of Europe as one of the world's great scientists. That American is **LEWIS H. MORGAN**, the author of this book. He was the pioneer writer on the subject. His conclusions have been fully sustained by later investigators.

This work contains a full and clear explanation of many vitally important facts, without which no intelligent discussion of the "Woman Question" is possible. It shows that the successive marriage customs that have arisen have corresponded to certain definite industrial conditions. The author shows that it is industrial changes that alter the relations of the sexes, and that these changes are still going on. He shows the historical reason for the "double standard of morals" for men and women, over which reformers have wailed in vain. And he points the way to a cleaner, freer, happier life for women in the future, through the triumph of the working class. All this is shown indirectly through historical facts; the reader is left to draw his own conclusions.

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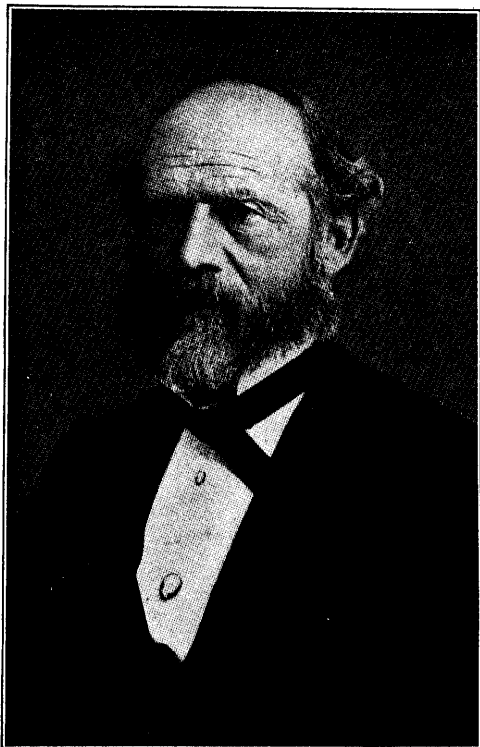
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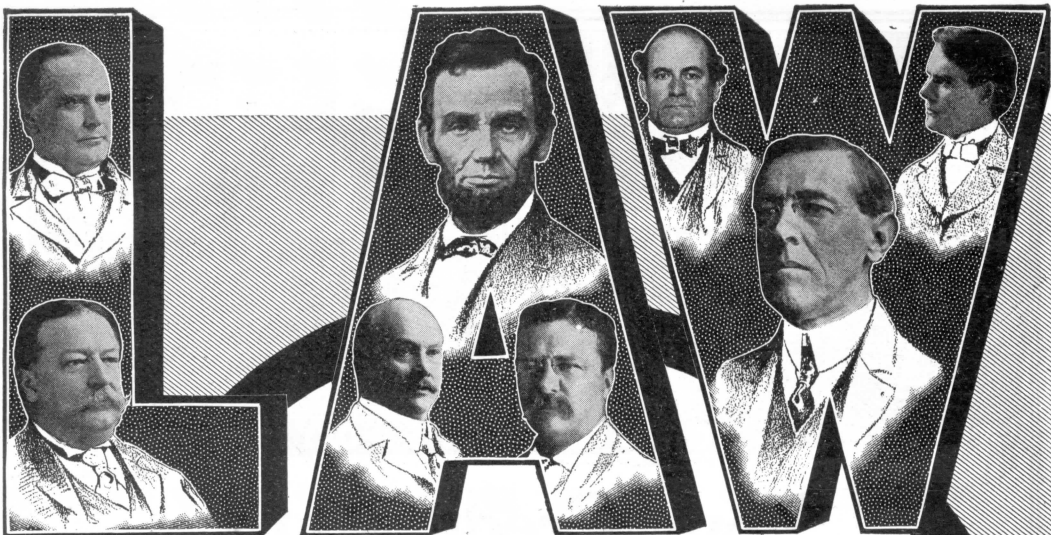
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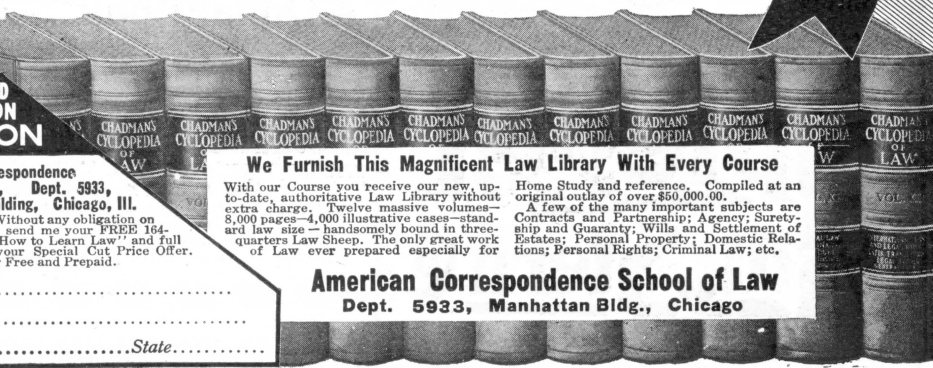
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March

1915

The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

Vol. XV

Edited by Charles H. Kerr

No. 9

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DEPARTMENTS

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NIGHT SCENE IN CHICAGO—HANDING OUT DIMES TO THE UNEMPLOYED, ALONG WITH COFFEE AND—

The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. XV

MARCH, 1915

No. 9



A HUNGER "RIOT" IN CHICAGO

By RALPH H. CHAPLIN

SUNDAY, January 17, witnessed an heroic attempt on the part of the notorious Chicago police force to solve the "unemployment problem." Strange as it may seem, the police are the only ones who have a clear and forcible answer to the question "what is to be done with the unemployed?" Their answer is unmistakably clear—and forcible. "Society" was too busy at the auto-show or the wheat pit to have time to bother with such trifles as unemployment and hunger. The preachers were too busy praying, the politicians grafting, the reformers talking; and most of the radicals were too busy settling the war or devising ingenious formulas for future class fights, to have time to listen to the clamoring of jobless crowds of homeless, hungry men.

So the unemployed themselves decided to get together and command a little attention. This they did; and they got attention—from the police. You see the

police force in Chicago is "in bad" with the "respectable" element of the city. It seems that instead of protecting "property" they have been surreptitiously sabotaging the same, and dividing the spoils amongst themselves. Consequently they were more than anxious to prove to the tax-paying community the inestimable value of the police system to the existing order of things. And thereby hangs a tale.

From what has occurred it is very evident that these uniformed bruisers of the master class desired and planned to start a "riot" and then get the credit for crushing it. In other words the "riot" would be merely the means to an end—a glorious victory for the lawful slug-shot and club and pistol. And then . . . some big-jawed, gorilla-framed troglodyte in uniform could have posed as a heroic defender of "Law and Order." And the prostituted "Truth rapers" of the newspapers, eager to do with their scribbling



pencils any dirty work left undone by the cossack's club, would have convinced the world with their unholy chorus of acclamation. But this dainty bit of mediaeval conspiracy was too "raw" to be "put over" even in Chicago.

Sunday the 17th was one of Chicago's typical winter days—a heavy, grey sky and a biting wind that went ravening through the dismal streets and around the tall buildings and the bleak and deserted factories. Bowen hall, at the Hull House, was the objective point, and from all the byways and alleys of the labor ghettos came the crowds of hungry and jobless to the unemployed meeting. Through the bitter cold they came—men of all descriptions and all nations—all but the "barrel-house stiffs," and these were too busy hugging the comforts of the big stove and the saw-dust box to trouble about such a needless and disagreeable thing as work. Through the icy streets they came in hundreds, and past them hurried smug Respectability, cuddled into its overcoat or motoring carelessly along in the plush-padded, rose-scented luxury of the Limousine. It was a polyglot crowd that crammed the big hall, and one really representative of Chicago's unemployed; Slavic and Latin laborers, wintering migratorily and white-collared "stiffs," still proud and dreading the plunge into the yawning depths beneath them. Here and there too, were the red, beefy faces of the "gum-shoe" thugs, watching the jobless crowd with cat-like care, and waiting uneasily for the signal to spring the plot that was to cover them with "glory"—the plot that was to punish men for the crime of being hungry.

The meeting was orderly—even apathetic. The audience seemed pitifully glad to find a little warmth for their blue faces and stiff fingers. Back of the speakers' platform was a big black banner with the word HUNGER on it in white letters. Throughout the hall were pasteboard placards bearing such inscriptions as: "We want WORK; not Charity," "Why starve in the midst of plenty," "Hunger knows no law," etc. The speeches were made almost without exception by members of the unemployed—many of them by men from the audience. The general drift of these "speeches" was a denunciation of the crumbly "flop-houses," bread-

lines, soup kitchens, Mission "dog kennels" and the like. It was asserted that organized charity in Chicago is admittedly inadequate, and that, even if this were not the case, soup is no substitute for employment and the right to earn a decent living. The most radical speaker was Mrs. Parsons and the most radical thing she said was this: "The only property working men possess is their own bodies, and they should guard and protect these bodies at least as jealously as the master-class guards and protects their possessions." She also said that "as long as the capitalists can throw their cast-off rags and a few crusts of bread at the working-class in the name of 'Charity,' just so long will they have an easy and cheap solution for the problem of unemployment." As a whole the speaking was far from fiery, and the audience was anything but boisterous.

A young Russian by name of Barron, after stating that Kansas had produced grain enough for the United States, closed the meeting with the pointed remark, "I am a baker and I am expected to starve because I cannot get work baking the bread you people need and cannot buy." He then went on to ask the crowd if they were content to slink out of sight and suffer privation and hunger without a protest and to accept charity rags for their backs and charity soup for their bellies deluding themselves all the while with the idea that such things were the equivalent of labor and the right to live like men. A short time after this the audience voted unanimously to parade and to show to the smug and respectable the rags and suffering they never care to see or think about.

And so they streamed from the hall down into the cold street again, with the black Hunger banner in the lead. But the invisible minions of the "law" had passed their signals. The sluggers were already clutching their "billies," the squads of detectives and mounted police were in their places, and the ambulance was waiting around the corner for the finish of the work the strong-arm degenerates of Capitalism were about to do!

Down the street started the parade with a few men and valiant girls and women grouped about the black banner in the lead. There was no shouting, no cheering or undue excitement,—nothing

that even remotely resembled the starting of a riot. Just pinched faces—blue with the cold, tightly buttoned rags and, if anything, indifference—they might just as well parade as not, having nothing else to do. And that parade would have been quiet and undemonstrative to the end. That crowd hardly had the spirit to protest—let alone fight! They went forward into the police trap like lambs to the slaughter.

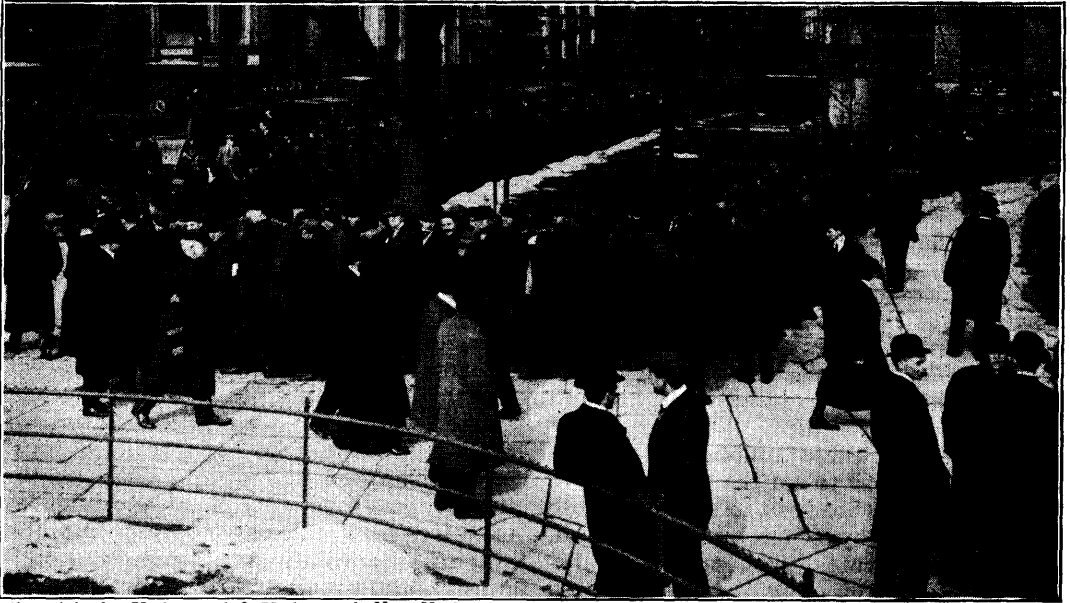
The procession had scarcely turned the corner onto the main street when, without a word of warning, a gang of plain-clothes thugs set upon them with leaden "billies," smashing blindly—right and left, through the crowd. The purpose of the attack by these murderous gutter-rats seemed to be to cut the parade in two—to cut off the head, so to speak. These were followed by other burly red-faced, well-dressed brutes, who rushed everyone in sight, sprawling the hungry men in all directions with their fists. Still others followed, with drawn revolvers, firing over the heads of the crowd in order to drive it back into the street from which it was emerging. And that sight I shall never forget; the bestial faces of those low-browed sluggers—distorted with the blood lust, the smashing of fists into faces blue and pinched with cold, and the sickening crash of dripping slugshots on the heads of defenseless men, the spurt of blood over hands and clothing and pavement stones. Is this the only answer, I wondered, of the Powers that be to workingmen who question why they should go jobless and cold and hungry in the midst of plenty?

But even this unexpected attack from the cowardly ex-second story men of the plain clothes force did not stop the parade. It swelled up around them and over them leaving them somewhat the worse for wear. And the determined paraders rejoined the tattered hunger-banner at the head of the procession and marched for almost a mile, many of them singing all the way in spite of torn clothing and bloody faces. Finally a goodly reinforcement of uniformed police met, manhandled and pinched as many as possible, and the mounted Cossacks clattered down the streets and sidewalks driving the paraders pell-mell before them. Soon

the affair was all over save for the lying in the newspapers.

Two weeks later, after attorney Cunea had proved to Judge Gimmel of the criminal court that police interference in an orderly parade was unconstitutional, another unemployed parade was attempted—successfully. This time a procession over a mile long and with a Hunger banner in the lead, wended through the cold and drizzle and slush for about five miles under the towering sky-scrapers, past the swell hotels and theaters in the heart of the city and through the streets and boulevards, returning at length to the hall from whence they had started. And the paid skull-crackers of the police force, who had predicted 'riot' were chagrined and disappointed—nothing happened to give them a chance to exercise their talents—nothing but the singing of revolutionary songs; and coppers are not usually talented vocally. Besides, they could not have sung had they so desired; it's against the regulations to do anything as harmless as singing while on "duty."

As it is up to the working class to solve the 'problem' of unemployment, any efforts along that line are deserving of encouragement. No intelligent person claims that parading is a panacea for unemployment. But the instinct of solidarity that actuates a body of workers to go after something they want and *get it* is a good thing—even if they only get the right to parade the streets and startle respectability from its indifference and smug complacency. The solidarity of the protest parade is apt to be a foretaste of the solidarity of the shop. Thousands of unemployed have been made rebels for life by the lessons this one bitter winter has taught them. They will be rebels on the job, too, when they find jobs. The parade is a good thing when nothing BETTER can be done. When masterless slaves decide to get together and show their condition to the public—when they meet together, discuss their miseries together, march together and sing together, they are tasting solidarity. And such action may help to jolt their brothers on the job into some kind of mass action in behalf of the working class as a whole. Solidarity spells emancipation. "Better any kind of action than inert theory."



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LINE OF UNEMPLOYED EXTENDING COMPLETELY AROUND MADISON SQUARE PARK IN NEW YORK CITY, PATIENTLY WAITING THEIR TURN TO RECEIVE THE BUNDLES OF CLOTHING BEING DISTRIBUTED BY THE BUNDLE DAY COMMITTEE. MANY WAITED IN LINE FOR OVER TWELVE HOURS.

THE RIGHT TO STARVE

FOR centuries the Ruling Classes have never denied this right to their slaves. Whether under the Constitution of free Athens, or of the United States of America; whether ruled by Prince, Pope or President, the workers have always been guaranteed the inalienable right to starve—whenever they were without work. And governments cannot guarantee them work because the Ruling Classes own the jobs and incidentally the governments.

Millions of workers slave along from day to day at starvation wages, while hundreds of thousands without work are going hungry. Press, Pulpit and Government agree that something ought to be done. Editors are writing about our inalienable right to work. Preachers are orating on the dignity of labor. Politicians are introducing bills which will make good campaign material. Meanwhile, the Problem Solvers from Uncle Sam, with his host of titanic statesmen, down to the Village Constable with his

tin star, are going after the unemployed. The following flashes from across the country will give REVIEW readers a moving picture impression of the show now going on.

Uncle Sam at Work

“Washington, Jan. 27.—The federal employment bureau today completed its organization and was ready to bring together the ‘manless job and the jobless man.’ Secretary of Labor Wilson sent circular letters and application blanks throughout the country. No fee will be charged.”

Two Kinds of Unemployed

“New York, Feb. 15.—Broadway’s money spenders saw how it feels to be desperately hungry Saturday. Past the side door of the Hotel Knickerbocker, one of the ‘swellest’ of New York’s hotels, filed a line of 1,500 ragged, famished creatures. They had stood in line for two hours in near-zero weather to get a free cup of coffee and a sandwich.



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"For three hours it was the biggest show on Broadway—a drama of striking contrasts. Under the eyes of richly-gowned women, protected from the cold by expensive furs, and men swathed to the neck in heavy overcoats, the procession of thinly clad women and men surged slowly toward the door where white-capped waiters passed out steaming hot food.

"Next in line was a gray-haired old woman, then a slender, white-faced girl with two little children tugging at her skirts. She passed sandwiches and coffee first to the children and then devoured her own portion in three rapid gulps.

"A limousine rolled along close to the curb. From the window a carmine-cheeked woman stared curiously at the crowd munching sandwiches in the cold.

"I'd work all day for what she spends for gasoline," volunteered the white-faced girl."

Bullets Instead of Bread

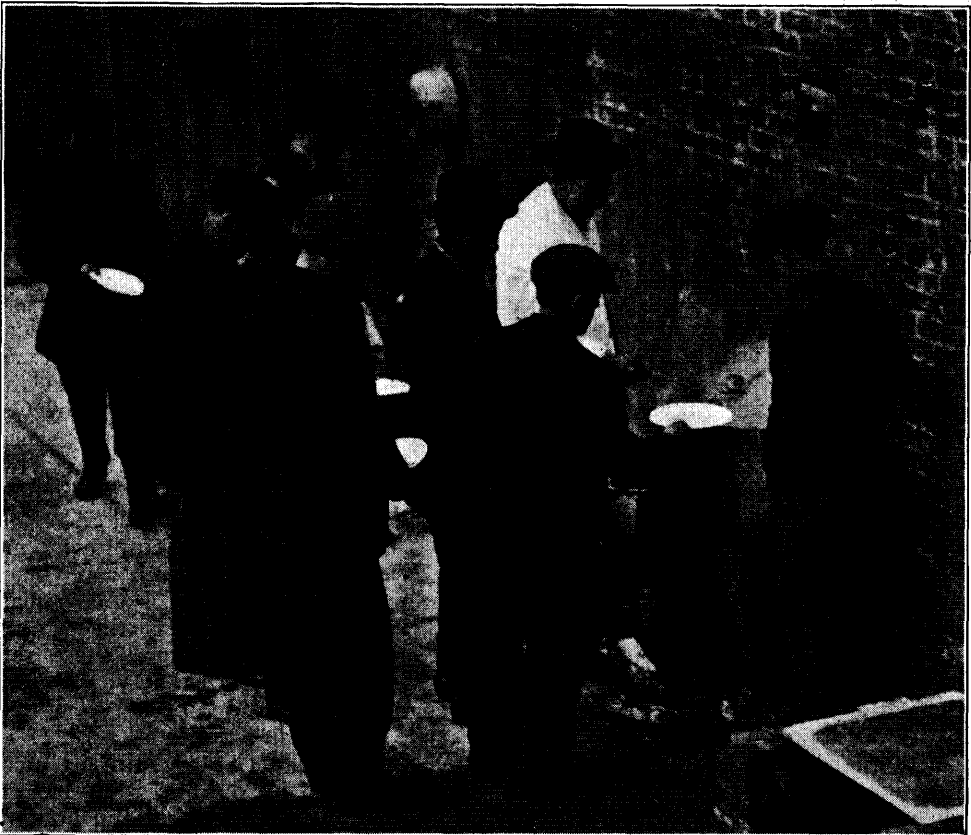
"Los Angeles labor men are aroused over the request of Chief of Police Sebastian for 25,000 rounds of ammunition weekly for target practice for the local police force.

"Prominent labor officials state that the recent purchase of 1,000 sawed-off shot-guns by the local police and this request looks as though there was an intention to convert this city into an armed camp.

"All the local manufacturers and merchants, and others who are fighting organized labor, are backing up the chief's request.

"Socialist Councilman Wheeler is vigorously opposing the scheme.

"As a preventive against the threatened wave of crime by the 20,000 unemployed now in the city, who are growing desperate as their numbers increase, the chief of police personally took charge of a squad of 100 detectives who will search



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every man suspected of carrying a concealed weapon."

Getting Busy

"New York, Feb. 2.—Elbert H. Gary announced at a meeting of the executive committee of the mayor's committee on unemployment that \$115,000 had been raised to establish emergency workshops for the unemployed. There now are in operation thirty-four emergency shops, which offer relief to 3,500 men and women. Vincent Astor, William M. Childs, Averill Harrimann and Mortimer L. Schiff have been added to the committee."

What Mr. Gary's Slaves Are Doing Out West

"When E. D. Jones, a new telegraph operator at the Chesapeake & Ohio railroad yards glanced out of an east window of his box-car-without-wheels office and saw three 40-ton coal cars loaded to capacity being left by an Erie switch engine on the spur that runs to the Standard Steel Car works south of East Hammond, he knew what was coming.

"Jones had only been at his new employment a few weeks, but it does not take long to awake to conditions out there.

"Fifty-two foreigners (by actual count) were aboard the three cars ten minutes after the switch engine had gone. They sprang from every direction and brought every sort of conveyance except regulation coal wagons with them.

"They broke all records in heaving off coal preparatory to carting it away. Their agility was marvelous.

"Special Agent F. S. Stewart charged the raiders. They opened a bombardment of lumps of coal and the scene was like the siege of Przemysl. The special agent beat a retreat for reinforcements after emptying his revolver.

"When the coal thieves were driven away there were less than three tons of coal in the three cars. It took a squad of police to save those three tons.

"The Chesapeake & Ohio railroad has lost thousands of dollars at its Hammond yards. A car load of merchandise needs an armed guard, for great quantities of sugar, canned goods, dry goods and grain have been taken in the past month. The raiders, who appear to come from East Hammond, can't eat grain, but their goats

can. As there is a goat for every household the demand for grain is great."

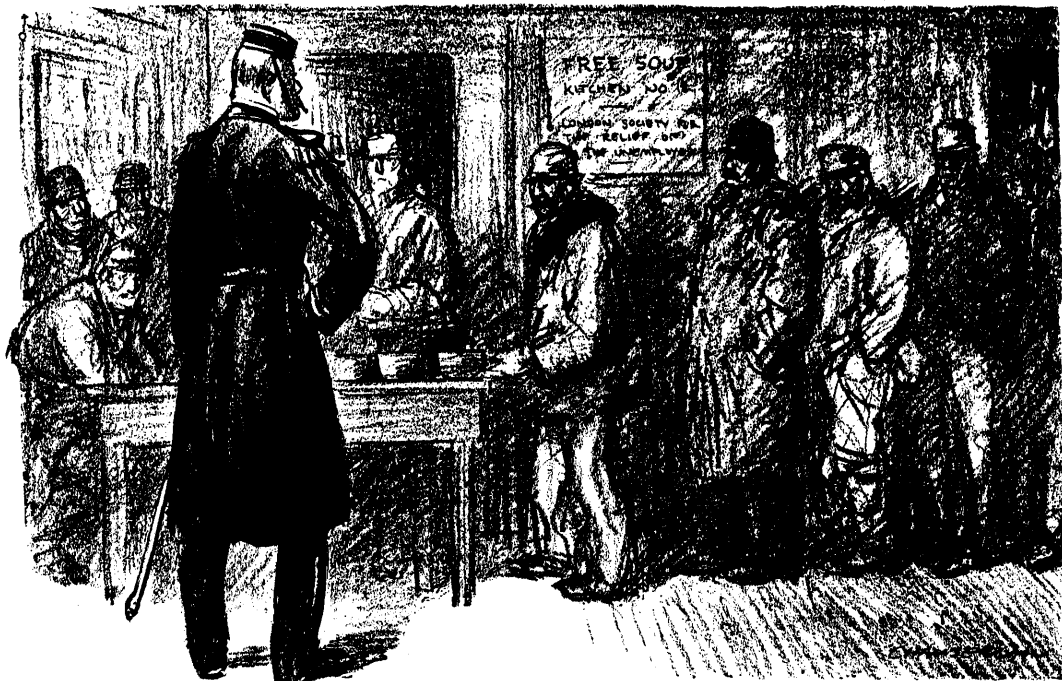
Solving the Problem

"Organizers have raised the necessary sixty-five men and three officers and Hammond is now assured a company of infantry of the Indiana National Guard. This is the good news that was made public by Dr. E. L. Salisbury today, who at a meeting Tuesday evening of this week was unanimously elected to act as temporary captain. Next Monday Mr. Salisbury will leave for Indianapolis, where he will confer with Adjutant General F. L. Bridges, who promised Hammond an armory and militia if the necessary amount of signatures were secured. As soon as the Hammond company receive their commission from the state, steps will be taken immediately to secure suitable quarters for an armory. The former Hammond Athletic association building is probably the most suitable quarters in the city.

The Blue Ticket

"If you are unemployed and seeking a job in Chicago, you must have a 'Blue Ticket.' This is the decree that the masters have handed down. Big corporations like Sears, Roebuck & Co., Metropolitan Elevated Co., Seigel, Cooper & Co., and others, have agreed not to hire anyone who is unable to show his or her blue ticket.

"The Blue Ticket supposedly is to show that you are a resident of Chicago, and not just a 'casual migratory worker' who has come to our fair city to share our prosperity. The Chamber of Commerce dispenses these precious Blue Tickets. Underneath the surface, however, it requires more than a residence in Chicago to get a Blue Ticket. References from your former employers must be given, your name must be on the voting list, and Chief of Police Gleason has kindly loaned police to the Chamber of Commerce to investigate these references. If it transpires that you have not been a willing and docile slave your chance for a blue ticket is nil. If you have been too active in militant circles you are out of luck. The Blue Ticket is proof to the employer that the holder of it has a good strong back and a weak head, and the employer acts accordingly."



From the Masses.

Drawn by K. R. Chamberlain.

RECRUITING OFFICER: "I AM LOOKING FOR MR. THOMAS ATKINS, VETERAN OF THREE WARS. THE TIME HAS COME WHEN HIS COUNTRY CAN USE HIM AGAIN."

REVOLUTIONARY UNIONISM AND WAR

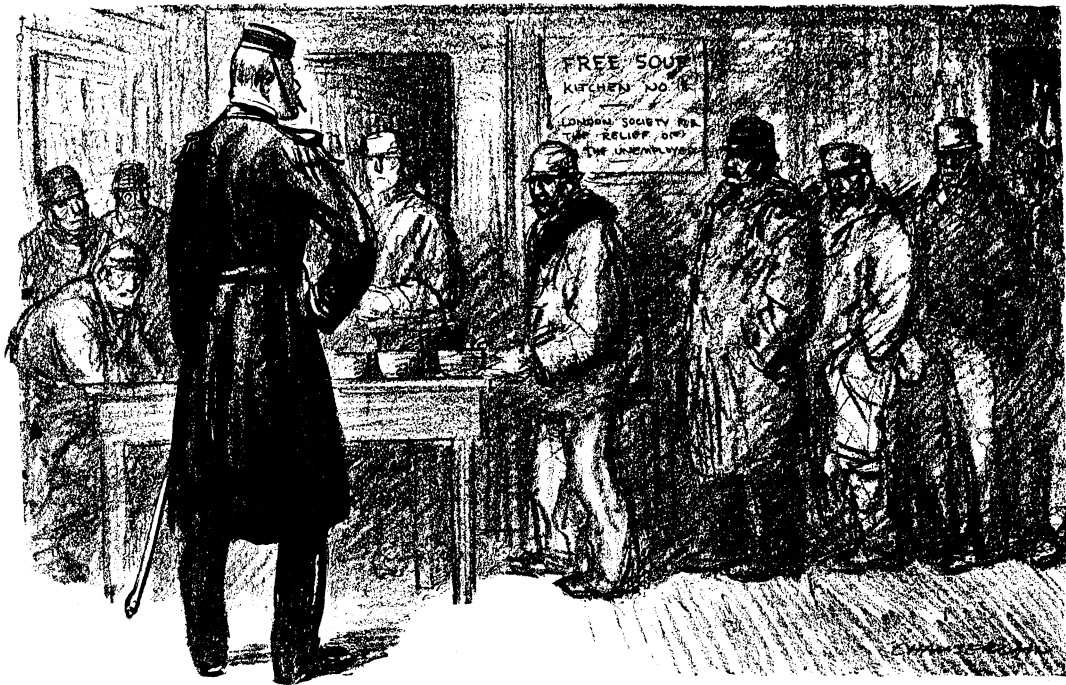
By JAMES CONNOLLY, Dublin, Ireland

SINCE the war broke out in Europe, and since the Socialist forces in the various countries failed so signally to prevent, or even delay the outbreak, I have been reading everything in American socialist papers or magazines that came to hand, to see if that failure and the reasons therefor, were properly understood among my old comrades in the states.

But either I have not seen the proper publications or else the dramatic side of the military campaigns have taken too firm a hold upon the imagination of Socialist writers to allow them to properly estimate the inner meaning of that debacle

of political socialism witnessed in Europe when the bugles of war rang out upon our ears.

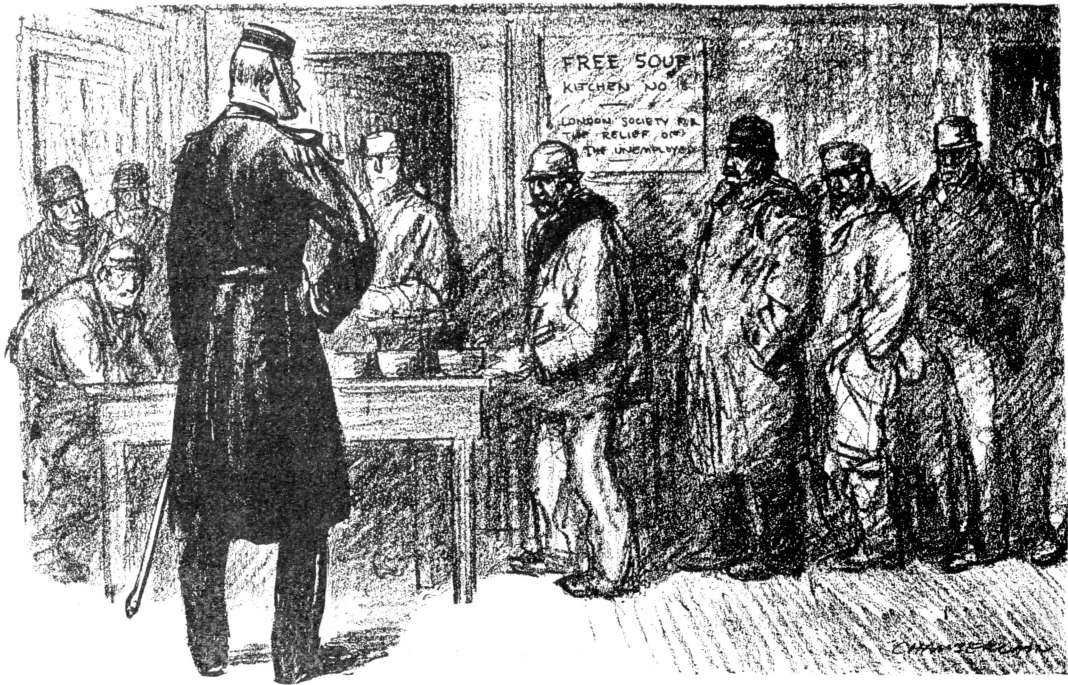
I am going then to try, in all calmness, to relate the matter as it appears to us who believe that the SIGNAL OF WAR OUGHT ALSO TO HAVE BEEN THE SIGNAL FOR REBELLION, that when the bugles sounded the first note for actual war, their notes should have been taken as the tocsin for social revolution. And I am going to try to explain why such results did not follow such actions. My explanation may not be palpable to some; I hope it will be at least interesting to all.



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In the first place let me be perfectly frank with my readers as to my own position now that that possibility has receded out of sight. As the reader will have gathered from my opening remarks, I believe that the Socialist proletariat of Europe in ALL the belligerent countries ought to have refused to march against their brothers across the frontiers, and that such refusal would have prevented the war and all its horrors, even though it might have led to civil war. Such a civil war would not, could not possibly have resulted in such a loss of Socialist life as this international war has entailed, and each Socialist who fell in such a civil war would have fallen knowing that he was battling for the cause he had worked for in days of peace, and that there was no possibility of the bullet or shell that laid him low having been sent on its murderous way by one to whom he had pledged the "life-long love of comrades" in the International Army of Labor.

But seeing that the Socialist movement did not so put the faith of its adherents to the test, seeing that the nations are now locked in this death grapple, and the issue is knit, I do not wish to disguise from any one my belief that there is no hope of peaceful development for the industrial nations of continental Europe whilst England holds the dominance of the sea. The British fleet is a knife held permanently at the throat of Europe; should any nation evince an ability to emerge from the position of a mere customer for British products, and to become a successful competitor of England in the markets of the world, that knife is set in operation to cut that throat.

By days and by nights the British Government watches and works to isolate its competitor from the comity of nations, to ring it around with hostile foes. When the time is propitious, the blow is struck, the allies of England encompass its rival by land, and the fleet of Britain swoops upon its commerce by sea. In one short month the commerce-raiding fleet of Great Britain destroys a trade built up in forty years of slow, peaceful industry, as it has just done in the case of Germany.

Examining the history of the foreign relations of Great Britain since the rise of the capitalist class to power in that country, the continuity of this policy be-

comes obvious and as marvelous as it is obvious.

Neither religion, nor race affinity nor diversity of political or social institutions availed to save a competitor of England. The list of commercial rivals, or would-be rivals is fairly large and gives the economic key to the reasons for the great wars of England. In that list we find Spain, Holland, France, Denmark and now Germany. England must rule the waves and when the continental nations wish to make at The Hague a law forbidding the capture of merchant vessels during war England refused her assent. Naturally! It is her power to capture merchant ships during war that enables England to cut the throat of a commercial rival at her own sweet will.

If she had not that power she would need to depend upon her superiority in technical equipment and efficiency, and the uprise in other countries of industrial enterprises able to challenge and defeat her in this world market has amply demonstrated that she has not that superiority any longer.

The United States and Germany lead in crowding England industrially; the former cannot be made a target for the guns of militarist continental Europe, therefore escapes for the time being, as England never fights a white power single-handed. But Germany is caught within the net and has to suffer for her industrial achievements.

The right to capture merchant ships for which England stood out against the public opinion of all Europe is thus seen to be the trump card of England against the industrial development of the world outside her shores,—against that complete freedom of the seas by which alone the nations of the world can develop that industrial status which Socialists maintain to be an indispensable condition of Socialist triumph.

I have been thus frank with my readers in order that they may perfectly understand my position and the reasons therefor, and thus to anticipate some of the insinuations that are sure to be levelled against me as one who sympathizes neither with the anti-German hysteria of such comrades as Professor Herron, nor with the suddenly developed

belief in the good faith of czars shown by Prince Kropotkin.

I believe that the war could have been prevented by the Socialists; as it was not prevented and the issues are knit, I want to see England beaten so thoroughly that the commerce of the seas will henceforth be free to all nations—to the smallest equally with the greatest.

But how **COULD THIS WAR HAVE BEEN PREVENTED**, which is another way of saying how and why did the Social movement fail to prevent it?

The full answer to that question can only be grasped by those who are familiar with the propaganda that from 1905 onwards has been known as "Industrialist" in the United States and, though not so accurately, has been called "syndicalist" in Europe.

The essence of that propaganda lay in two principles. To take them in the order of their immediate effectiveness these were: First, that Labor could only enforce its wishes by organizing its strength at the point of production, i. e., the farms, factories, workshops, railways, docks, ships—where the work of the world is carried on the effectiveness of the political vote depending primarily upon the economic power of the workers organized behind it. Secondly, that the process of organizing that economic power would also build the industrial fabric of the Socialist Republic, build the new society within the old.

It is upon the first of these two principles I wish my readers to concentrate their attention in order to find the answer to the question we are asking.

In all the belligerent countries of western and central Europe the Socialist vote was very large; in none of these belligerent countries was there an organized revolutionary industrial organization directing the Socialist vote, nor a socialist political party directing a revolutionary industrial organization.

The Socialist voters having cast their ballots were helpless as voters until the next election; as workers they were indeed in control of the forces of production and distribution, and by exercising that control over the transport service could have made the war impossible. But the idea of thus co-ordinating their two spheres of activity had not gained suffi-

cient lodgment to be effective in the emergency.

No Socialist party in Europe could say that rather than go to war it would call out the entire transport service of the country and thus prevent mobilization. No Socialist party could say so, because no Socialist party could have the slightest reasonable prospect of having such a call obeyed.

The Executive Committee of the Socialist movement was not in control of the labor-force of the men who voted for Socialist representatives in the legislative chambers of Europe, nor were the men in control of the supply of labor-force in control of the Socialist representatives. In either case there would have been an organized power immediately available against war. Lacking either, the Socialist parties of Europe when they protested against war, had also **FIRE** **THEIR** **LAST** **SHOT** against militarism, and were left "like children crying in the night."

Had the Socialist party of France been able to declare that rather than be dragged into war to save the Russian czar from the revolutionary consequences which would have followed his certain defeat by Germany, they would declare a railway strike, there would have been no war between France and Germany, as the latter country, saved from the dread of an attack in the West whilst defending itself in the East could not have coerced its Socialist population into consenting to take the offensive against France.

But the French Government knows, the German Government knows, all cool observers in Europe know, that the Socialist and syndicalist organizations of France could not have carried out such a threat even had they made it. Both politically and industrially the revolutionary organization of France are mere skeleton frameworks, not solid bodies.

Politically large numbers roll together at elections around the faithful few who keep the machinery of the party together; industrially, more or less, large numbers roll together during strikes or lockouts. But the numbers of either are shifting, uncertain and of shadowy allegiance. From such no revolutionary action of value in face of modern conditions of war-

fare and state organization could be expected. And none came.

Hence the pathetic failure of French Socialism—the Socialist battalion occupying the position of the most tactical importance on the European battlefield. For neither Russia nor Britain could have fought had France held aloof; Russia, because of the fear of internal convulsions; Britain, because Britain never fights unless the odds against her foe are overwhelming. And Britain needed the aid of the French fleet.

To sum up then, the failure of European Socialism to avert the war is primarily due to the divorce between the industrial and political movements of Labor. The Socialist voter, as such, is helpless between elections. He requires to organize power to enforce the mandate of the elections, and the *only power he can so organize is economic power*—the power to stop the wheels of commerce, to control the heart that sends the life blood pulsating through the social organisms.



by K. R. Chambers
From the Masses.

REST INDEED.

YES, BUT HOW ABOUT THE WAR AT HOME?

By PHILLIPS RUSSELL

Killed: 35,000.

Wounded: 2,000,000.

These are figures not from the latest

European casualty list, but from our own.

They are the findings of the United



by K. R. Chamberlain
From the Masses.

REST INDEED.



by K. K. Chamberlain
From the Masses.

REST INDEED.

States Bureau of Labor in regard to the losses suffered by the army of labor in this country annually. Everyone knows a government bureau is a very conservative finder.

Isn't this European war terrible? Isn't it dreadful to think of the thousands of splendid young men, the flower of the race, marching to certain death, returning to their homes maimed and crippled, or wasting away in some hospital in the grip of a scorching fever? Yes; I know, I know.

But why is it, you pro-British, pro-French, pro-German arguifer, you can't, can't keep your attention on *these* figures?

You think it is horrible that these virile, up-standing, two-fisted men—so urgently needed to carry on a vigorous race and produce a healthy generation, should be chewed up as cannon-fodder, while the weak, the unfit and the defective are left at home to reproduce their kind.

But if you are going to compare a man to a stud-horse, why is it you take so little interest in that clothing worker there, healthy enough now, but doomed to become a pale and yellow consumptive; that big miner whose back is going to be broken by a ton of falling coal; that foundryman whose eyes are going to be put out by a splash of molten steel? What about *their* children?

It's too bad about the future generation in Europe. I heard an English lecturer moaning about the subject in London after the war started and she almost made me believe the next crop of babies in the countries at war would be born with one eye missing or carry a limp in the left leg.

We should worry. My own observation in regard to the sort of men who have lots of beef and no brains is that they produce offspring, of which those who don't become policemen, mine guards, strong-arm thugs, or Burns de-

tectives, go to a law school and become judges.

As to babies, less quantity and more quality might make a good platform.

To return to our figures: Since you have ceased to speak to your wife because she sympathizes with the Germans, and since you and your best friend have parted company because he maintains Great Britain started the war, the Massachusetts Industrial Accident Board has given the following figures on the number of accidents per 1,000 in that state for the year ending last June:

Automobile factories	271
Foundries and metal works.....	257
Packing houses	178
Electrical supplies	164
Rubber factories	153
Box makers	125
Tanneries	116
Car and railroad shops.....	99
Woolen and worsted mills.....	65

That means that out of every 1,000 men who enter an automobile plant this March 271 will emerge from the plant next March either dead or injured.

The Massachusetts official figures for the year put the total number of working people injured at 96,571. Of these accidents 608 were fatal.

If the United States engaged in war and Massachusetts put 1,500,000 men in the field who suffered a loss of 96,571 in the first year, what an outcry would arise! What sackcloth and ashes! And yet Massachusetts can see 96,571 of her workers put out of business physically every year and not say a damned word.

It is a mad world, and maddest of all are those who can sit by the hour and argue endlessly as to which army now embroiled is suffering the greatest losses, while around them the useful ones of the earth are being struck down by thousands, and thousands more survive only to perpetuate the disease and degeneracy that peace under capitalist industrialism entails.

THE VALUE OF IMMORALITY

By MARY E. MARCY

THE working class is kept in a condition of wage slavery through its HABITS of MORALITY. If, from childhood, in the home and in the school, in the shop or in the factory, we had not been restrained from following out our natural instincts, if we had not been steadfastly repressed and the morality of the master class carefully drilled into us and FORCED upon us in our daily CONDUCT as something desirable, we would today shake off the bonds that hold us in subjection and overthrow the profit system. It is our HABITS that keep us from revolting today—our MORAL HABITS.

Today Poverty cries to the high heavens the need of a new social order. All that stands between us and the things WE have PRODUCED, the houses we have built and do not occupy, the clothing we have made, the food we have produced, which we may not eat—all that separates us from these things, that belong to us, is our habits of inertia, IN-ACTION, our *habit* of thinking and ACTING according to the morality that the employing class wants and teaches. And this moral conduct makes those who MAKE things the slaves of those who TAKE things.

If the whole working class had stepped out into society from a page in the life of our primitive ancestors, the very first thing they would do would be to satisfy their natural appetites for food, clothing, shelter and leisure. They would TAKE what they needed and the idle would be powerless to prevent them.

Of course, it is equally true that these savages would not have attained the class consciousness so necessary to their permanent control of industry, and which comes only from actual experience in modern industry, to make such a supremacy *lasting*.

It is the HABITS of morality, the HABIT of acting in the way the employing class calls "good" that keeps hungry men and women today from acting just as savages would act.

The need for working class control of industry is here. We have only to develop a new working class HABIT OF ACTION, a working class ethic, to make an end of a system that means unemployment, starvation and poverty to the workers of the world.

Consider the morals that are taught us from the cradle to the grave; the morals that are sung in the home and Sunday School, that we copy at school, that ring from press and pulpit, that the rich and respectable are always mouthing. All are in praise of ACTION or conduct that means safety and power and property to the rich and respectable because these actions, this kind of conduct makes unresisting slaves of the working class.

Now, morals have to do with "good" actions and "bad" actions; "good" conduct and "bad" conduct. And we have been carefully driven, coaxed and coerced into acting for what is "good" for the master class and is "bad" for US. We are so moral that we crawl under the sidewalks to freeze or starve to death before empty flats or bursting groceries; we are so courageous and "patriotic" that we die on the battlefields so that our employers may have newer and bigger markets; we are so industrious that we work overtime and put our brothers out of a job; we are so economical that we produce \$4,000 worth of value for the boss a year and manage to raise families on \$800.

Isn't it about time that we found a new line of CONDUCT, a new way of ACTING and LIVING that is more in harmony with OUR OWN INTERESTS?

Man's instincts still rule the world. The majority of us will ACT, will break all the moral and legal laws in order to preserve life in spite of any false *ideas* of "right" and "wrong." On this human instinct-to-live do we base our faith in the final triumph of the working class. It does not so much matter what a man THINKS, so long as his stomach, his needs and his ACTIONS are with us? What is really of importance in the class struggle is CONDUCT, how we ACT.

Remember that it is OLD HABITS that keep us from revolting today. Men's ideas soon change when they ACT with us for our mutual interests.

Here is what the Wisconsin head of the State Militia, Gen. Charles King, has to say about the working class boys in his plea for a bigger army:

"Discipline Takes Time.

"They say we can train our men in a short time if necessary. It took the union men but a few weeks to learn to drill at the time of the civil war and yet it was two years before they could learn discipline. Now it would probably take as long to teach the men to remain calm and obey orders under the fire of shrapnel and modern guns."

Gen. King deplored the lack of home training which the American boys are receiving. He said the idea that this is a free and independent country where one man is as good as another breeds a spirit of lawlessness and thoughtlessness among the American youngsters.

"The discipline of the National guard is the thing which will be of the most benefit to these growing boys," he said. "Discipline is the most important thing to be taught.

"Every company should be instructed to leap to obey orders. There should be an instantaneous obedience of every command. This will teach the men confidence, respect and pride."

Every boss will tell you that obedience is a great virtue. It is a virtue in slaves only. The man who is thoroughly disciplined into HABITS of obedience is the man who starves to death in the very city where he has made ten thousand loaves of bread.

Drug habits are "bad" for all men, but they are not half so fatal to working class emancipation as the moral slave HABIT of OBEDIENCE.

In your daily actions, remember that the boss wants his slaves to possess habits of discipline and obedience, national spirit and courage (to die for HIS interests).

The Revolution wants men and women

with habits of INITIATIVE, men of international class solidarity, of courage to fight the class that robs us.

On January 25th the Supreme Court decided that the statutes in the states which make it a misdemeanor for an employer to require an employe to sign an agreement not to join a labor union during his employment, are unlawful, unconstitutional. They said it was not coercing the workers into remaining outside the unions, as the Kansas law declares. So that henceforth the workers are to be asked about their union affiliation by an "unbiased employer."

Now an HONEST worker will tell the truth, spill the beans, and get his name on the Black List, while the revolutionary worker will get the job even if he has to indulge in a few prevarications. He feels himself amply justified in deceiving the Enemy.

More Undesirable Morality

The boss loves a humble worker who is economical and saves his money against a period of unemployment. The worker who respects authority, is contented and loyal (to the interests of the boss) will never become an active rebel. He is sure to work longer hours at a low wage scale.

If temperate he can live on lower wages. He is the logical lick-spittle, stool pigeon and scab. And the preachers assure him that he is "laying up treasures" for himself in Heaven, "where moth and rust do not corrupt nor thieves break through and steal."

Beware of the man whom the boss calls a model worker. His moral conduct, his virtuous activities will prevent his ever becoming a real factor in the working class revolution.

What we need is MORE REBELLION, new habits of fighting the capitalist system, independence and initiative in organizing the workers.

The only morality, the only kind of ACTION with which the revolutionary movement is concerned is LOYALTY TO THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING CLASS!



Photo from National Child Labor Committee.

YOUNG DOFFERS IN ELK COTTON MILLS.

MACHINES THAT HAVE MADE HISTORY

By M. E. M. AND M. G. R.

JUST about one hundred and forty years ago, the English farmers who were unable to raise their rents by the products from their farms, earned the balance by spinning and weaving cotton cloth at home. A little later farming became for them a by-product and their principal earnings came from spinning and weaving.

One of the first lines of specialization among laborers was the severing of these connections and the gathering of the weavers in the hamlets and towns of England, when, in order to prosper in the making of finer fabrics, weavers were

forced to perfect themselves by close application. Some were journeymen in small domestic shops while others worked by the piece. This latter class was swept away as the industry grew.

Hand-loom factories were on the increase and the product of their labor grew so greatly in demand that a spirit of revolt began to make itself manifest among the workers, when John Watt's steam engine became commercially practicable and revolutionized the whole industry by forcing the would-be-successful manufacturer to run his machines by steam instead of by human power.



Photo from National Child Labor Committee.

YOUNG DOFFERS IN ELK COTTON MILLS.

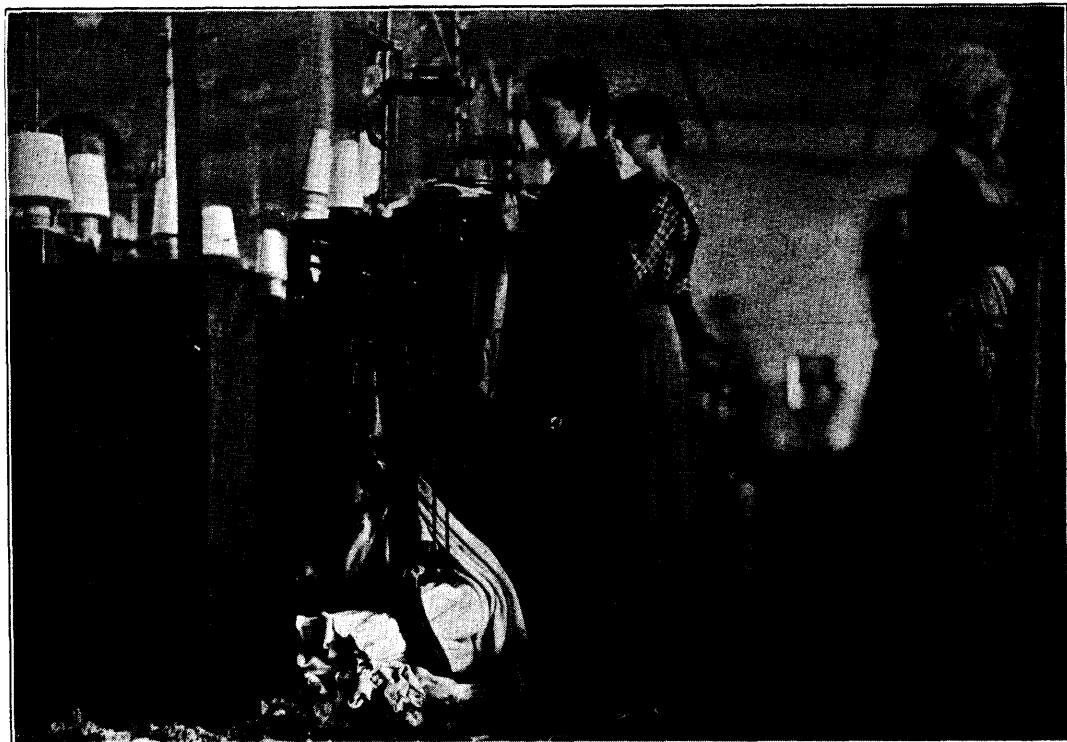


Photo from National Child Labor Committee.

THIS LITTLE GIRL, LIKE MANY OTHERS, IS SO SMALL THAT SHE HAS TO STAND ON A BOX TO REACH HER MACHINE. SHE IS REGULARLY EMPLOYED AS A KNITTER IN THE LOUDIN HOSIERY MILL, LOUDIN, TENN. SAID SHE DID NOT KNOW HOW LONG SHE HAD WORKED THERE.

The "mule" and spinning jenny, which had been steadily improved since their invention were now run largely by steam power. Then came the fly-shuttle, greatly increasing the output of the single weaver.

But power looms won their way very gradually, fought every inch of their progress by the hand-loom weavers, who hated factory life, and by the manufacturers of small capital, who could not afford to install steam power plants. But the ease with which the art of weaving could be acquired by the new process helps to explain the wretched straits into which the hand-loom weavers were driven in their battle against the new machine.

But month by month one by one went down to defeat—small employer and skilled weaver—just as all manufacturers and all skilled workers must eventually succumb before the superior machine, the superior motive power and larger capital. The application of steam power to the new machines so lowered the cost of cot-

ton cloth that Lancashire, England, became the cotton factory of the world.

How the Cotton Gin Formed the "South."

Arkwright's spinning-machine gave England a monopoly on the manufacture of cotton cloth, because England kept the design of this machine a profound secret from America. It was only a few years after the Declaration of Independence that the Assistant Secretary of the United States Treasury caused to be secretly circulated in England, the following paragraph: "A reward of \$500 in gold will be paid to any one who will make and smuggle out of England an accurate model of Richard Arkwright's cotton spinning machine. Every protection guaranteed and the strictest secrecy assured."

Arkwright, who was an English barber, had invented the machine that did away with the laborious spinning of cotton by hand. For years it had been his chief pleasure in life to experiment with dif-



Photo from National Child Labor Committee.

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ferent sorts of machines and to attempt the making of new ones. His wife complained bitterly that he was always neglecting his real duties in life and playing with foolish machinery when "he ought to be shaving customers." She finally became so disgusted with his "shiftlessness" that she left him. Her relatives approved this step and utterly disavowed all connection with the "lazy, dreamer" Arkwright.

But this is life. The people who follow undeviatingly in the paths laid out for them by their predecessors never are heard of. They are so deeply immersed in the ruts worn deep by their ancestors that they cannot see outside. All they have ever accomplished is to wear the rut still deeper. It is only the people who avoid the beaten path of established habits and customs who have ever done anything at all for society. Later, Arkwright was made Sir John, and must have greatly shaken the faith of his ex-relatives-in-law in their prophetic powers.

England jealousy guarded the secret of the Arkwright machine and passed rigorous laws prohibiting the taking of the machine or models thereof out of the country. In spite of England's refusal to sell, the young United States were determined to have that spinning machine.

There was as yet no cotton industry in America. Cotton was not even a portion of the Southern farm crop. The very little that was raised was spun by hand by the women, but there were no cotton mills.

In response to the United States' offer for \$500 for a model, an English machinist made brass models of the Arkwright machine to be shipped to America. But he was discovered and his models confiscated. Later a young man in one of the Arkwright mills heard of the American offer and embarked for the United States after some months with only his head filled with plans of the machine he hoped to duplicate in the new land. He soon went to work for a firm which was trying to pattern after the Arkwright method. Here he worked a year before perfecting the new spinning machines.

At this time the cotton that was woven into cloth in America was imported from the East Indies. Cotton raised in America was of low commercial value owing to

the difficulty of separating the staple from the seed. This operation was performed laboriously by hand. The foreign cotton, with its looser seed, did not thrive in American soil.

Here then was a great need for cotton cloth and yarn, machines at hand for spinning and weaving it into cloth, but no practicable home cotton supply, because it was cheaper to purchase raw cotton abroad than to pick the seeds from the cotton raised at home.

The Cotton Gin.

It was about this time that Eli Whitney, a young Massachusetts nailmaker, turned his attention to the study of law. A prospective job teaching, having failed him in the South, he spent some months visiting a friend who was then experimenting with a small cotton crop. Whitney was amazed to learn that it took a whole day to separate one pound of cotton from the seed.

"I believe I can make a machine that can remove those seeds," he said. The eagerness with which this possibility was greeted encouraged Whitney to set to work upon his cotton gin. In 1793, his first practical machine was perfected. Though very crude, it performed the difficult work of separation.

This invention gave the much-needed stimulus to cotton growing in America.

England refused to purchase any cotton that had been ginned by the Whitney machine, and, altogether, the inventor received very small reward for his work on the machine that revolutionized American agriculture.

Capitalists took up the invention and made vast fortunes from it and Samuel Slater, who had duplicated the English spinning jenny, became one of America's pioneer cotton manufacturing millionaires.

The cotton gin multiplied the productive power of the workers from ten to an hundred fold and enabled the cotton planters to increase their product from 18,000,000 to 93,000,000 pounds without any decrease in price during the years 1801 to 1810.

Following the age of machinery in the cotton industry came transportation by water and on land. By 1835 the railroads had penetrated the south and the south-



Photo from National Child Labor Committee.

THE TWO SMALLEST SLAVES IN THE GROUP ARE FLOSSIE BRITT, 6 YEARS OLD, AND LONNIE BRITT, 7 YEARS OLD. THEY WERE EMPLOYED BY THE LUMBERTON, N. C., COTTON MILLS AS SPINNERS AND ARE PAID FROM 30 TO 40 CENTS PER DAY. TINY, FRAIL, ANAEMIC, LINT-COVERED AND STUPEFIED, THEY WORK EARLY AND LATE.

ern states of America found themselves producing most of the world's supply of cotton by chattel slave labor. Today they have practically a monopoly of the supply of raw cotton. Our annual crop would outweigh 50,000 persons.

By-products.

Dr. Benjamin Waring, grist mill owner, first extracted oil from cotton seed, but not for commercial purposes. Forty years later a small capitalist began to successfully produce cotton seed oil. Other small oil mills sprung up and, in 1890, one of the big American packers visited one of these mills, tasted the oil and sent samples to his northern chemists. Then came a new epoch in food production.

The French government found that cotton seed oil made the base for a fine substitute for butter in the army. This was the origin of butterine. The planters found themselves with a valuable cotton by-product that had formerly been a

white elephant on their hands.

Cotton seed oil is really a nourishing and wholesome food product. It is the basis for "hogless lard," salad oil and one of the best grades, bleached, appears in nearly all the "ice cream" purchased from confectioners—in lieu of milk and cream.

\$25,000,000 worth of cotton seed oil goes into substitute lard products annually; 20,000,000 gallons are consumed yearly for culinary purposes, salads, etc. Of the mass of seed shells, after the extraction of the oil has taken place, \$4,000,000 worth of hulls are used in making trunks, sample cases, washers, valves and gear wheels. The hull bran makes paper and fertilizer.

The cotton seed kernals are crushed and pressed and the remaining mass is ground into meal for stock feed. Over \$40,000,000 worth is now used in stock raising every year.

When we remember the development



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Photo from National Child Labor Committee.
"BABY DOFFER" IN AN ALABAMA MILL.

of chattel slavery in the south attendant upon the raising of cotton, when we recall the titanic battle that ensued between the capitalists employing wage labor and the chattel slave owners, we begin to understand what a tremendous factor machine invention has been in the history of the United States.

The Cotton Mill Workers.

In a recent article on the Southern Cotton Mills (printed in *Solidarity*), by M. G. R., she says:

"The cotton mill industry has revolutionized the south. It has taken a new place, and a big place in the American industries. There are now 800 cotton mills in the southern cotton belt where a quarter of a million workers produce an annual output valued at \$268,000,000. Modern mills containing the most modern machinery are used and the owners get the greatest results for the lowest possible pay. The southern mill workers receive annually \$27,000,000 in wages and produce nearly ten times this amount in value. Northern mills producing \$270,000,000 worth of cloth a year, pay \$65,-

000,000 in wages, more than double the wage paid in the South.

In the South labor is cheap everywhere. It is the cheapest commodity on the market; a commodity that can be obtained at any time, any place to be used until worthless to the buyer and then discarded for a fresh supply. The life of the worker counts for nought.

Nowhere in this country is the life and labor of the workers so cheap and so degrading as in a southern cotton mill. The textile mill worker of the North has, through his many struggles, won for himself some concessions and has, in a measure destroyed some of the feudalism which can be seen in the South in all its hideousness. The northern worker has wrested for himself the right to live where he can; to buy from whichever store his meagre wage will permit; to send his children to a public school.

The worker in the southern cotton mill is as true a vassal as ever labored under a feudal lord. He lives in the company house, buys his fuel from the company and usually trades at the company "grab-all" or store. When not snatched up by the mills, his children attend company schools, instructed by teachers paid by the company. The church itself belongs to the company and the salary of the preacher is usually supplemented by the company. The labor offender is arrested by a company paid constable and tried by a company official, who is a magistrate. And this—in "free" America.



Photo from National Child Labor Committee.
A TYPICAL COTTON WORKER'S SHACK IN THE SUNNY SOUTH. THEY ARE GENERALLY COMPANY OWNED. IN ROME, GA., BY THE ROME HOSEIERY MILLS.



Photo from National Child Labor Committee.

“BABY DOFFER” IN AN ALABAMA MILL.

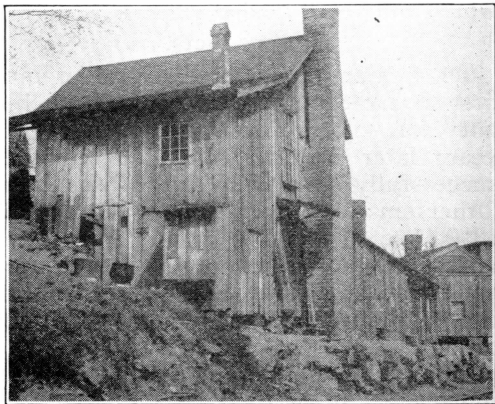


Photo from National Child Labor Committee.

A TYPICAL COTTON WORKER'S SHACK IN THE
SUNNY SOUTH. THEY ARE GENERALLY
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THE ROME HOSIERY MILLS.

The southern mill worker is a foreigner to the townspeople. They don't know him and have no desire to know him. When he comes to town it is usually to buy something—on credit—or to attend a moving picture show. More often he just drifts about the streets of the town on Saturday night, wan, ragged, unrelated, a monstrous abortion of industrial tyranny.

The mill worker of the south shifts from mill to mill and from village to village with great frequency. Having little difficulty in obtaining a job, the work being practically the same in all mills, he leaves one mill, vacates a company house and goes to another. The scanty furniture and the children are packed on a dray and he moves. Often I have been to a mill workers' "home" one week, and coming back the next, found a new family occupying the house and no trace of the old tenant. He changes house, school, store—everything along with the new job.

The same conditions obtain throughout the entire cotton industry in the South. A type of worker has been produced far more proletarian than our brothers of the North. Skill-less, propertyless, unorganized—the South has a real proletariat without the dignity and class consciousness of rebel against his terrible lot.

Organization.

It is out of this material that the industrial union of the South must be built. The greatest obstacle is the apathy of the



Photo from National Child Labor Committee.

A YOUNG DOFFER.

workers themselves. To teach these workers the first principle of direct action is a Herculean task. We must have a patient, unending campaign—the work of pioneers in this industrial wilderness. It may be possible, by a great deal of agitation, to arouse the textile workers of the South, but unless a permanent organization is effected and a continuous educational propaganda carried on for industrial unionism, the results cannot be far-reaching. To effectively combat the master class an organization must be drilled and trained constantly in the use of its weapons in industrial warfare.

The conditions in the textile industry preclude any form of organization, but industrial unionism. The principal reason, no doubt, why the A. F. of L. has made no attempt to organize the textile workers is that craft organization is not, and never was, possible in the cotton industry. A quarter of a million workers, entirely unskilled, unable to pay big initiation fees or dues, nor to be aroused



Photo from National Child Labor Committee.

BREEDING COTTON MILL SLAVES IN THE SOUTH. ONLY SIX IN THIS FAMILY. OLDEST GIRL COTTON MILL WORKER.



Photo from National Child Labor Committee.

A YOUNG DOFFER.



Photo from National Child Labor Committee.

BREEDING COTTON MILL SLAVES IN THE
SOUTH. ONLY SIX IN THIS FAMILY.
OLDEST GIRL COTTON MILL WORKER.

by the slogan or "a fair day's work for a fair day's pay," are not the "cream of labor" that appeals to the aristocratic tastes of the A. F. of L.

The I. W. W. will have to do the work in the South. And it is a big job; of that make no mistake. The work has

been started, some ground turned and some seed scattered. But the big work is ahead of it. To succeed it must be brave, patient and determined to carry the message of revolutionary industrial unionism into the hearts and heads of the cotton mill workers."

PARASITIC POWER OF PROPERTY

By SCOTT NEARING

ALL historic civilizations have developed a propertied class, which enjoyed leisure and luxury. To provide this leisure and luxury, the great body of citizens, serfs, and slaves labored, suffered, fought, and died. The Western World has produced the most effective means ever devised (transferable income yielding titles to property) for enabling one group in the community to live upon the work done by the others.

Perhaps the most menacing of all American institutions is the perfected organization which enables the few to live at the expense of the many. In three centuries the United States, in company with Western civilization, has produced, or at least tolerated, a system which automatically takes from the values created in the industrial processes a certain proportion, and places it in the hands of any person or any association which at that particular time happens to hold the key which unlocks the Golden Flood—the key of property ownership.

This income is not paid as a reward for virtue; people receive it who are vicious. It is not paid in return for meritorious social service; some of those who receive it are notoriously anti-social in all of their dealings. It is not paid for abstinence; many of the recipients of property income never knew what it was to abstain. It is not paid for saving; there are people with vast incomes who during their entire lives have never done anything except spend. It is not paid for productive effort; children, disabled persons, idlers, and wastrels are among its

recipients. There is one thing and one thing only for which property income is paid, and that is that the ownership of a piece of property which is so scarce and so desired by another that he is willing to give a return for it. Today the ownership of property gives to the owner a royalty privilege. He may always invest it and receive five per cent on it. It is virtual power to tax, exercised by an individual owner of property against the productive activities of the community, and exercised because the owner now owns a piece of property.

Society does not ask of property owners the question: "Where did you get it, gentlemen?" The social mechanism which pays a bonus for property ownership knows no morals and no language. It proceeds on the one principle, "To him that hath shall be given," by virtue of which the owners of property are royally rewarded.

The time has come when the facts must be faced honestly. Those who talk so glibly about the drunkenness and riotous living among workingmen, who are convinced that the workers get all they earn, and that even if they did get more, they would squander it anyway; those who defend property interests and property income are not interested in widows and in orphans, are not interested in bringing about an adjustment which will conform to the demands of human decency and social justice. They do not wish to know whether there is income enough to go around, but rather whether there is income enough to pay the producers what they demand, and then, or even before then, to pay to the owners

of property a share of the products of industry in return for their property ownership. The question as it is asked by the long-headed defenders of vested power is simply this, "Is there enough income to pay interest on the bonds of the country (some 34 billions of them) and thus keep business stable; to pay wages and salaries to the producers of wealth, and keep the world going; and to return a dividend to the owners of stocks, and where separately held, to the owners of land—to the first because of an investment of capital; to the second as a recompense for holding as his own a part of the earth's surface?" That is the real question as it is really asked. Thus far the answer has been steadily affirmative. There have been suggestions and protests, but the question has generally met with favorable consideration.

What will be the answer to the demand of vested incomes in the future? What new note will sound in response to their proposition? What will be their proposition?

As the country grows in numbers, in wealth, and in producing power, the proposition advanced by the owners of vested interests must of necessity take on a different form. Instead of asking whether there is enough wealth created in the productive processes to pay interest, dividends and rent, they must ask, "Will the producers of wealth shoulder a constantly increasing burden?" These land values are rising; the amount of capital in the country per productive worker and per capita of the population is growing constantly greater. As producers, will they carry the increased load? As consumers will they pay the increased tax on their prices?

Were the tax demanded by property a

fixed one, the question might be settled once and for all, but the tax is increasing, actually and proportionately, hence the new aspect which the issue assumes.

There is income enough to go around. If all of those who participate in the production of wealth received an equal share of the wealth produced, the whole of American society would be able to live on a standard of splendid comfort. If even the present proportions were maintained between wages and salaries, if some were high paid and some low paid for their share in productive activity, there is income enough created to provide for every family in the United States a decent living (concretely, in industrial centers, \$750 per year in moderate-sized towns, and \$900 to \$1,000 a year in great cities), and to pay many more families than now receive it a standard of comfort and even of luxury.

Is there income enough to go around? Indeed there is! The immediate trouble lies in the fact, not that there is not enough to go around, but that it is not made to go around.

Instead of going around, a large percentage of the values created in industry go straight into the coffers of property holders who are, almost universally the well-to-do. These values never even start around, but they are directed by the self-acting system of property control to those who own property.

Income is measured in terms of power and not in terms of worth. The masses of mankind, whose only power lies in their numbers and the organization into effective working bodies, would do well to ponder the difference and to understand the necessity for transferring power from the few who have to the many who need.



JIM LARKIN, WHO HAS FEW PEERS AS AN ORATOR.

THE UNDERMAN

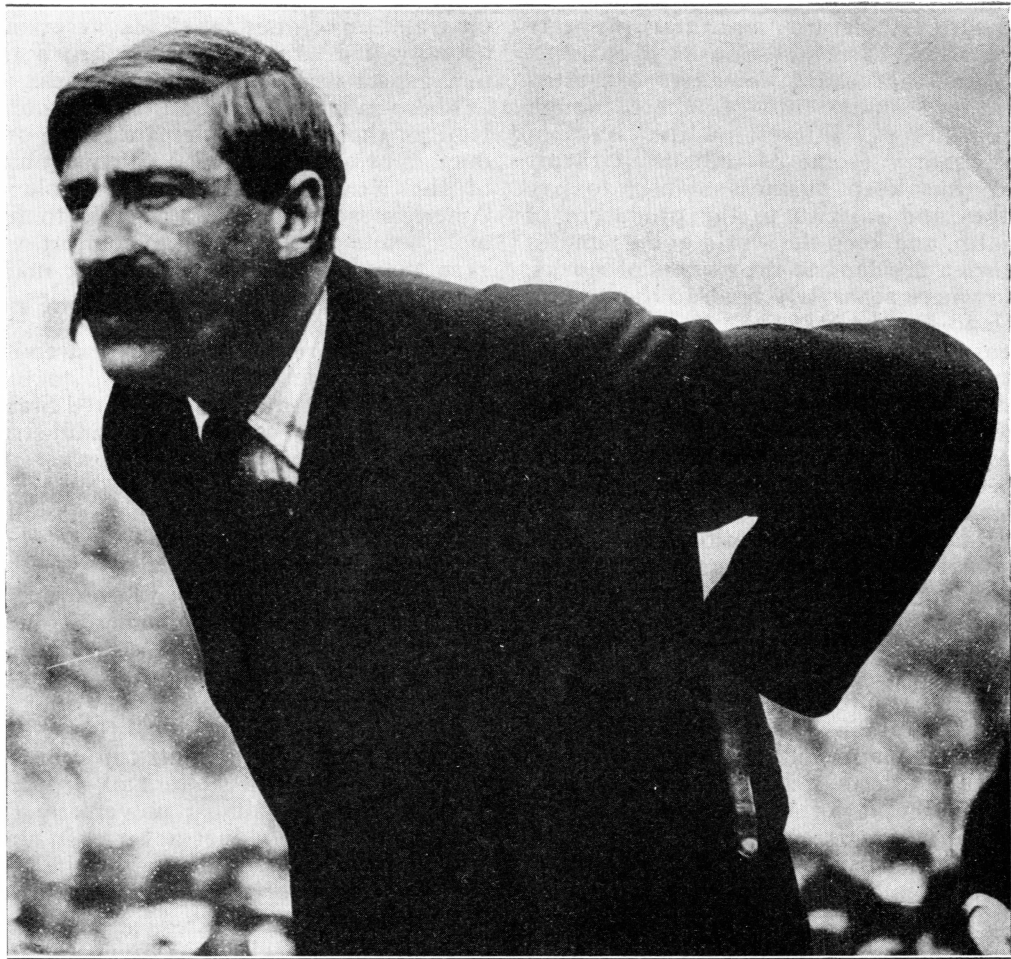
BY JIM LARKIN

FROM the days of Solon down to the era of Syndicalism the wise and unwise have given speech, written learned tomes, sung in undying numbers of the Underman. Some have been more than generous enough to name him the Bottom Dog. Admitting that there has been something doglike in his slavishness, namely, his meekness under the lash of and his fidelity to and trust in the Master Class, yet, again and again, has the divine spark of discontent burst

into flame and the Underman given good proof of his quality.

In every epoch of the world's history he has given the exploiting class cause to remember his resentment. "Not for nothing" died Spartacus and his fellow worker rebels, and the age-long struggle of the Plebs proved they, too, realized within themselves what their place in the Roman polity should have been.

And so along down the weary years the monotony and degradation of their



JIM LARKIN, WHO HAS FEW PEERS AS AN ORATOR.

lives have been illumined by the glorious if somewhat unsuccessful attempts of the slave class to break their fetters. If they failed to achieve all they aimed at there is some satisfaction in knowing that though the shackles still bind their limbs, they have arisen from their knees and now stand erect. That position has been reached not by trusting to redeemers, leaders or intellectuals. Every advance won, every advantage gained, every measure of improvement enjoyed has been gotten by mass action.

The redeemers, so-called, have advised on all occasions respect for constituted authority. Leader after leader has used the work-wear, degraded bodies of his class as a ladder whereby he might ascend to and become one with the oppressing, dominant class of Overmen. The self-styled intellectuals have used our moans, miseries and movements as subject matter for their mental gymnastics and to their own social and economic aggrandizement. I don't care to be unfair, but it is too true that all down the ages the redeemers and intellectuals, under the guise of altruism, ethics, brotherhood, but in reality for egotistical reasons and with malice aforethought, have deliberately obscured the vision of the Underman with their word-spinning, phrase-mongering, laws of logic, political economy, and heaven-when-you-die philosophies.

Many of these would-be saviors of mankind warned us in terrifying tones that the realization of our hopes of material and social betterment would destroy our character, our love of home, respect for our betters, "Ioranorder," the constitution and unfit us for our "station in life." The immutable laws had decreed our place in the cosmic scheme—obedience and willingness to serve, prayer, abstinence (and plenty of it) was our portion, our sole concern—individual salvation. They told us to take and pause; that our idea for a class movement, for a collective uplift, was subversive of authority and tended to disrupt society. They hesitated not to insult our intelligence by telling us that we were designed to be a necessary evil, but a useful class, our duty to slave and breed, breed and slave, to the end that a useless and unnecessary class should live in idleness and luxury on our labor.

Our leaders, with few exceptions, appointed or elected to articulate our grievances, desires and demands, have abused our confidence and their tendency to compromise with the Overman has assisted in, consciously or unconsciously, welding more firmly the shackles that sear our limbs. Right down the ages this cursed game of compromise has been to our detriment. In this day we have our leaders advocating state control of labor, arbitration boards, wages boards, conciliation schemes, health and unemployment insurance, to scientifically explain the cause of industrial unrest and why the many are poor. It is enough to make Marx and his predecessors turn over in their graves.

The workers in the industrial and economic field should get the full social value of the product of their labor and such a result can only be brought about by the obliteration of the present capitalist system and the taking over by the workers of the machinery of production and means of distribution. Thus control of the job would carry with it control of all the forces in the social organism. Such a simple solution is characterized as blasphemy, heresy, revolution.

Then we have the spectacle of the intellectuals rushing to the rescue of the leaders. These mental prostitutes, owing to their position in society, are the most dangerous of all the Undermen. Their viewpoint of the problems of life is determined, like all other sections and classes in society, by their economic status. They have always in the past, are now in the present, and, if allowed, will be in the future, the most subtle foe to the advance of the Underman. Well might the Overmen—the Carnegies, Rockefeller, Morgans and Sages—take control of the thought-forming sources of the community through subsidized foundations. Full well they know that the control of those who are privileged in training the minds of the people means an extended lease of power for them (the exploiters) over the slave class.

We cannot afford to halt to join battle with the intellectuals in their own sphere. When we assume complete control of the economic basis of society we will in that hour free all classes, and the educated intellect of the future will be free and in return for services rendered to them they

will give of their best to the advancement of humanity. Our duty, therefore, is to be true and loyal to our own class, waste no time on those respectable busybodies who are always deploring and condemning our insistence on class conflict. Be not led astray by praise or prayer, press or party. The fundamental line of advance is industrial organization. All other activities are of secondary importance, and you have to remember that the Underman is the main factor in the problem. Without his labor the work of the world comes to a stop.

Unskilled Workers in Ireland.

And now may I, as one of the Undermen, recount briefly what has been accomplished by what Wolfe Tone, one of the leaders in the Irish revolutionary movement of the eighteenth century, termed "That large but respectable body of citizens—the men of no property." Within the last seven years in Ireland, not by political effort or under the guidance of redeemers, leaders or by the instruction and teaching of the intellectuals, but of themselves and by themselves. I do so because I believe their achievements will be of service in guiding and stimulating the great uprising of the Underman, particularly that section which is termed in derision the unskilled worker, which I venture to predict will take place throughout this continent within the year.

Previous to the year 1907 in Ireland the unskilled workers of that country had time and again risen in revolt, but all their efforts proved in vain because of their method of organization. They, like the unskilled workers of this country, had been bossed by leaders who used them as a means to gain political power for themselves.

Each section, of course, docker, teamster, factory worker, builders' laborer, shipyard laborer, farm laborer, railway worker, etc., was enrolled in separate unions. When one section went out on strike the other sections scabbed on them. They had high initiation fees, some unions charging as high as five dollars, or one pound in English money. Their officials as a rule when not advocating political action were always advising their members not to strike, but to petition or submit their claims to arbitration or conciliation boards and were ever ac-

tive in telling their dupes of the "dignity of labor" and the identity of interest between the master class and the wage slave! One of these so-called unions set forth in the preamble to its constitution the following noble sentiments:

"The General Laborers' Union is organized for the glory of God, the support of the king by divine right and his heirs and the royal family; loyalty to the constitution and to establish a brotherly understanding between our employers and the members of said union, etc., etc."

Their motto: "Organized to defend, not to attack."

It reads like a report of some of the sectional unions of this "Home of the free and land of the brave."

The founders of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, vulgar persons, determined within themselves that that kind of organized scabbery should cease, and so we started an Industrial Union for all workers, not interfering, of course, with the aristocrat of labor—the skilled worker. We knew from our experience in the struggle that when we had the unskilled workers properly organized, especially the men who matter, the transport workers, we could make the skilled workers fall in line. That opinion has been verified. Today in Ireland and in Great Britain the skilled worker realizes, aye, even the great, enlightened, humanitarian British government realizes that Kitchener and his merry men are at the mercy of the men engaged in transporting commodities.

Within seven short years these few common, vulgar coalporters, dockers, teamsters, factory hands taught the Federated Employers of Ireland **who** controlled industry. And it is to be remembered that we did not allow our organization to be exploited by any and every philosophical freak who wanted a platform to air his or her views about "killing God," limitation of families, eugenics, sex license or twilight sleep. Obliterating the scab, limiting the power of the boss to rob US at the point of production, insisting upon decent homes, good grub, good clothing, a chance to live, absorbed our energies. Wherever a woman or child of our class was degraded or oppressed we rallied to her assistance. Our motto was and will be to the end of

time: "An injury to one is the concern of all."

We make no apologies to or agreement with the boss. As soon as we succeed in organizing 60 per cent of the workers in any industrial undertaking the others must join or get out. He who is not with us is against us, and although every branch of our union has full autonomy, we make it plain to them that they cannot jeopardize the whole army for the benefit of a section; that the class uplift and not the betterment of the individual is our concern. We have our own union halls, which are not used only for dues-paying purposes. Our whole life functions around our union.

All forms of social relaxation, dancing, instrumental and vocal music, billiards, roulette; all forms of athletic effort are encouraged, boxing, swimming, etc. Educational facilities of all kinds are provided. We teach the Gaelic, French and German languages. We have our dramatic and choral societies. Our dramatic company, composed of members of the Irish Women Workers' Union and the Transport Workers' Union, toured England last year for four months and brought back, in addition to paying all expenses, \$3,500, which was used in setting up a production co-operation factory wherein members of our Women Workers' Union who are discharged for their activity in organizing their fellow slaves are employed in making up underclothing, etc., which is sold to the union members. We are also shareholders in the Industrial Co-operation Distributing Society, from which we buy practically all our foodstuffs. Our women run a co-operative restaurant.

In Dublin, which is the headquarters of our union, we have our own park of sixteen acres whereon we hold sports and gatherings every week-end. We have a co-operative hotel or guest house, where our members or friends can rent for nominal charge for week-ends. On Saturdays and Sundays we foregather there. We have three and a half acres of gardens. Any member on application will be allotted a portion of the garden that he or she may learn something under skilled tuition of the beauty and bounty of mother earth. We make a special feature of looking to the benefit of our kid-

dies. We have swing boats, hobby horses and sand gardens. We have hammocks swung from the trees so that the tired mother slave may hand over her baby to the volunteer girl nurses, who will look after baby while the mother can go and trip the "light fantastic" with her husband. We have tents for camping out, and in the summer months our army camps there every night after their work. All their drill is carried on there.

The citizen army is not confined to our own union, but is open to any union man, the conditions of membership are that each applicant engages not to join any army controlled by the government and undertakes at all cost to defend his class and to assist if needs be in establishing a co-operative commonwealth.

With all these many activities proceeding apace, we never forget our principal work—to gain control of the job, keen and ever ready to take advantage of any opportunity that presents itself to demand a greater share of the results of our labor. Needless to say, the employing class does not allow us to rest. Ever and always he is on the attack. During 1913 and 1914 they made concerted attack. They locked us out for eight months. The condition they laid down was that no member of the Irish Transport Union would be permitted to work in or about Dublin city and county. Thanks to our comrades of the rank and file in Great Britain and Australia, we beat off their attack and we are now concerting our forces to resume the attack.

From this brief and hurried account you will at least appreciate the spirit of our movement. Now, if such a work can be accomplished in the most backward and oppressed country in western Europe, what might be accomplished in this great continent if the harassed wage slaves would combine, stop wasting their time in theoretical discussion and get to work. Some authorities have stated that there are some 35,000,000 wage slaves in the United States, but let us reduce that figure by 10,000,000. I suggest that with only 3,000,000 workers organized out of 25,000,000 there is something radically wrong with your present form of organization. It does not reach the people. I am including in my computation all forms of industrial organization—those in and

out of the American Federation of Labor.

The idea of a federation of labor in these days of the trustification of industry connotes that the leaders or controllers of the trade union machine have been rusticated in the Garden of Eden. It is full time they climbed the tree and took a bite of the apple. And when we find the prominent leaders associated with the most unscrupulous of the capitalist thugs in civic federations and other recreation institutions, it gives one pause. And I am credibly informed that what is considered the most advanced union in America, the United Mine Workers, has suffered thirteen consecutive defeats, sections of their union being practically annihilated.

The Railway Workers are organized in thirteen different unions, each of them charged with having scabbed on the other, and when one is humiliated as a worker by being compelled to listen to a gentlemen named Brandies boasting that a union spent \$1,000,000 in assisting a

shoe manufacturer to break a strike. When we remember the Ludlow massacre, the murder of wage slaves at Calumet, the latest manifestation of the golden rule in industry at Chrome in New Jersey, one is forced to the conclusion that the workers in this country are unworthy of their class. As the skilled workers seem too utterly selfish and unresponsive to any appeal to their class instincts, would it not be possible through the medium of the REVIEW and those papers which take the same position to make an appeal to the Underman or unskilled section of the workers to take up the responsibility of the class and set an example to the skilled worker. An attempt is being made to solidify those unions with the A. F. of L. The secretary of this movement is Mr. Ryder, 34 Park Row, New York. I would like to return to the question of the unskilled in the next issue.

WHY SHOULD I BE A SOCIALIST?

By JACK MORTON

THIS is the question an Illinois coal miner asked us recently. "Why should I be a Socialist?" he said "Will socialism GET ME ANYTHING?"

And it was an intelligent question. Why should you be interested in blue sky mining stock? Why should you be interested in the Republican Party? In the Progressives or in the Democratic Party? Will SOCIALISM GET YOU ANYTHING?

Socialism appeals to the economic interest, furthers the bread-and-butter interest of the working class. There IS something in it for YOU and ME. There is everything in it for those who work.

If the workers were class conscious and experienced in *fighting AS a CLASS*, they would be able to abolish the present wages system today. But they are NOT organized and they are NOT accustomed to fighting AS A CLASS.

What we need before we can accom-

plish much that will benefit the workers, is experience in fighting AS a class—in other words, education and organization.

You understand perfectly well that you cannot fight the boss alone. You know that if you are to strike you need the cooperation of your fellow-workers to win any concessions from the man who employs you. And you know that the more men you have in your union, the more who strike with you, the more chance there is of your winning a victory.

But what happens when you start to organize the men in any industry as you did in West Virginia? What has kept the miners in Colorado and in Calumet from organizing themselves into a union?

All the recent strikes of the American miners are so fresh in our minds that we have not forgotten that it was a PROGRESSIVE Governor in West Virginia who arrested Mother Jones, who declared martial law, permitted hired thugs

to murder the strikers and their wives and children. We have seen REPUBLICAN and PROGRESSIVE protecting the mine owners while they incarcerated strike breakers, forcing them to work in the mines and preventing their escape with search lights and machine guns.

In Colorado we have seen the great Democrat, Ammons, permit the actual hired murderers of the Rockefeller interests to be sworn in to the state militia so that they should have the protection of the uniform in their cowardly murders.

It was PROGRESSIVE Governor Johnson of California who sent his soldiers to Sacramento, armed with guns, to help drive members of your class and MY class out of that city because they were unable to secure work.

Many of us have wanted *Something NOW* so much that we have elected these men to office. And we have got SOMETHING NOW, but it was not what we *wanted*.

As long as the master class, the owning class, the class composed of the employers of labor, is able to control the COURTS, THE POLICE FORCE, the ARMY AND THE NAVY, just so long will they be able to break up our attempts at organization on the industrial field.

Start into an industrial center and try to organize the men working in the shops or mills. You will find that the shop and factory and mill bosses OWN the judges, the lawyers, the police force. They can send a hundred organizers to jail on any trumped-up charge they choose. They can discharge the union men and have all the protection they want for their imported gun-men and strike breakers, while the militia or police (who *protect* their scabs and thugs) will force you to submission.

The entire forces of the law belong to your boss if he chooses to invoke them. The Republicans and Democrats proved this long ago and the Progressives have come along and showed themselves just as willing to serve the OWNING class and to harm the working class as the two old parties.

The only man you can be sure of in ANY office is the man whose interests are bound up with YOUR interests. You

can always trust YOURSELF. Therefore put your trust in yourself and your comrades whose interests are identical with your own.

This is why Socialism means something to you RIGHT NOW. There is very little use in going out on a strike for higher wages today unless you have all the men and women in your shop or your industry striking with you. This means a large measure of organization. And your boss will prevent such organization and will defeat your strike just as long as he has the power to use the courts, the police and the militia against you.

This is why you must seize these powers and use them in your own interests. You must elect socialists from your own class and you must make these elected officials the *servants of those who work*. You must direct them and tell them what you and your working class comrades want done in every event.

No matter how good any man is, he won't know what YOU want so well as YOU do. So make your elected socialist officials YOUR representatives to carry out YOUR wishes.

A socialist Mayor in Ohio was called upon to preserve the "peace" by the owners of a factory who had a strike in their shops. He promptly hired the strikers at \$3.00 a day "to see that order was maintained."

When the silk strikers at Paterson were denied the use of the streets, it was the socialist mayor in Haledon who invited them to come to that city to hold meetings. In a time of strike the right of free speech, the right to organize, the right to educate are absolutely vital. And Haledon was able to extend these favors to her comrades who were refused these privileges in Paterson.

It is true that the Mayor of Haledon could not, of his own initiative, raise the wages of all the factory workers in Haledon, while the wages system lasts. But he *could* guarantee them the right to hold meetings, to organize, to carry on their work of propaganda. He could PROTECT them from the hired thugs of the bosses. He could arrest these thugs.

The miners of Colorado fought to *enforce* some of the statutes that are al-

ready on the law books of the state. But the Colorado Governor was a tool of the Rockefeller Interests and would not enforce any laws these Interests chose to disregard. In fact, he sent Rockefeller's own gun employees, garbed in the suits of militiamen, to shoot the miners who were fighting to *enforce* these laws.

So you see that the law and those who either *enforce* or BREAK the law are of vast import in your fight for SOMETHING NOW. It is the duty of the elected socialists to MAKE the law, to interpret the law—IN THE INTERESTS OF the WORKING CLASS, under the *direction* of the working class.

This is why you need all the socialists in office you can elect today. When you elect a socialist, he signs his resignation papers before he accepts office so that at the moment you feel he is not serving the interests of the working CLASS, you

and your comrades can withdraw him. But the man who is elected from the working class and whose success or failure is determined by the confidence of his comrades, will serve your interests nine times out of ten, because in this way he will be serving his OWN interests.

We have had years of sad experience with the Republican Party and the Democratic Party. The Progressives have shown us where they stand in unmistakable terms during the past four years. It is time we began to elect our own comrades, OURSELVES to serve our own class. Think this over and write us if you find any good reason why every working man should not be a socialist.

And do not forget that the Socialist Party is the only Party that demands the *value* of his product *for the worker*.

OUR RODBERTIAN N. E. C.

By HENRY L. SLOBODIN

NO one demands of an executive committee the knowledge of Socialist economics. An administrative committee should attend to the administration of affairs. And if the shoemaker stuck to his last all would be well.

But the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party is an ambitious body. No one could really claim knowledge of the "fundamental causes" of the war until the N. E. C. was heard from. So, striking the appropriate pose, with the right hand on the chest inserted behind the first and second button and the left hand on the small of the back, our N. E. C. proceeds thusly to unburden itself for the benefit of mankind:

"Every capitalistic nation on earth exploits its people. The wages received by the workers are always less than the market value of the goods which they produce. Consequently when the workers enter the market they cannot buy back an amount of wealth equal to that which their labor created and put into the mar-

ket. A surplus accumulates. The capitalist class cannot consume it all or profitably invest it in a nation suffering from capitalistic exploitation. Thus sooner or later each capitalistic nation is suffocated with the surplus products resulting from its own exploitation. Having exhausted its home market, unwilling and unable to readjust its processes so as to eliminate exploitation, every capitalist nation is compelled to enter the struggle for foreign markets."

Firstly, it is obvious that exporting does not offer a relief for surplus product for the simple reason that every great industrial nation imports foreign products in about the same degree as it exports domestic products. He who runs can perceive it. Only an N. E. C. cannot see it.

Secondly, the statement of the N. E. C. contains a theory of crises very current among American Socialist editors and lecturers. It is so "simple." The worker gets less than he produces. He cannot buy back his product. A surplus accumu-

lates and a crisis ensues. The theory implies a corollary that in the countries to which the surplus is exported the workers can buy back not only their own products but, in addition, our surplus product.

There was once upon a time a man by the name Karl Marx. He has written a work by the name "Capital," published in three volumes. The second volume contains a profound elaboration of the theory of crises in eight different places (pp. 60, 87, 118, 123, 211, 363, 475, 476 and 545 of the English translation published by Charles H. Kerr & Company). On pages 475, 476, Marx deals with the theory advocated now by our N. E. C. in a way, lucid and sledge-hammer, peculiar to himself. Just read it:

"It is purely a tautology to say that crises are caused by the scarcity of solvent consumers, or of a paying consumption. The capitalist system does not know any other modes of consumption but a paying one, except that of the pauper or of the 'thief.' If any commodities are unsaleable, it means that no solvent purchasers have been found for them, in other words, consumers (whether commodities are bought in the last instance for productive or individual consumption). But if one were to attempt to clothe this tautology with a semblance of a profounder justification by saying that the working class receive too small a portion of their

own product, and the evil would be remedied by giving them a larger share of it, or raising their wages, we should reply that crises are precisely always preceded by a period in which wages rise generally and the working class actually get a larger share of the annual product intended for consumption. From the point of view of the advocates of 'simple' (?) common sense, such a period should rather remove a crisis. It seems, then, that capitalist production comprises certain conditions which are independent of good or bad will and permit the working class to enjoy that relative prosperity only momentarily, and at that always as a harbinger of a coming crisis."

The remaining debris are kicked out of the way by Frederick Engels in the following footnote:

"Advocates of the theory of crises of Rodbertus are requested to make a note of this."

Certainly, Marx may have been wrong, and our N. E. C. may be right, but I cannot get rid of the suspicion that the N. E. C. intended its theory of crises as pure water Marxism. As for Rodbertus? I can see the poor N. E. C. scattering to their book shelves, to be convinced, each for himself, that Rodbertus really existed and is not a malicious invention of some evil-minded "syndicalist" or "I. W. W." etc.



AFTER THE WAR



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SAVAGE SURVIVALS IN HIGHER PEOPLES

By PROF. J. HOWARD MOORE

I. ORIGIN OF DOMESTICATED ANIMALS.

1. Domesticated and Wild Animals.

All domesticated animals have come from wild animals. Man was once a wild animal himself—before he had invented houses, and farms, and clothes, and vehicles, and art and science, and before he had acquired the enterprise to domesticate other animals.

In many cases it is possible to put our finger on the particular wild species from which each domesticated variety has come. In other cases this is impossible. This may be due to the fact that the changes in the domesticated race have been so great that it is no longer possible to identify the ancestral species; or it may be because the wild part of the species has been exterminated since domestication began and the species exists now only in the captive state. This last is true of the camels. There are no wild camels. All the camels there are in the world are associated with men.

“Wild” is an adjective which is applied to those races of beings which are not associated with man. Wild animals are sometimes thought of as being in an unnatural state. This is not true. It is the surroundings of the domesticated animals and of man that are artificial.

Animals are domesticated for various purposes—the sheep for its hair, the horse for its strength and speed, the cow for her muscles and milk, the pig for its “bacon,” fowls for their eggs and feathers, the dog for hunting and companionship, the bee for its sweets, the canary for its song, and the gold fish for its grace and beauty.

Most domesticated animals have been greatly changed, both in body and mind, during the period of their domestication. These changes have been made in order to fit the animals more perfectly to human needs. And these changes are destined to continue to go on through the ages to come. The masses of animated fat which we see waddling about human barnyards have come from the thin, active, belligerent wild boar, just as the mammoth apple and potato have come from wild ancestors so

small and tasteless that our luxurious palates would today regard them with disdain. We wouldn't likely eat the wild potato in the condition it was in when the Indians began to cultivate it. We have too many other things that are better. But the Indians ate it because their sources of nourishment at that time were very few.

The great changes in domesticated animals (and plants) have been brought about by *selection*, that is, by the long and incessant choosing of the more suitable for breeding purposes. Farmers select the best corn and the largest potatoes to be used for planting. And in the same way they select for breeding purposes the sheep with the longest and finest wool, and the best-laying hens. The domestic chicken is a bird; and in the wild state it lays a nestful of eggs in the spring and hatches them, and then lays no more till the next spring, like other birds. But by selecting for breeding purposes those hens that had a tendency to lay more eggs man has developed breeds that now lay eggs the year round.

In the same way cows have been developed to give milk for a year or two after the birth of a calf, although originally in the wild cows milk is produced for only a short time after the calf is born and serves as food for the calf until it is able to get its own food. By repeated emphasis of any peculiarity, either of mind or body, it can be developed in time to an extent almost without limit. It has been by this simple method of selection that “green roses” have in these later times been produced, and the spineless cactus, and seedless grapes, apples, oranges, bananas, pineapples, and potatoes. This process is called Artificial Selection, because it is carried on by man.

Science teaches us that it has been through a similar process of selection carried on by *nature* and extending through millions of years that all of the different species of animals and plants existing on earth have originated. The first animals were the lowest, and from these, through

Natural Selection, operating throughout immeasurable periods of time, have arisen all the higher animals, including man.

2. The Dog.

The dog is probably the oldest of human associates. It was domesticated by man at a very remote time, long before history, probably before England was an island, and when the long-haired elephants, called *mammoths*, still roamed the plains of Europe.

The dog was probably domesticated first as a pet, and later developed into kinds suitable for use in hunting, herding, burden-bearing and the like. All savages have dogs. The dog was the chief domesticated animal of the American Indians. Pictures of the greyhound are found on some of the pyramids of Egypt, showing that this particular breed of dogs had been already developed even in that far off time.

The dog is a civilized wolf. Darwin thinks that dogs have come from several species of wolves domesticated at different times in different parts of the world.

There are at least 175 different varieties of the domesticated dog. There are as great differences in intelligence and civilization among the different races of dogs as there are among the different races of men. The collies (sheep-dogs) and St. Bernards are among the most advanced of the canine races. The Eskimo dogs, on the other hand, are little more than wolves in harness. They look like wolves, they have the wild nature of wolves, their ears stand up straight like those of wolves, and their vocal utterances are more like those of wolves than like the bark of ordinary dogs. Wild dogs generally howl when they have anything to say, while the domesticated dogs bark.

The Scotch highlands would be useless for sheep-raising if it were not for the collie. The collie is a Scotch dog, and is used very extensively in Scotland to help in handling the sheep, because it is cheaper than men. A dog will work for its board, but a man won't.

The St. Bernards are large, beautiful dogs, with wonderful eyes and faces. They belong chiefly to the monks of Alpine monasteries. They are famous for their service in saving human life. One of these dogs died some years ago wearing a medal for having saved 22 human lives. All St.

Bernard dogs were once destroyed by an avalanche, except three.

The bulldog is noted for its massive jaws and great will. It was probably developed in early times to aid in handling cattle, especially the less ruly bulls. Man must have had a pretty hard time before he invented fences in handling his cattle, which were then much wilder and much harder to manage than now. And he probably developed this breed of dogs with big strong bodies, powerful jaws and will, and fearless natures, to help him manage his half-wild herds. The fact that the bulldog, when it has anything to do with cattle, goes to their head and tries to get hold of their nose and pull them down, seems to bear out this theory. The collie tends to go to the rear and drive, rather than in front to head off. The bulldog is passing away, because its purpose has been served.

The bull-terrier is a degenerate of the bulldog. Its use as a household pet and companion is not a compliment to human taste. It is not to be compared with the fox-terrier in sprightliness, beauty, or intelligence.

The turn-spit has short legs and a small body, and was common in kitchens before the introduction of modern machinery. It was the motor of the tread-mill. Man was pretty short on power before he hitched up steam and electricity, and so he developed the turn-spit to do odd jobs for him in the kitchen, just as he developed the hound to catch things for him that were too fleet-footed for him to catch.

Pointers and setters have been developed in the last 150 or 200 years. The pointing practice is probably the exaggerated pause of the dog before springing. When a dog comes upon anything suddenly, it always pauses a moment for inspection before going on. By selecting for breeding purposes those dogs that paused the longest, a kind of dog has been developed that doesn't go on at all, but stands perfectly still when it finds something and looks steadily in the direction of what it has found. We call it the *pointer*.

The Dog Family is a group of flesh-eating animals. It includes the wolves, foxes, jackals, and domesticated dogs. They all feed on the flesh and blood of other animals.

The wild dogs, that is, the wolves, foxes, and jackals, are by nature fierce, suspicious

and treacherous. And, whether the domesticated dog has been derived from one species of wolf or from several, or from the jackal, or from some species of wild dog now extinct, its nature must have been originally that of the Dog Family in general, that is, fierce, suspicious and treacherous.

The dog has been completely revolutionized in its nature since its domestication. It is now the most devoted, affectionate, and trustful being in the world. It has been said that the dog is the only being that loves you more than he loves himself. The collie watches after and protects and loves the very beings which its ancestors fed upon. No finer instance of devotion has ever been known in this world than that of Grey Friar's Bobby, a dog which slept on its master's grave for twelve years, until he died. A memorial has been erected to this remarkable animal in the city of Edinburgh, where he lived.

It is probably not saying too much that the dog, since its domestication back somewhere in the distant centuries, has made greater progress in intelligence and civilization than any other animal on earth, not even excepting man.

3. The Cat.

The domesticated cat has come from the wild cat—not the American wild cat, however, for the cat was domesticated long before America was discovered by the white people.

Some wild cats have long tails and some have bob-tails. The domesticated cat is, of course, from some long-tailed species, probably the wild cat of northern Africa.

The cat has not been domesticated so long as the dog, and it has not been selected so much for its devotion and intelligence. Its business through the ages has been to destroy certain small invaders of human homes, such as mice, and incidentally to warm the human heart by its musical purr. Notwithstanding its unimproved nature, it is generally regarded as a desirable ornament of the human fireside.

The cat and dog are the only flesh-eating animals domesticated by man. The cheetah, a kind of leopard, is sometimes used in hunting, but not very successfully. The Romans domesticated the weasel.

All other domesticated animals, besides

the dog and cat, are either hoofed animals, birds, fishes, or insects.

4. The Horse.

In the long and arduous journey from savagery to civilization, the horse has borne a noble and indispensable part of the labor of this world. Whether in war or in peace, the horse has always been an unfailing aid and friend of man. The warriors of Cortez, on their mail-clad horses, struck terror to the Indians, who had never before seen such splendid beings. The Indians thought that each man was a part of the horse on which he rode, that is, that horse and man were one animal.

It is commonly supposed that there were horses in America when the Europeans came here. But this is a mistake. The Indians had no horses, not even ponies. The pack animals of the Indians were the women. The llama was used a little in South America as a burden-bearer. The so-called "wild horses," which were rather common some years ago in parts of western North America, were domesticated horses which had lapsed into a semi-wild state.

The horse was probably domesticated in central or southern Asia. There are wild horses still found in some of the more inaccessible regions of central Asia. Wild horses live in small herds and feed on the grasses of the plains. They "run away" when frightened, that is, they stampede in a wild way.

The horse has been traced back in the rocks to an ancestor about the size of the fox with four toes on each front foot, and three behind.

The horse walks on the last segment of its big finger—on the *nail* of its big finger. The hoof of the horse is the best contrivance of its kind yet produced by nature. It is a modified nail, or claw. The horse-shoe was invented by the Greeks or Romans about 400 A. D.

Shetland ponies are natives of the Shetland Islands. They are probably degenerated, owing to the unfavorable conditions on these small, rocky, storm-swept islands. The forelock of the horse is modern. Wild horses do not have it, and no prehistoric picture of the horse shows a forelock, while every type of existing horse has one. It is a new feature which has been developed

during domestication, like the bark of the dog.

5. The Donkey and the Mule.

The donkey is a cousin of the horse. It belongs to the Horse Family. The close relationship of the donkey and the horse is shown by their ability to interbreed.

The donkey is a very unplastic animal. It changes little. The domesticated donkey is not very different from its wild ancestors, which still roam the desert-like plains of Central Asia.

The donkey is today out-of-date in most parts of the civilized world. But a few centuries ago it was common. It is now used chiefly in places where wheels cannot go. It is enduring, patient, and sure-footed, but slow. It is a "back number," and will in time probably join the buffalo and the American Indian.

The *mule* is a cross produced by the interbreeding of the horse and donkey. It is infertile.

The mule combines in a remarkable manner the good qualities of both of its parents—the patience, endurance, and sure-footedness of the donkey, and the power, size, and activity of the horse.

The mule is especially adapted to service in which the hardships are too great for the horse, and in regions of great heat. It is used little in England and Northern Europe and northern United States. It is a common burden-bearer in Spain, Southern United States, France, and South America. It was introduced on southern plantations by Washington.

The mule is the offspring of the male donkey and the female horse. It has the voice of its father. It brays like the donkey.

The offspring of the female donkey and the male horse is a very different animal from the mule. It is called the *Jinny* or *Jennet*. It neighs like the horse, never brays like the donkey or mule, and is more like the horse in general build. It is smaller than the mule. It is found to some extent in Spain and elsewhere.

6. Cattle.

There are four principal species of wild cattle in the world, inhabiting respectively North America, Europe, Southern Africa, and Southern Asia. They all belong to the genus *Bos*.

The American wild cattle were called buffaloes, or bisons. They once lived in vast herds from Maine to the Rocky Mountains, but now exist only in park preserves or in the domesticated state.

The European bison (aurochs) was once plentiful, but only a few survive at the present time in Russian preserves.

The Asiatic species of wild cattle has long been domesticated in India. It is the "water buffalo" of the Philippines. It is still found wild in the jungle.

The African or Cape buffalo has never been domesticated. It is a savage animal—large, powerful, and fearless. It has horns like bayonets. It is more feared by the natives than the lion.

The ancestor of the domesticated ox is not well known. But it is generally believed to be the European bison (aurochs). It is probable that man hunted cattle as wild animals for a long time before he domesticated them.

The American bison loves the grassy plains; the European, the forest; while the Asiatic and African species haunt the swamps and waters. The domesticated ox, therefore, was originally a forest animal; and it is still rather fond of roaming in the woods.

The ox was formerly used extensively as a draft animal. But at the present time cattle are domesticated chiefly for their milk and flesh. The horse might be developed into a milk-producing animal, if the time should come when man should cease to be a flesh-eating animal.

Mulies are a hornless breed of cattle that have been developed by man. Wild cattle need horns. Horns are their weapons of defense. But weapons of defense are useless in human pastures and barns, where no enemies exist.

7. Sheep and Goats.

Sheep and goats are mountaineers. They are found in most continents, usually in high, inaccessible mountain regions. They are inhabitants of the sky. They have been driven up into these regions of the sky by the murderous mouths of the wolves and bears. Up in this world of crags and cold they can leap from rock to rock and live where the wolf and bear cannot come.

The wild ancestors of domesticated sheep and goats were not Americans, but Asiatics. Asia was the cradle of man and of human

civilization. It was in Asia that man first acquired the intelligence to domesticate his fellow beings. And this fact accounts for the long line of domesticated animals hailing from Asia. In Asia, man for a long time carried on exclusively the domesticating business.

Most breeds of domesticated sheep have been developed during the last few hundred years.

The goat is an animal which has been developed in the hard conditions of high mountains. That is where it was manufactured. Its ancestors lived on almost anything they could pick up. This fact accounts for the ability of the domesticated goat to subsist on nearly anything it can find. The goat is a product of the barren peaks.

Sheep and goats have never been selected for their intelligence, but for their hair and milk. Hence they have remained at a low stage of mentality. While domesticated sheep have finer fleeces, they probably have poorer brains than their wild ancestors.

8. Swine.

The domesticated pig is a descendant of the wild boar of Europe, Asia Minor and North Africa. It readily returns to the wild state. So-called "wild pigs" are found in many lands and on many of the islands of the world. They are pigs that have escaped from domestication.

Wild hogs live in small droves and are very loyal to each other. You might think to see hogs eat that they have very little regard for each other—they are so indelicate and selfish and self-centered. But you let one of them get into trouble and send out the alarm-squeal, and the whole pack will fly to its defense with bristles up and uttering the most terrifying war-whoops. They will risk their very lives to help each other in distress. Wild hogs live largely on roots, which they dig with their short, powerful nose, or snout.

The domesticated swine of China and the East have probably been derived from the wild boar of India, a different species from the European wild boar.

The ears of wild hogs stand up, like the ears of all other wild animals, except the elephant. The wilted ear is a product of domestication.

9. The Reindeer.

The word *reindeer* is not formed from

the English words *rein* and *deer*. "Reindeer" means "pasture deer." The word is derived from the word *deer* and the word *rein*, a Lapp word meaning "pasturage."

The reindeer inhabits all three of the continents of the northern hemisphere. The American reindeer, which differs slightly from the reindeer of the eastern hemisphere, is known as the caribou.

The reindeer is domesticated by the Siberians and Laplanders, to whom it gives milk, flesh, hide, and draft service. A prosperous herd of reindeer has of late years been brought over by the United States government and established in Alaska. The reindeer can attain a speed of 10 miles an hour, 100 miles a day, hitched to a sledge.

In summer the reindeer lives on the twigs of trees, especially of the birch and willow. In winter it feeds on the so-called "reindeer moss," a lichen growing plentifully in arctic and sub-arctic regions.

10. The Camel.

The camel is a desert animal. It lives in the vast wastes of northern Africa and central and western Asia. It is no longer found wild. It is the chief burden-bearer of the deserts of Africa and Asia.

There are two chief kinds of camels—the one-humped, or Arabian camel, and the two-humped or Bactrian camel. The one-humped camel is often called the dromedary, and is used largely for riding. It is found in Northern Africa and Arabia. The two-humped camel is an Asiatic, ranging from the Black sea eastward through Siberia, Thibet and China. There are, in fact, almost as many kinds of camels as there are of horses—some of them adapted to the burning sands of the tropics, others to the snows of Siberia. There is a breed of racing camels that is very fleet of foot.

The camel is a wonderful being. It is highly adapted to its desert world. No other living animal could take its place.

Its toes are padded to keep it from sinking into the sea of sand over which it moves. That is one adaptation.

It has four stomachs, one of which is modified into folds, or "bottles," for storing water. That is another adaptation.

The hump on its back is a store of fat—a sort of commissary department, or pantry, from which it obtains its nourishment during its enforced fasts while on its marches across the burning plains. Many people

believe that the camel's backbone is curved upward in the middle. This is not true. The backbone of the camel is straight, like that of the cow or horse. The "hump" is merely a store of fat which it carries on its back to give it sustenance when it can't get food to eat. This "hump" shrivels or enlarges according to the scarcity or plentifulness of food. There are certain kinds of sheep that store their extra fat in their tails.

The camel has great endurance. It can amble over the yielding sands with 200 pounds on its back at a rate of 5 or 6 miles an hour for 15 hours out of the 24. It can keep this up for a week without water, and without anything to eat but thorns and cactuses and a ball of barley meal once a day. The camel can get along without eating and drinking because it carries its food and drink in one of its stomachs. The camel is not pretty, but very wonderful.

The camel is like the donkey, it never changes. It has been used from time immemorial, but is still only partially domesticated. It has the peculiar habit of expressing anger or disgust by "spitting" at its offender. The camel kneels to receive its load. And while the load is being put on its back it does a good deal of groaning and complaining. If the load is too heavy, it will refuse to rise.

The llama is a South American sheep-camel that is used as a pack animal to some extent. It exists only in the domesticated state.

The alpaca is a cousin of the llama. Its hair is made into the well-known alpaca of commerce. It was domesticated by the Indians. Alpaca cloth has been found in the tombs of the ancient Peruvians. The alpaca lives in herds in a half-wild state in the high Andes.

11. The Elephant.

There are two species of elephants—*Elephas africanus* of Africa and *Elephas indicus* of Asia.

The African elephant has never been domesticated, except by the ancient Carthaginians. It has large ears, tusks in both sexes, a convex forehead, and a fierce disposition.

Elephas indicus has long been domesticated. It has a concave forehead, moderate sized ears, and tusks in the male only.

The elephant has always been a favorite

of captains and princes and other vain beings who desired to add to their own appearance the magnificence of this splendid colossus.

The elephant very seldom breeds in captivity, and recruits must be obtained by fresh captures from the jungle. They are taken by the use of tame elephants. They are driven into a stockade and fastened and kept there till hunger and fatigue overcome them.

The elephant is used in India to handle timbers. It uses its proboscis, or trunk, which is an exaggerated nose. The proboscis is a wonderfully adaptive organ. It can be used to handle saw-logs or to pick up a pin.

There is no animal domesticated by man that is in its natural disposition so well adapted for domestication as the elephant. It has taken thousands of years to make the dog what it is. But the elephant can be taken right out of the jungle and in a few months it will undergo all the changes necessary to make it an obedient, intelligent, and affectionate servant. Elephants are intelligent animals, with good memories and strong feelings of affection and revenge. They remember kindness and injuries a long time.

Elephants were formerly found in every continent, except Australia. The mammoth was the European elephant, and the mastodon lived in both North and South America. These animals disappeared from the earth about the time of the appearance of the human species.

The earliest elephants so far known lived in Egypt in the Eocene age of geology. They had no trunk, but a long, prehensile nose. Their tusks were short, like boar's tusks. They were about the size of ponies.

12. Domesticated Birds.

The scientific name for the common domesticated fowl, or chicken, is *Gallus domesticus*. The name means the "domesticated fowl." The chicken was first domesticated in the Indian region of Asia, where man first came to domesticating consciousness. Its ancestor is believed to be the *jungle-fowl*, still wild in the jungles of India.

The jungle-fowl is dark-red in color, roosts in low trees, and nests on the ground. The males are great fighters, and sing to the sunrise as their descendants do the

world over today. The game cock, with its reddish color, slim, wiry body, and fighting nature, resembles more closely the wild ancestral form than any other domesticated variety, that is, it is more nearly in the "savage" state than other varieties.

The *peafowl* is also from southern Asia, where it is still found wild. The tame bird is not very different from the wild. The peafowl is domesticated for its splendid tail feathers. It is a bird of little sympathy, and likes to be alone.

The *guinea hen* is from Africa. It is not thoroughly domesticated and insists on leading a half-wild life yet. It is not found in domestication much, except in the southern United States.

The *turkey* is an American bird. It was hunted by the Indians with their bows and arrows. It was easily domesticated because of its feeble flight and its instinct to live in the same locality. The turkey was domesticated by the Indians. It was called the *turkey* by the English, because when it was first taken to England it was mistakenly supposed to have come from Turkey.

The *ostrich* is from Africa. It is a desert bird. It has only recently been domesticated. It is domesticated for its unrivaled plumes. These plumes are the tail and wing feathers. They are much more beautiful and humane articles of decoration than the feathers of song birds. The plumes of the ostrich are plucked out or clipped. There are extensive ostrich farms in South Africa and southern California. The ostrich is the only domesticated bird that does not fly in the wild state.

The *goose* is a descendant of the Canada wild goose, a bird found in all parts of the northern hemisphere. It is a grey bird. It haunts the swamps and water sides, living and rearing its young among the reeds and grasses. The tame goose retains much of its wild nature and many of its wild ways of acting. It is domesticated primarily for its feathers.

The domesticated *duck* is a Mallard. The wild duck has a strong and peculiarly beautiful flight. It summers in Greenland, Iceland, Lapland, and Siberia, and winters in India, Egypt and the Isthmian regions of America.

The common domesticated *swan* is from the mute swan of eastern Europe and western Asia. It is spotless white, with a red

bill and a black knob on the end of the bill.

The whistling swan inhabits Iceland, Lapland, and northern Russia. It has a coiled windpipe, and produces whistling or trumpeting tones. It goes to the tropics in winter.

The swans of the northern hemisphere are all white, while those of the southern hemisphere are more or less black, the Australian swan being jet black. The black swan for a long time existed only in rumor and vague report, and was generally supposed to be an impossibility. It is now almost exterminated in the wild state, but is extensively domesticated in Australia.

The *canary bird* is from the Canary Islands, where it is found wild. It is a common house-bird all over the world. The gold-finch and summer warbler are often by ignorant people called "wild canaries." There are no wild canaries outside of their native islands.

Pigeons have been domesticated three or four thousand years. There are now perhaps 200 different varieties of the domesticated pigeon—carriers, tumblers, trumpeters, pouters, fantails, etc. All varieties of the domesticated pigeon have come from the rock-dove of Europe. Pigeons mate for life. They are the only monogamous domesticated bird. They feed their young on "pigeon's milk," a liquid made from half-digested grain in the parental crop. The rock-dove is bluish in color, with two black bars on its wings. It is called the "rock-dove" because it makes its home among rocks.

13. Domesticated Insects.

There are over a half-million species of insects already known to science. The insects form the big branch of the animal kingdom. Only three or four species out of this enormous array have been domesticated by man. Insects are too small and weak for burden-bearers, and they are not, as a rule, palatable to man.

The *honey bee* was probably the first domesticated insect. Its home is in the Old World. It was not found originally in America. The wild bees of America are the swarms of domesticated bees that have escaped to the wild state. The honey bee is now found domesticated in all lands where flowers bloom and where the honey-making season is long enough to enable it to store

sufficient sweets to last through the winter.

Bees live on "bread" and honey. The honey is the nectar which flowers secrete and present to the bee as compensation for the bee's services in bringing about cross-fertilization. The honey is sucked up and swallowed by the bee and carried home in its crop, and afterwards regurgitated into the honey cells. The "bread" of the bee is the pollen, which it gathers and carries home in the hairy baskets of its hind legs. Some flowers, as the rose, do not produce nectar at all, only pollen. The fragrance of such flowers is in the petals or leaves. In the (sweet) eglantine the leaves are more fragrant than the flowers. Wild bees make their homes in hollow trees and rock cavities.

Bees do not store honey in the tropics much, because of the abundance of flowers the year round.

The social organization of the honey bee is of a very high order, higher than that of any vertebrate animal, not even excepting man.

The "silk-worm" is not a worm at all, but a *baby moth*.

The *silk-moth* has long been domesticated. It is a native of the highlands of China. And the Chinese domesticated it first. It is domesticated for the silk spun by the larva (caterpillar) when it passes into the pupa stage of development. The silk is the couch or cradle for the insect during its pupal sleep.

The silk is a liquid in the glands of the caterpillar, and hardens on exposure to the air, like the silk of the spider. The glands open by a common duct near the mouth of the larva.

China, Japan, and France are the great silk-producing countries of the earth. As many as ten million human beings are engaged in the silk industry.

The domesticated silk-moth has been in captivity so long that it has become flightless, like the domesticated birds. The larva, or caterpillar, of the silk-moth, feeds on the leaves of the mulberry.

The *cochineal insect* is a little red bug inhabiting Mexico. It lives naturally on the cactus. The dye (cochineal) is made from the brilliant bodies of these insects. The bodies are dried and ground up. Cochineal was used by the Indians as a dye before the coming of the Spaniards. It was long

supposed by Europeans to be a seed. The bug has been transplanted to Spain and the Canaries and a large part of the world's supply of cochineal now comes from these lands.

14. Summary and Conclusion.

Sponges and oysters are now "farmed" in many parts of the world much as horses and wheat are farmed in other parts, and may in a sense be regarded as domesticated animals. The sponge and oyster "farms" are on the sea-floors.

Leaving out sponges and oysters and the three insects which have just been mentioned, all of the animals that man has associated with himself as domesticated animals belong to the back-boned crowd, that is, are *vertebrates*. And if the goldfish and turtle are omitted, only the *warm-blooded birds and mammals* are represented among human domestics. By far the greatest number and most important of these belong to the order of *hoofed animals*, or *ungulates*. Excepting the cat and dog all are primarily *vegetable feeders*. All of the great burden-bearing races are strict vegetarians.

By far the largest number of domesticated animals are of Asiatic origin; the horse, donkey, dog, mule, water-buffalo, sheep, goat, camel, elephant, honey-bee, silk-moth, chicken, pea-fowl, goose, duck, swan, and gold-fish. The ox, pigeon, reindeer, and pig are from Europe. America furnished the turkey, alpaca, llama, guinea-pig, and cochineal bug; while the cat, canary, and guinea-hen are from Africa. The exceedingly large contribution from Asia is not due to the large size of this continent nor to the greater variety of animal life there, but to the fact that Asia was man's native continent, the continent on which the human species probably originated; the continent, at any rate, on which mankind first arrived at the domesticating stage of development.

There are something like 100 species of animals and 1,000 species of plants today represented in human commerce.

These races of being which man has associated with himself are *living beings*. They eat and drink and breathe, they suffer and enjoy, reproduce their kind and love their young, much as human beings do. They have been taken from their natural surroundings and forced to adopt ways of living that are often cruel, or even horrible.

There is nothing much more certain than that men and women of the far future will recognize their kinship with these races, and will treat them in an entirely different way from what we do. As Darwin says, "sympathy for the lower animals is one of the noblest virtues with which man is endowed."

This lesson on the "Origin of Domesticated Animals" is intended to be a preparation for lessons two and three. And lessons one, two, and three, together with lesson four, are intended to prepare for lessons five and six on "Savage Survivals in

Higher Peoples." The first four lessons of this series are, therefore, not directly ethical, only indirectly so. They are intended to make plain lessons five and six, which are ethical. We study first the survivals of wild life in domesticated animals, and then the survivals in man. But before we can study the wild survivals in domesticated animals, we must learn first that domesticated animals were once wild animals and learn something about the kind of lives they lived.

(To be continued.)



COMRADE RICHARDSON AND ONE OF THE SOCIALIST OWNED AUTOMOBILES USED BY THE SOCIALIST PARTY ORGANIZERS IN NORTH DAKOTA.

SCIENTIFIC ORGANIZING AND THE FARMER

By HENRY P. RICHARDSON, Minot, No. Dak.

SOCIALIST propaganda in the United States is passing through its kindergarten stage of development. The time has come when plans must be laid for the scientific organization of the exploited classes who are already within our reach and for effectively extending our propaganda to more advanced goals by methods heretofore unused.

One of the fundamental principles of

scientific socialism is the theory of Social Evolution. Methods of propaganda are subject to the same law. In a nation whose growth and development have, until a generation ago rested upon the individual conception of life, by reason partly of vast areas of land to be had for the asking, it is quite clear that difficulties arise when we face the farmers, who still hold some of these old individualistic ideas.



COMRADE RICHARDSON AND ONE OF THE SOCIALIST OWNED AUTOMOBILES
USED BY THE SOCIALIST PARTY ORGANIZERS IN NORTH DAKOTA.

The wage slaves in the industrial centers are more easily reached with our old form of propaganda. A large percentage of them have heard the message of Socialism. A very large per cent of those who DO really understand and desire Socialism are denied the ballot as a means to economic freedom, a fact to which a large number of our Socialist "leaders" give little thought. It is a vital and significant fact. Improved machinery and overstocked markets spew over the face of the land an ever increasing stream of disfranchised, migratory workers to whom our frantic "leaders" shout that emancipation can only be obtained through the ballot. When exhortations fail, they set to work writing prohibitions—things that these disfranchised workers MUST NOT do.

The "can't votes" and the "won't scabs" may be counted upon to do their share in ridding the world of parasitism in their own way, dictated by the very fact that, though forced to wander over the face of the country in search of work, they are DENIED a vote. They are politically powerless. When these slaves refuse to work for their board and refuse to permit the scissorbill patriot to do so, our statesmen, like Capitalist overlords, plan to bring over a million or two war-blasted Belgians to "develop" the country, when literally millions of our own wage slaves are already migratory wanderers, wholly, or, more often, only partially, employed at beggarly wages.

What have we to offer these disfranchised wage slaves, native and European?

Naturally, the Socialist movement in the United States has developed first in the industrial centers, its propaganda carried on largely by comrades forced out of Europe and known as "damned foreigners." And gradually there arose among our propagandists the vision of "captured Socialist Cities." It did not occur to them that wage workers are forced to everlastingly CHANGE cities in their hunt for jobs, thus losing their chance to vote for municipal toilets and red water plugs. They forget that the problems of governing a city deal largely with EFFECTS instead of with CAUSES. They did not consider the vast population of robbed and exploited slaves who live outside the cities.

They did not even realize that they were scabbing on the respectable bourgeois reformers whose life work is "inaugurating reforms and relieving the poor." And so we have had our fling at "Municipal Socialism," most of the "immediate demands" of which are already engrafted on the programs of every Non-Partisan and "Independent" municipal platform in the cities of America.

What have we, as Socialists, to do with the quarrels between different groups of franchise grabbing capitalists on one hand and an expiring, money-grubbing group of shopkeepers on the other? The street car motorman and the girl slave in the department store are robbed just as much at the Pay Window, whether car fares are 3 cents or 5 cents. Lower prices reduce their wages.

Now, as to the farmer and the relation that Socialism bears to his economic struggle. Our movement has become, for the most part, bound up in solving the city problems of those who rob us. We seem to have forgotten the needs of the several millions of farmers whom we can serve now.

Heretofore our propagandists have spent their time telling them of the atrocities in Calumet, the roasting of women and children in Colorado and the pumping of lead into the grime-smear'd bodies of the West Virginia miners. We have distinguished "leaders" and erstwhile "statesmen" galloping over the vast expanse of the mortgage-ridden West boasting about "what we did in Milwaukee," what we "would have done in Schenectady if the sympathetic vote had not failed us," etc., etc. Until very recently our Socialist press has been filled with inconsequential matters of no value to the Socialistic movement as a whole and of no value to the farmer in particular.

There are just three kinds of farmers, from Maine, North Dakota, Texas to California:

1. The farmer who does nothing but *farm the farm*.
2. The "farmer" who has successfully speculated in farm land and owns more land than his family can farm. He rents part of his land to *real* farmers.

3. The "farmer" who farms the *farmer and the farm*; the "farmer" who does no farming himself.

The first is on every farm, whether he owns or rents it. There are millions of these farmers in America. The second kind, who farms the farmer, is of that class that has had good luck in escaping the forms of parasitism from which the farmers suffer. Besides actually having farmed his farm, he has usually exploited a brood of children and his wife. Frequently, on the side, he "deals in lands," thus developing into an embryonic capitalist. Real estate speculating is NOT farming. Often when asking one of these boasting successes a few questions, we find that this "farmer" has made his money in land speculation, through the constantly rising price in land, using the proceeds to deal in mortgages and foreclosures precisely as does the third class in this farmer triumvirate. He may deal in cattle and live stock "on the side." In other words, he is in *trade*. Sometimes he wears Colonel in front of his name and serves as an auctioneer. We have no criticism to make on these men and their activities in a capitalist society, but we must bear in mind that we are trying to ANALYZE the FARMER class in America.

The third class, the farmer who farms the *farmer and the farm*, is a hydra-headed creature indulging in many activities. He is at one and the same time a pawn-broker (although he calls himself a banker), an owner of local elevators, terminal elevators, flour mills, railroads, steamships, slaughter-houses, storage and warehouses, through or over which the products of the first and second class of farmers must pass in their process of transformation from raw products into forms of food.

This "gentleman" farmer is a wise wag. It is he who employs lawyers to frame ordinances, laws and constitutions for his benefit. In North Dakota alone he employs 350 soiled doves of the press to emit daily, weekly and monthly "news" papers, "farm" papers and magazines loaded with the most effectual doses of anesthetic that a properly organized laboratory can produce. These printed messages find their way, day after day,

week after week, into the rural mail boxes of farmers No. 1 and No. 2.

Special articles constantly remind them of the "Empire Builder," Jim Hill; Jim Hill's speeches at County Fairs appear, warning the farmers to FARM better and to keep out of politics. And then they find a picture of one of the blooded bulls that Jim Hill has shipped from Europe and placed in different parts of the state where they will do the most good.

This capitalist farmer is a miracle worker. In the state of North Dakota, 90 per cent of whose population is engaged exclusively in farming and 75 per cent of whom live in the country, he causes the farmers to send a solid delegation of LAWYERS and BANKERS to represent their interests in Washington, and an overwhelming delegation of the same parasitical class to legislate FOR THEM, at the State Capitol.

These are genuine miracles!

Capitalist Farmer No. 3 supplements his journalistic anesthetic by sending Evangelists around the communities to hold "revivals" among the wretched farmers. At such times the farmers are cautioned against Socialism, advised to bear their burdens with patience and look to a future life for happiness.

At the very moment of these outpourings of his hired men, our rich "farmer" is counting up the 7 per cent or 12 per cent interest which he is wringing from these deluded farm slaves in the same townships. A glance into the books of any registrar of deeds in any farming district of the United States will reward one with a sickening and startling proof of the exploitation of millions of the farmers who farm the FARM. "Farmers" in classes 2 and 3 will be found to "own" vast areas of land that formerly belonged to the farmers who FARM the FARM, snatched from them by foreclosure.

It is often claimed in justification that this condition exists because the farming farmers drink, or do not practice scientific management on the farm, or are not good business managers. Suppose all these indictments were true; and they are untrue. These are not the reasons for the loss of the small farms to the rich farm owners.

Bear this fact in mind. The farmer

who raises wheat or live stock or any other commodity that requires the process of manufacture to render it consumable for food—has not finished the process of production when he takes his product to market. He asks, with the spirit of a rabbit, "How much will you pay in today for wheat?" In most cases he takes what is offered because he HAS to, and right there the process of his robbery begins: in elevator charges, transportation charges, based on stock immersed in vast seas of water, terminal and elevator charges at the terminal market, milling of wheat and transportation charges including transportation to the farmer as a consumer, himself.

With wheat at \$1.00 a bushel, it is estimated that in the chain of transportation of wheat alone, the robbery after deducting a fair rate for each process, is 41 cents per bushel, from the farmers of North Dakota.

In the meantime, "farmers" in classes 2 and 3 are drawing from 7 to 12 per cent (average for 1913 over 9 per cent) on the mortgage indebtedness of this state only twenty-five years old.

Production of the product of the farmers who FARM lies several points beyond where he loses control of his commodity, and here is where Socialism will stop the robbery of this class of farmers.

A North Dakota state owned terminal elevator at Duluth and at Minneapolis, a state owned dam across the Missouri river near the center of the state of North Dakota, state owned flour and feed mills and terminal elevators at that dam; likewise a state owned stock yards at the dam, would extend the farmer's control of his own product to the actual point of production and would dispense with several phases of his exploitation. True social production would ultimately mean that the workers, either on the farm or in the mill or on the railroad, would receive their portion of the value of their joint product.

Here we have a practical program for the farmers of North Dakota or any other state where the farmers are class conscious enough to act together. The abolition of the usury practiced by highly respectable parasites could also be enforced.

Less than 10 per cent of the farmers of

North Dakota have become Socialists, but this is one of the most class-conscious and intelligent groups to be found in the United States. They know what Socialism means to the farmer who works the farm. They are political actionists themselves and they don't care a rap what tactics may be used by those who cannot vote. They are political actionists for the same reason that those who have no vote must be direct actionists, because they are bound hand and foot to their manure pile and the vote is their handiest weapon.

Farmer No. 1 is the least migratory of the Western workers. When he moves it is because spurred by the business end of a foreclosure or when the mortgage plasters on his back are so thick that they fall off, carrying the skin with them. The sharks like a "stayer," because it costs a few dollars to transfer a mortgage. No wonder the Belgians will be welcomed by them.

The farmers in Class 1 realize that as soon as they have carried the message of Socialism to their brothers, they will be able to send men (and, they hope, women) of their OWN class to Bismarck to repeal most of the laws now existing and make a very few NEW ones in their own interests.

The farmers in North Dakota are becoming interested in Socialism, but not by reading booklets on "Municipal Problems" or such literature as has befuddled thousands of interested inquirers in the past. It is not being done by speakers, who don't know a hill of beans from a hay stack, and who presume to tell the farmers who DO know all about it.

In North Dakota, the farmer who FARMS is ready for Socialism, while the "farmer" who made his killing in lands or stock or mortgages, is opposed to Socialism. These real farmers are impatient of propaganda from their neighbors. They believe they "know just as much as the next man."

Experience is teaching us that here BOOKS are the most potent of all methods of propaganda. Here, when the elements mercifully stay the toiling hand, the farmer has time to READ. If left to get his ideas from the junk usually left in his mail box, he will continue to hope to become a capitalist or to have faith in

having "pie in the sky, by and by." And this is just the time the Socialist organizations should be most busy.

The farmers are getting together and they are going to win North Dakota for Socialism. Watch us work!

RUNNING THEIR OWN BUSINESS

By BRUCE ROGERS

THE argument of the Employers' Association and their insistence upon the "open shop" is upon the obviously plausible basis that being the absolute owners they have the right to run their shops exactly as pleases them. They own them and there is nothing more to say.

As a matter of fact, so complex have our social relations become, no man owns anything in the absolute sense that he may do with it exactly as he pleases. He may not wantonly kill or mistreat his horse, and there are a great many ways in which a man may not do exactly as he wills with his house and lot. Waiving to one side these and other considerations of a public nature let us inquire into who are the real investors in these enterprises which employers call their very own.

Take a team owning or transfer business and suppose physical valuation comprised of teams, vehicles, harness, barns, etc., amounts to \$50,000.00. And here again we may pass aside the inquiry that this capital itself may have originated in the wrongful retention of wages of labor previously engaged. Suppose it to be rightfully the property of the team owners and now that they employ 100 teamsters at \$3.00 a day. This \$3.00 per day amounts to 8 per cent income on an investment of approximately \$12,500.00 for each worker, or a total investment by the one hundred teamsters of \$125,000, or two and one-half times the investment of the nominal owners. Now the teamsters, through their union do not insist upon a proportionate control of the business, but are content, through the closed shop, to bargain their services collectively to the team-owners. It so happens that this is just what occurs to the nominal owners or employers in other important directions but in which they make no objection whatever. For example, the bank

supplying the employer with cash, in its dealings with him, represents merely the collective bargaining of a number of stockholders and depositors. If the bank why not the union. Moreover the bank will emphatically insist on exercising a control over the business of the employers in those particulars of it wherein it is interested; that the teaming business shall be conducted along certain standardized business lines, that the credit it extends and the obligations it undertakes shall be limited, etc.

Certainly no team-owner fails to realize that he is far from being the boss of his own business in those particulars where the insurance company is interested, and by the way this is a superior instance likewise of the "closed" shop and collective bargaining. Neither the team-owner, his employes or customers may do certain things about the premises and there are regulations for the constantly daily observance of the "owners," terms of which are set forth in a policy or contract which is all the union seeks to do through the closed or union shop.

Neither the bank or insurance company care to conduct the teaming business and both of them realize that there is a limit beyond which they cannot go in exactions upon the owners without destroying the business which is exactly the thing they do not wish to do. Now the union teamsters are in the same boat and know very well to carry the demands beyond certain limits would be to destroy the particular business and so terminate the one thing they are interested in, employment, under conditions which permit them to live decently. Unions everywhere seek to enter into contract relations with employers which not only permit but guarantee the stable and responsible conduct of the particular business. The Typographical Union, for

suicidal for them to take such a course with, say, any daily newspaper as would result in the discontinuance of the plant.

If the banks and insurance companies with either inferior investments or none

example, know quite well that it would be at all, why not labor with its actual investment of bone and sinew, hearts and hopes and lives, and superior by coldly comparative calculation over all.

DIVORCE BY MUTUAL CONSENT

The Mexican Revolution Has Decreed the Dissolution of the Matrimonial Bond

I VENUSTIANO CARRANZA, first chief of the revolution, and in charge of the executive power of the United States of Mexico, in view of the power with which I am invested and considering that the essential aim of matrimony is the procreation of the species, the education of the children and the mutual assistance of the contracting parties to bear the burdens of life; that, as such it is always contracted as a lasting union, because the man and woman, in so uniting, expect to attain by this means the fulfillment of their most sacred ideals; that unfortunately the aims of matrimony are not always realized, and however exceptional these cases may be, the laws must in all justice provide for their relief and repair the mischief as far as possible, by relieving the contracting parties of the obligation of remaining united the rest of their lives, in a condition contrary to nature and the human needs.

That what up to the present time has been called divorce by our legislation—that is, the simple separation of the consorts, but without dissolving the tie, which is all that the law of December 14, 1874, permitted—is far from satisfying the social requirements of reducing to a minimum the consequences which it tries to avoid, because it promotes discord in the home, affecting the relationship between parents and children and making this demoralization extensive to society.

That this simple separation of the consorts creates, moreover, an anomalous situation of undetermined duration, which is contrary to nature and to the rights that every man has of pursuing his well-being and satisfying his necessities, as it condemns the separated consorts to perpetual inability to fulfill the highest aims of life.

That experience and the example of civilized nations show that divorce which dissolves the bond is the only rational means of repairing as far as possible the error of unions which cannot, and should not, exist.

That as regards unions which through an insurmountable incompatibility of characters have to be ruptured by the mutual consent of both parties, it is only necessary to ascertain the final decision of both consorts to be divorced and the absolute impossibility of settling their disputes (which can be proved by allowing a reasonable time to elapse after the celebration of the marriage until the separation is permitted) to prove thereby that the moral disunion of the consorts is irreparable.

That on the other hand, divorce by mutual consent is a prudent manner of covering up the possible guilt of one or the other of the consorts, through their willingness to be divorced, thus making it unnecessary to stain the reputations of their families or to leave the children with a stigma upon their name.

That it being well known that matrimony among the poorer classes in this country is an exception and not the rule, most of the unions of both sexes being effected by living together and very seldom being made legal, even in the course of time, whether due to poverty of the parties concerned or to an instinctive fear of contracting an obligation of irreparable consequences; under these circumstances it is evident that the institution of divorce which dissolves the bond is the most effective and direct means of reducing to a minimum the number of illegitimate unions so common among the lower classes, which form the immense majority of the Mexican nation, and thus diminish as a natural consequence the number of children of illegitimate birth.

That it is a fact proved beyond all doubt that in the middle classes of Mexico, due to peculiar circumstances of their education and customs, the woman is incapacitated for success in the economic struggle for life, from which results that the woman whose marriage turns out to be a failure becomes necessarily a victim of her husband and finds herself in a condition of bondage from which she cannot extricate herself unless the law emancipate her by freeing her from her husband; that in the middle classes the husband is almost always to blame for the separation and that it is generally the woman to whom it becomes a necessity; without up to now having been able to obtain anything but temporary separation from her husband, but without remedying in any way the economic and social conditions resulting thereby, and that is why the institution of divorce would without doubt tend, especially in the middle classes, to elevate the woman and give her possibilities of emancipating herself from the condition of slavery which she occupies at present.

That, moreover, the institution of divorce would find no serious objections on the part of the educated higher classes, since those of other countries where divorce is established look upon it as a perfectly natural thing.

That experience of civilized countries, such as England, France and the United States of North America, has proved beyond all doubt that divorce is a powerful factor to morality, be-

cause, facilitating the forming of new legitimate unions decreases concubinage and consequently the pernicious influence which it exercises over public morals; it gives more stability to affections and conjugal relations, insures the happiness of a greater number of families and does away with the grievous drawback of obliging those who through error or thoughtlessness made an unsatisfactory marriage to expiate their error by a life-long subjection.

In consideration of the above I have decreed the following:

Article 1. To reform the ninth clause of article 23 of the law of December 14, 1874, regulating the conditions and reforms of the federal constitution, decreed on December 25, 1873, as follows:

Clause IX. The bond of matrimony can be dissolved by the free and mutual consent of the consorts, when the marriage has been celebrated

longer than three years, or at any time, if there exists causes which make the realization of the aim of matrimony impossible, or improper, or due to serious offenses on the part of either of the consorts, which make the breach irreparable. Once matrimony dissolved, the consorts may contract new unions legitimately.

Article 2. Until constitutional order has been re-established in the republic the governors of the states are hereby authorized to make, in the civil codes, the necessary modifications to put this law in effect.

Temporary: This law shall be published by edict and proclamation and shall commence to be effective from this day on.

Constitution and reforms, Vera Cruz, December 29, 1914.

V. CARRANZA.

To Lic. Rafael Zubaran,
Secretary of the Interior, Present.

TREASON!

STATE OF OHIO }
BELMONT COUNTY } ss:

Before Henry M. Davies, a Justice of the
Peace in and for Richland Twp.,
Belmont County, Ohio.

John Iddings, being duly affirmed, upon his affirmation says, that one J. J. Ettor, late of said County, on the 19th day of January, A. D. 1915, at the County of Belmont aforesaid, then and there being under the protection of the laws of the State of Ohio, and then and there owing allegiance to the said State of Ohio, on the day and year aforesaid, in said County of Belmont and State of Ohio, unlawfully, maliciously, and traitorously did compass, imagine and intend to raise and levy war, insurrection and rebellion against the State of Ohio, and to carry into effect said malicious, traitorous, rebellious and revolutionary intent, did on the said 19th day of January, A. D. 1915, at said County, with a great number of divers persons whose names are to this affiant unknown; they, the said unknown persons, then and there being persons owing allegiance to the State of Ohio, to-wit, to the number of one hundred and upward, armed and arrayed in a warlike manner, that is to say, with guns and swords and other warlike weapons, as well offensive as defensive, and then and there unlawfully, maliciously, and traitorously, and in a warlike and hostile manner, attempt to subvert the Government of the State

of Ohio, as by law established, by then and there distributing and causing to be distributed a certain inflammatory, revolutionary and traitorous document, in the words and figures following, to-wit:

"Mass meeting at Bellaire:

"Fellow Workmen: Under the auspices of a group of revolutionists on the 19th of January, 1915, at City Hall, at 7:00 o'clock p. m., the well known agitator, J. J. Ettor, of New York, will give a lecture on the subject, 'Against war, for the class-war against all capitalists by workmen of all states.' Do not fail to come to hear this lecture of the noted agitator, especially at this time while the great European conflict is on. Anybody will be given the floor after the lecture.

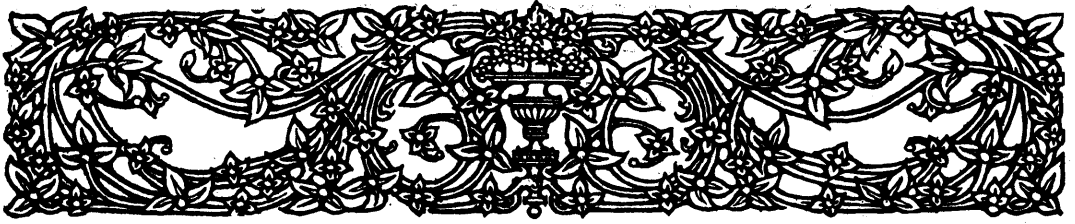
"COMMITTEE."

And by then and there gathering together in the number aforesaid, at and near the time and place aforesaid, with intent aforesaid.

(Signed) JOHN C. IDDINGS.

Affirmed to before me by said John Iddings and by him subscribed in my presence, this 19th day of January, A. D. 1915.

Henry M. Davies,
Justice of the Peace.



EDITORIAL

WHERE WE STAND ON WAR

Every intelligent workingman and woman is opposed to all capitalist wars. We vote against ALL war appropriations. We are opposed to ALL armies and navies. We object to having one workingman sacrificed to the interests of the capitalist class.

Even the capitalist has no patriotism in the shop, mill or factory. He talks patriotism and the flag when he wants to use you to fight his battles against other capitalists. But he hires the man who will work for the lowest wages, be he German, French, English, Japanese or American.

He exploits you, discharges you, permits you to starve regardless of your nationality. In every land he makes new laws, or evades old ones to bring foreign workingmen into that land when the foreign worker will work for lower wages.

He only emphasizes your nationality when he needs you to fight wars against other workingmen, who are also fighting for new markets for the employing class of the foreign land.

Workingmen of all countries have no fight against each other. Their interests are common. Their only enemy is the capitalist who exploits them.

The employing class is at present making all the rules in the game and every one of these rules is to further their interests at the expense of those who work.

We are opposed to ALL armies and ALL navies because they always have

been, and always will be, the weapons of the ruling class to keep us in wage slavery. The army and navy have never been used in the interests of the working class.

Just remember, when the politicians are considering appropriations for national armaments, that these will one day be used AGAINST us and never FOR us, that every army and navy means that some workingmen will be forced to kill other workers in the interests of those who exploit you.

We want NO army, NO navy, not one cent expended in the implements of warfare, because these will not only be used against us today but will successfully crush any rebellion or revolution on the part of your class and my class in future.

The only foreigner we know is the boss who exploits us, whether he be German, English, French or American. All workers are our countrymen. The capitalist is our enemy.

The only war worth fighting is the class war, the war of the workers against the robber class. The abolition of the profit and wages system is the only fight that will benefit US.

Better to lose a thousand men in your OWN fight than lose one workingman in the war for the bosses who rob you!

Not one cent for armies, navies or the munitions of war!

And a general strike to prevent war!
MARY E. MARCY.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

New Thoughts on Socialist Theory.

The war has proved a violent but effective schoolmaster. We had gone on for forty or fifty years building up a system of thought. In various countries this system had various backgrounds of political and economic facts. In Germany it was given its impulse largely by the revolutionary movement of 1848. In France it was until recently largely colored by the spirit of the Commune. In England it was given its character chiefly by the great labor struggles of the past thirty years. In this country it was largely determined by the gradual change from an agricultural democracy to an industrial plutocracy. Unity was given to the whole as international fabric by the development of capitalism as a world power. This tremendous development was a new thing under the sun. The Socialists had a theory which explained it. Therefore they felt certain that matters would develop pretty certainly according to their notions. To be sure certain groups tended to modify the theory, especially if they got a taste of power and had a chance to put theories into practice. But as a whole the system of thought perfected by Marx and Engels has been kept intact and the general conceptions of it held in the various countries have varied but little for thirty or forty years past.

Then came the war. In the first place, it furnished no reason for a general change in theory. In fact its occurrence was definitely in accord with the socialist analysis of society. Socialists had long been prophesying its outbreak. But the fact that the majority of German Socialists threw their mighty structure of Socialist theory overboard inside of twenty-four hours showed that there was something wrong somewhere. And the fact that their French comrades rushed to the defense of their nation with unexampled fervor seemed to point in the same general direction.

Under these circumstances some Socialists, or near-Socialists, or renegade

Socialists, began to shriek loudly that the International movement was wrecked forever. A few others, the blind and deaf said there was nothing wrong. To be sure there was slight misunderstanding between the German and French "Comrades," but that could all be fixed up very nicely when they had stopped bayonetting one another.

The International has not been destroyed, but there is something wrong. There is something wrong with us and there is something wrong with our theories. Not to go over the ground and make readjustments in the face of the change that has come over the world would be to prove ourselves but miserable survivals of a movement that has come to an end.

At the present time Socialist thought is responding with bewildering rapidity to the impetus given by the world catastrophe. From month to month it is possible for me to give in the foreign department of the REVIEW only the slightest indication of what is taking place. For the present I shall have to content myself with brief resumés of two lines of thought which are constantly appearing in Socialist journals of Europe at the present time.

The first has to do with our attitude toward nationalism. By this I mean, not precisely patriotism, but the feeling of national differences, the consciousness of national identity.

In *Die Neue Zeit* for January 8, Gustav Eckstein remarks incidentally while discussing another topic: "The undeniable outburst of nationalistic thought and feeling among our party members at the beginning of the war was a terrible surprise to many of our truest comrades. They saw in this development treason to the principles of Socialism, and the sorrow which they experienced at their disillusionment led them to view the parties of other countries in a more favorable light than that of their own."

Victor Fisher takes up this matter in an article published in London Justice.

"The first readjustment Socialism must make," he says, "is on the problem of internationalism and nationalism. The leaders of Socialist thought in the last few decades of the nineteenth century were, in many cases, exiles, essentially cosmopolitan in experiences and outlook. Many were Jews without any strong attachment to European nationality, but rather, for claimant reasons, disgusted with the narrower and baser forms of the nationalist spirit. The doctrine of the class war, the basic community of interest between

the workers of the world, the growth of the vast financial cosmopolitanism with the evolution of modern capitalism—all these factors contributed to impress on the Socialist movement a collaterally cosmopolitan character and tended to conceal from its disciples the enduring and indestructible quality of European nationality. Suddenly, at the blare of the bugle and the roll of the drum, the workers of England, of France, of Belgium, of Russia, of Germany, of Austria-Hungary rush to arms at the common appeal of 'the country in danger.' The International, put to the test, shatters itself against the age-old spirit of nationality. . . .

IN THE MARCH "MASSES"

IS THE TRUTH OBSCENE?

A discussion of the case of Margaret Sanger, who was arrested for teaching the means of preventing conception to working-women. By MAX EASTMAN.

THE WORST THING IN EUROPE

How the war has been taken advantage of by the enemies of liberty in Europe. By JOHN REED.

AT THE INDUSTRIAL HEARINGS

Personal impressions of the "giants of capitalism," as they testified before the Industrial Relations Commission. By INEZ HAYNES GILLMORE.

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"We shall remain essentially unscientific if we fail to recognize, or strive to ignore, this essential and enduring factor in humanity. Have we Socialists, like the men of the Manchester school, created a monster of our own imagining—the economic man, a creature that does not exist, and never has existed? We cannot weigh human nature exclusively in terms of material profit and loss.

"Our Internationalism, then, must be based on Nationality. As we are Socialists because we believe in the rights of man, not because we believe in a superstate, so we must be internationalists because we believe in nationality."

The remaining paragraphs of the article deal with practical applications of this idea. No doubt Comrade Fisher has taken into account the fact that a large part of the common chauvinism is the artificial product of an interested press. But underneath all the manufactured fury of patriotic love and hatred there is no doubt a stratum of natural human feeling which must be reckoned with during the entire period to which our theory and tactics may be supposed to have any practical application. Socialism is not for the millenium; it must take people as they are now and as they will be during the present century.

The other line of thought inspired by the war has to do with our estimate of maturity of the capitalist system of industry. In this country we are in the habit of saying that capitalism is ripe for revolution. Is it? Or has it further stages of development to complete before it has outlived its usefulness and, according to natural law, may be expected to break down? In an article published in the REVIEW some months ago Comrade Anton Pannekoek made some interesting observations on this point. The war has opened up new vistas of capitalist development and set others to thinking about it. In the Christmas number of *Vorwaerts* it is taken up editorially. After a quotation from Engels the writer goes on to say:

"Engels acknowledges that in the early fifties he and Marx overestimated the stage reached in economic development and held that capitalist production was ready to be replaced by another form. And at the present time, so complicated are conditions in various countries, so different are the nations in the fitness for self-government, that it is impossible to give a final judgment on the development of capitalism. But even if the hour of Socialist victory does not strike in the im-

mediate future, if a new era of capitalist development appears on the horizon, an era of imperialist expansion, an era of great international coalitions for the conquest of industrial power, and this era brings with it the evolution of capitalism to another stage in its development—even then we shall have no reason for resignation and feeble discouragement. Even then Socialist thought and the labor movement will not melt away and be absorbed in the capitalist superstate.

"To expect this would be to misread the whole history of capitalism. The growth of industrial power, the increase of the weight bearing upon the masses, the multiplication of economic distinctions between the capitalists and the workers—these will go on in the future as they have in the past. With the growth of imperialistic capitalism Socialism will grow also. Possibly the struggle will be carried on in new forms, for an alteration in economic conditions necessitates an alteration in tactics. But for the immediate future even more than for the past we must stick to our watchword: Forward to final victory!"

Much more important from every point of view are the conclusions reached by Heinrich Laufenberg and Fritz Wolffheim in their pamphlet, *Imperialism and Democracy*, recently published in Hamburg. This is the most important contribution to Socialist thought about the war which has appeared thus far. In a thorough-going analysis of the circumstances which led up to the declaration of hostilities, the authors show that war came at this particular time because, largely on account of the changed position of affairs in Persia and the Balkans, the moment had come for a forward movement in the development of the plans of Russia and England in the east. That is, the present conflict, far from being contrary to the interests of the imperialists, is part of a far-reaching plan to usher in a new imperialism with Russia and England, freed from the influence of Germany in Turkey, definitely in control of Eastern Europe and practically the whole of Asia. This gigantic conflict, then, instead of heralding the downfall of capitalism, surely presages its further development on a new scale.

But what of the organization in which the workers of the world faced this gigantic combination of capitalist powers? "The International" say our authors in their last chapter, "was the expression of the theoretic understanding of its own common interests as opposed to the world-bourgeoisie; it was a clearing-house

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for the exchange of experiences of Socialist parties in the various countries, a means of keeping the parties of these various countries in line with Socialist theory. It was never a closely knit organization definitely devoted to common action on the part of the proletarians of all lands."

They then go on to show how Socialism has gained influence in the various countries. The theory has been that the workers of each nation would usher in the co-operative commonwealth by overcoming the capitalism of that particular nation. In each nation the number of party members has grown. In each one reforms have been gained. In each, too, there has appeared a reformist wing with its tactics and its theories. More and more the notion has gained ground in each individual nation that gradually to gain control of the government, the separate, national, individual government, would mean the beginning of Socialism. The Socialist fight was thus on nationalist lines.

To quote again: "The expectation of the peaceful, gradual conquest of political power, of the gradual development into 'the state of the future,' lost its basis. For capitalism in its newest forms altered the functions and character of the state, and imperialism dictated conditions upon which all bourgeois parties united against Socialism. . . . Imperialism subjected the internal policies of the individual governments to its own international requirements. . . ."

"The imperialistic era transformed the conditions in accordance with which the proletarian struggle had been carried on. From this time forth governmental policies were determined, not by the development of national institutions, but by the necessity of acquiring foreign regions useful to industry in the process of its continued evolution. The problems to be solved no longer fitted within the framework of national political institutions; they had to do with international relations.

"Thus the working class faced the necessity of recasting its policies on a new basis. . . . If the various national industries had amalgamated the governments, if the workers were opposed, not by individual states, but by the great alliances of world politics, then Socialism was under the necessity of recasting its form of organization. The building up of great international capitalistic units should have been accompanied by a corresponding form of working-class organization.

"Before the Socialist parties of the various nations thoroughly understood the situation, before they had adapted themselves to it, just on the eve of the international congress which

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might have made a beginning in the direction of the necessary change, the war broke out.

"Since, then, the war came while the Socialist parties were still organized on the old lines, there followed just what was to be expected. The International broke down. . . . When will the proletarians of the world, especially some of their so-called 'leaders,' learn to look historic facts in the face?"

"The International is not dead any more than the working class is dead. Socialism is alive just as imperialism is alive. And after the war, no matter how it turns out, the more imperialism develops, the more will Socialism develop in opposition to it. The general directions of the coming development have been suggested; the outlining of a definite policy must be the task of a later time."

Though the policy is not definitely outlined, it is easy to guess the main idea in the minds of our authors. They are evidently thinking of a real international party which will fight the imperialists on their own ground on the international issues. Such an organization we have never had. To secure it the workingclass much reach a new stage in intelligence and discipline and power of co-operation. To reach this new stage means a long hard fight, the longest and hardest in our history. Of all times since our movement began this is the one in which we need all our forces working loyally together.

SOCIALIST EVENTS IN GERMANY.

Comrade Georg Ledebour, who, after the death of Wilhelm Liebknecht, was elected to represent the sixth division of Berlin in the German Reichstag, has retired from the Parteivorstand because of his opposition to the parliamentary policy of the Social-Democratic Reichstag section.

Two months ago we mentioned the division that had taken place in the ranks of the Social-Democrats at Stuttgart, when the critics of the action of the majority of the Reichstag section were put out, and the "Schwäbischer Tagwacht" was placed under the editorship of Keil, the Social-Democratic deputy for the city. The division is now complete. There are two parties, with two offices and separate funds.

The military authorities have suppressed the following Socialist newspapers on account of an article which they reproduced from the capitalist press. The

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The Green Symphony - - - - - John Gould Fletcher

The Case of French Poetry - - - - - Richard Aldington

The Last Woman - - - - - George Soule

The Liberties of the People - - - - - William L. Cheney

Much and Music - - - - - Alfred Knopf

A Hymn to Nature (an Unpublished Goethe Poem).

My Friend, the Incurable {
 On the Vice of Simplicity { - - - - - John Cowper Powys

While Hearing a Little Song - - - - - Maxwell Bodenheim

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article was entitled, "Workers' Fatherland."

The *Voksblatt* at Gotha, suppressed indefinitely. The *Weimarsche Volkzeitung* in Weimar suppressed for seven days as was also the *Eisenacher Volkzeitung* in Eisenach.

The military authorities have granted Rosa Luxembourg until the thirty-first of March to present herself for her sentence. At the present writing she is ill and is being taken care of in a Berlin hospital.

ITALY.

The executive committee of the Italian Socialist party, at its meeting in Florence on January 19, adopted a resolution in favor of the continuance of the neutrality of Italy, and decided to organize a series of propaganda meetings to be held on February 21 in order to ratify the resolution.—From *Justice*, London, Eng.

RELEASE ALL BLACK SEA PRISONERS

DEAR comrades, I wish to draw your attention to a question of grave importance to Russian seafaring workers. On October 28 last the criminal court of Odessa sentenced fifty-three trade unionist Russian seamen of the Black Sea to outrageously long terms of various forms of fortress confinement and imprisonment with hard labor and life banishment to Siberia. These fifty-three class-conscious toilers of the sea were arrested and had to remain in prison for eighteen months before being tried.

Sixty-seven seamen of the Black Sea had to stand trial. Of these only sixty-four could be found and they had been in prison eighteen months awaiting trial. Eleven of them were found "not guilty" and the other fifty-three of our members were summarily sentenced to eighteen years of hard labor, thirty-one years of various forms of fortress confinement, fifteen punishments of life banishment to Siberia.

Why were they so severely punished? These were the sole reasons: The publication of a trade unionist paper, "Moriak" ("The Seaman"), the organization of seafaring men into a trade union, and trade unionist action. This was all their offense; this was all their crime! The criminal court was cruel enough to indict them for offenses against paragraph 102 of the Russian criminal code, which is directed not against trade unionism, but against revolutionary political parties.

The trial took place at a time when the roar of cannon deafened the ears of Europe and the international situation has enabled the Russian government to maneuver the whole affair *in camera* and to conceal from the democracies of Europe its outrageous crime.

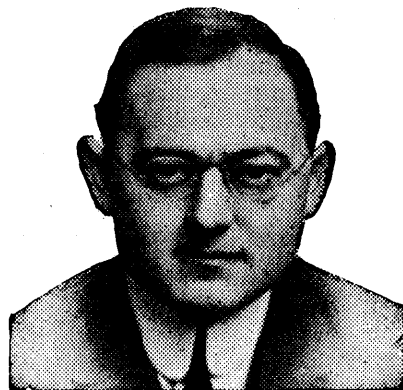
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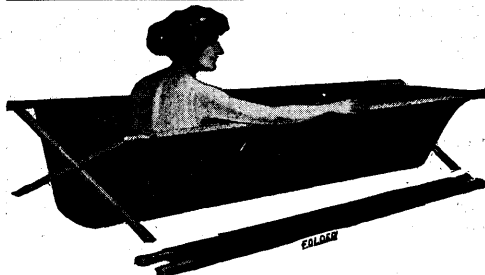
the International Transport Workers' Federation, held in London last year (1913), a resolution was unanimously carried protesting against the extradition and imprisonment of Comrade Michael Adamovitch (K. Arles) and demanding a fair trial for him. Comrade Adamovitch was editor of the "Moriak" ("The Seaman") and a delegate from the Russian Seamen's Union to this congress. After his arrest the organization entrusted me with his mandate. By joining the international we undertook to comply with its decisions, not only the present ones, but also those passed at previous congresses, and by this we confirmed our trade union policy. This policy should have proved even to the Russian authorities that we were a trade union and not a political organization. But these considerations did not weigh with the court, which had to safeguard the interests of the Russian Trades & Shipping Company, the chief shareholders of which are members of the Tsar's family. It was for their benefit that our comrades were sacrificed, our comrades whose only demand was that all trades, without exception, should come within the scope of the law of March 4, 1906, which law expressly deprived the seamen and the railway workers of the right to combine. The Russian government was afraid to legalize the seamen's trade union, but even then there were moments when our seamen, after great efforts, forced the government to recognize, though only temporarily, the seamen's organization in a legal form. But again and again the seamen's organization was crushed by the same authorities which had previously recognized it.

For instance, we established in 1905 and 1906 legal organizations of seamen in the Black Sea, "The Registration of Unemployed Seamen," and in the Caspian Sea, "The Seamen's Trade Union." At the same time we obtained after the most severe efforts a legal agreement between the shipping association and our seamen. In the Black Sea we even obtained the institution of discharge and wages books. The governor-general, Karan-gasoff, in Odessa, and the chief of the corps of gendarmes, Baron Taube, in the Caspian Sea, themselves signed the above agreements on behalf of the Russian government.

The legality of the Russian seamen's organization was again recognized by the Russian government when it invited representatives of our union and of the Shipping & Trades Association to Petrograd to confer with the ministry of trades and industries. Why did the government prosecute and declare illegal the same organization which it had recognized as legal previously? Why did it ignore what it had itself signed? The government paid not the slightest attention to these "scraps of paper," and our young but flourishing organization was ruthlessly torn to pieces.

After the breaking up of our organization the center of the union was shifted, first to Constantinople and thence to Alexandria, Egypt, and in those places we tried to keep the flag of Russian trades unionism flying. Our newspaper was published in Alexandria and our comrade, Adamovitch (K. Arles) was still editor. Adamovitch was really the founder of "The Registration of Seamen," and was its president. Unfortunately, our existence in Egypt was of short duration. The Russian government started a

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campaign against our comrades in Russia who were left behind to look after our interests, with the result that Alexander Takovleff and many other seamen were arrested. Further, the Russian government demanded under the Turkish capitulations the extradition of Adamovitch from Egypt, in which they were successful.

Now, under the capitulations the different embassies retain the sole right to look after the interests of their respective nationalities and to try them, but how far was this right really exerciseable in the past? In the time of the old Turkish regime the young Turks had often to flee from the tyranny of their government and they went to Egypt. All attempts to turn the capitulations against them failed, thanks to the resistance of freedom-loving Britain. The same course was taken in the case of the Hungarian patriot, Kossuth, when the Hungarian government tried to make use of the capitulations.

Why, then, did the British government play into the hands of the Russian government by handing over our leader and comrade, Adamovitch, who has now been condemned *in camera* to life banishment to Siberia? By transferring the center of our organization to Alexandria we entrusted our fate to the democratic English nation, knowing that in the past England always spreads its wings to protect those of other nationalities who were struggling to be free.

Since 1907 there has existed a sort of alliance between Great Britain and Russia. Does this alliance only hold good in matters of military importance and leave out all questions of humanity, justice and the well-being of the people of the two empires? Why did the love of justice on the part of Britain cease to exist when an agreement was come to between the two governments?

I appeal to all workers and especially to transport workers (particularly seamen) to give us their assistance. The Russian seamen are out for a hard fight to better their economic position and to secure their legal rights, and if they are free to combine, there is no power in the world that can keep them back. They are no longer willing to be regarded by the shipowners as cheap labor and by their fellow trade unionists as prospective blacklegs. There are many thousands of Russian seamen who have stepped from Russian ships to English shores; there are many ships engaging Russian crews from English ports. Help us to organize them all! Above all, we hope that you will raise your voice in protest against the brutal violation of the elementary rights of trade unionism as revealed in the sentences against our comrades and we ask you to join in our demand: "Release for all Black Sea prisoners!"

With fraternal greetings from the Russian seamen,
DMITRI ANITCHKINE,
Secretary Russian Seamen's Union Abroad.
Delegate to I. T. W. F. Congress, London,
August, 1913.
15 Wells street; cable st. E., East London.



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A simple home treatment which we are placing before the public will bring you the relief and comfort you desire. Stop spending money with dentists who do not help you. Don't waste your money on drug store remedies that are invariably, as you know, disappointing.

Write to us today and learn more about this painless, speedy, inexpensive remedy that you can use at home, so there will be no further need for you to undergo the long, painful or expensive dental treatment. Bridges, Crowns and False Teeth are unsightly and rarely satisfactory, and through this treatment of the causes of bad and sensitive teeth, gum disease and foul breath they should be unnecessary.

If you are suffering with Pyorrhea or Riggs Disease, gingivitis, receding gums, elongated or loose teeth; soft, discolored or spongy gums; if your breath is foul; if your teeth pain while eating; if you are subject to bad tastes—then, for your own sake, send for Dr. Willard's book and learn how easy his method is—how painless and speedy—how this simple remedy quickly and permanently gives sound, healthy teeth.

Just sit down NOW and write us for this free book. A few minutes will convince you that Dr. Willard's common-sense, simple Home Remedy is what you are looking for. Don't wait. There is no pain connected with it. We have received scores of letters from people saying they would have given hundreds of dollars had they known of Dr. Willard's Home Treatment in time. Address Dr. F. W. WILLARD, C522, Powers Bldg., Chicago.

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BROTHER accidentally discovered root cures to-bacco habit and indigestion. Gladly send particulars. Mr. Stokes, Mohawk, Florida.

NEWS AND VIEWS

Jack Whyte Dead.—Jack Whyte of San Diego died at McNutt's hospital, San Francisco, Feb. 2nd, 1915, of gun shot received in Tonopah, Nev., Dec. 22, 1914. This is the culmination of organization and free speech fight in Tonopah starting in June. The propagating of industrial unionism by flying squadron was followed by intense bitterness and hatred by citizens alliance and mine owners; first John Paucuer, organizer, was railroaded to the penitentiary for protecting himself against hired thugs; next came the restriction of free speech on streets, when the boys were so brutally beaten and abused the officers refused to arrest them. It was at this time Jack Whyte came into Tonopah, at once going to work with the boys for this constitutional right. He got permission from the county commissioners to hold street meetings. It was now time for the masters to pull off something and a big fire which burned the opera house and thirteen dwellings furnished the excuse. By the use of a Thiel stool working on a Russian boy by name Boris Thomsen, they succeeded in getting a confession for the fire, and then arrested "Whyte" and McGuckin as accomplices. At the preliminary hearing Whyte was turned loose, McGuckin being held to the grand jury on some evidence. Thomsen was sentenced to 21 years. The grand jury turned McGuckin loose after 30 days. On Jan. 19th Jack Whyte and McGuckin secured tickets and were leaving for California the following morning. They were having supper at Mrs. Minnie Abbott's house, she having been secretary of defense funds and very active in the movement. This gambler, R. H. Stegall, broke into the door with gun in hand and shot Whyte in the back. Whyte was taken to the county hospital and on being visited by justice of the peace and the district attorney for his deposition maintained the same attitude toward the capitalists' law that he did in San Diego, saying: "To hell with your law; I'll prosecute no one. I have been working to dissolve the state 20 years. Why should I prosecute any one. I have neither seen nor heard of justice in Tonopah." McGuckin was held on \$2,500 bonds on suspicion of arson. The gambler was released on \$500 cash bonds for killing. Do you wonder at Whyte's contempt for this kind of law?

A Rebel.

"It Can't Be Done."—The above sentence is the byword of a pessimist, and sometimes the phrase is used by revolutionists when trying to accomplish some mission in behalf of the social revolution. In the same breath it is used when a Socialist is asked to assist in pushing the circulation of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, especially those who are out of work and looking for a master. The writer was in the above "Can't Be Done Class" when he came to Chicago masterless, chasing a job until he thought himself of selling the REVIEW from door to door and business houses as well. We started selling 20 copies a day. Now we

can dispose of 50 a day and make \$4.00 by five hours' work without an effort. Any comrade out of work can do the same and assist in boosting the REVIEW circulation as well. Address the writer and he will send you a "Taylor Efficiency Talk" that will get results.—M. C. W., care of the REVIEW.

The Review in South Africa.—The following interesting letter comes from Comrade Chas. B. Mussared of Johannesburg under date of December 1: "Received 100 October Reviews safely and they are almost sold out. The Review is spreading the light into queer places. Strangers to the cause read the pictures which must convince any one that the Review is out for the straight issue of the working class emancipation. Quite a strong section of the movement here has formed a war on war league, but the opportunists, professional vote catchers are inoculated with jingoism. I would be glad to write more along this line, but, as you know, all letters to oversea countries are censored."

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn—Lecture tour begins April 4th.

Would the workers of your city like to hear this very able speaker?

Subjects are as follows:

1. War—Can Labor Be Neutral?
2. Small Families—A Proletarian Necessity.
3. Sabotage.
4. Direct Action vs. Local Action.
5. The Class War.
6. Women and the Labor Movement.
7. Lessons of the Paterson Strike.
8. Unemployment—A Menace to Society.
9. Solidarity—Labor's Road to Freedom.
10. The Revolutionary I. W. W.—Its Aims, Tactics and History.
11. The Eight-Hour Day.
12. The Mexican Revolution.
13. Violence and the Labor Movement.

For terms and date write to Wm. D. Haywood, 164 W. Washington street, Chicago, Ill.

From Philadelphia.—"If the working class of Germany, France and England had a fighting magazine like the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW explaining how and where the workers are robbed of the value of their products, its members would not now be murdering each other in mass action for the profit of the capitalist class of these countries.

"Why does not the REVIEW organize the many groups of working class revolutionary socialists that are scattered throughout the United States in an association to actively and effectively circumvent the nationalists of all stripes who are misleading the workers to support and continue the capitalist system with pleas for higher culture of fatherlands and democracy versus militarism?

"Help us to get rid of capitalism, both root and branch.

"The Revolutionary Laborers' Club of Philadelphia asks to be the first on your roll and

we enlist until the war of the classes is over. The club holds open meeting every Thursday evening and Sunday afternoon in Tyler's hall. Everybody invited; discussion.

"Enclosed find \$1.00 for twenty copies of the February REVIEW."—Rhoda Stuart.

From a Boiler Maker.—Comrade Rush of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, remits \$4.00 for REVIEW and writes: "I put the February REVIEWS on sale Saturday afternoon at five different places and sold 19 copies along the way." If the Review had 1,000 hustlers in the United States with the backbone and brains of this boiler maker, there would not be so many boneheads in the bread lines today. Wake up, you stiff, and get on the job!

Jim Larkin's Paper Suppressed.—Word comes from across the water to the effect that the Irish Worker, which was formerly printed by Mr. James Larkin, and which since the opening of the war has been unwavering in its hostile attitude towards recruiting, has been suppressed. A body of military and police entered the offices and took possession of the premises. All the copies of the paper were seized and possession taken of the type forms. The machinery was dismantled and was removed by the military to Dublin Castle. Copies of the paper were also seized at the premises of news agents.

"Thus far this makes four papers which have been suppressed in Ireland within a fortnight; *Irish Freedom*, *Sinn Fein*, *Irish Volunteer* and *Irish Worker*. Who says that England stands for freedom of the press?"

From a Sailor.—One of our sailor comrades writes: "Enclosed find two dollars for the REVIEW two years. I have little time in port, but I can't do without the Review."

National Socialist Sunday Schools.—Local Rochester, N. Y., has evolved a plan for a National Organization of Socialist Sunday Schools. Lack of space prevents our reporting all the comrades in Rochester have undertaken, but we feel sure all the locals will want to cooperate and get in the new movement. Address Rochester Socialist Sunday School, 580 St. Paul St., Rochester, N. Y., for full particulars.

For Larkin Dates.—Any union or Socialist Party Local desiring to engage Jim Larkin, the most beloved and feared labor organizer in Europe, he who organized the unskilled workers of Ireland into an armed group to protect themselves from the brutalities of the police, can reach his routing bureau by addressing Ben Legere at 75 Hilldale Ave., Jamaica, L. I., N. Y. Comrades from the east are writing us that Jim has "them on their feet most of the time" and that those who go to criticise remain to boost. If you want somebody to wake up your district, if you want to have new heart put into the organization, get Jim Larkin for a date.

The Pennsylvania Miner.—If the comrade who sent us the letter on page 508 of the February REVIEW about the mining conditions in Pennsylvania will send us his name and address (which we have mislaid) we will forward a communication received for him here,

with two sub. cards sent by one of the western comrades.

From England.—Comrade S. E. Hadden of London, England, writes regarding the socialists and the war:

"The whole moral of the war appears to be that if socialists in future identify themselves with the NATION and are prepared to fight in a "DEFENSIVE WAR," then hope of avoiding the next "world slaughter" disappears. For in my opinion, if anything is certain it is that in any future attempt at war, it will be made to appear, just as it has been made to appear in this war, that "our opponents are the aggressors," and on both sides the moral and intellectual forces of the nation will present an unanswerable case for this. After all, therefore, the old but nevertheless true Marxian dogma that **the workers have no country**, translated into action, appears to be our only saviour. It is essential, however, to translate this dogma into an organization which can ACT, for goodwill of itself, can accomplish nothing."

The Lodestar.—Covington Hall and a few of the Southern Rebels have started a small magazine called the *Lodestar*, published at 520 Poydras St., New Orleans, La., for \$1.00 a year. All of you who have read Comrade Hall's poems and editorials, who know how he is able to reflect the thick of the class war will want this new magazine. Get your friends to club a few subscriptions; send \$2.00 for four six months subscriptions. Ten cents will bring you a sample copy.

What Does International Mean?—Comrade Marlatt sends us a copy of *The Railroad Trainmen*, from which we quote a portion of a letter from a Canadian soldier, who is such a kind, unselfish cus that he proclaims himself willing to DIE for the big business of England. He says: "We are hard at work drilling and getting into shape to help bear the burden of our mother country and I have had very little time to write. I am a member of the Sixth Battery; when our country called I responded and we have been in training since August 12th. It is with pride that we know in a very short time every man will qualify for the front. Our magazine is an INTERNATIONAL publication and will not speak of what I consider Britain's righteous cause, but for the interest of some of the brothers I will write a few words relative to our trip. On October 3rd we saw the shores of Canada disappear and as we gazed, perhaps for the last time, on the last speck of land, where all our loved ones and friends are, we breathed a farewell sigh to the land of our birth, willing to lay down our lives for its glory," etc., etc., etc. (We have not space to print the rest of his twaddle in the REVIEW. The working class HAVE NO COUNTRY and this fool Canadian railwayman is merely fighting to help the capitalist class of ENGLAND prevent Germany from taking away some of her foreign BUSINESS.) F. L. Jacoby, member of So. Bay Lodge 731, shoots a bolt at Brother Patterson, the "patriot," that ought to find lodgment in his brain (if he ever had any or the Germans have left any), and germinate into an idea that would show him that he don't

know the first meaning of the word "Brotherhood" or "International." Among other good things Mr. Jacoby says:

We are among the common ones who are those stacked up in the fields to be torn to pieces by the musketry of manufacturers who are running night and day to produce bullets, powder, cannon and other munitions of war to destroy our "Brothers" in Europe. One of our Brothers has written an article for the Railroad Trainmen in which he says the publication is "International" and will not speak of the righteous cause of the allies. Still they, as members of our Benevolent Order, will take their bodies to the field of the greatest war that has ever raged in the world. These brothers have not even given a thought to the fact that there are BROTHERHOOD TRAINMEN fighting on the OTHER side and that their guns may kill one of their comrades. Brother Trainmen, let's give this question more consideration and see if we can't stop this war slaughter. . . . This should be the motto of every Benevolent Trainman instead of enlisting as cannon fodder or as makers of cannon fodder.

Good for Brother Jacoby! He has the right idea. The workers of France, England, Germany and Russia are our comrades. They are not our enemies, but our natural allies against the oppression of the capitalist class. The worker who volunteers to give up his life for the INTERESTS of the employing class is only a misguided fool. He permits himself to be USED for the business welfare of the very class that will force him to starve in his own old age. The workers HAVE no country. A real fatherland will look out for the welfare of its children—will take care of the workers when they are old, or will show them how to provide for themselves. The countries as they exist to-day not only refuse to care for the workers during illness, old age, or unemployment, but they drive these men out of cities at the point of GUNS for fear they will steal while they starve. Socialism will make every country a REAL FATHERLAND!

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Tobacco Habit Easily Stopped

Mr. S. D. Lent, a railroad man, was an inveterate smoker for 30 years. He used the strongest tobacco obtainable. After arising, he says he would light a pipe and keep it hot for the rest of the day, with the exception of meal times. Often he would get up in the middle of the night. The habit was doing him great injury. He got a certain book, the information in which he followed, and thereby freed himself from the habit quickly and easily. Anyone who uses cigars, cigarettes, pipe, snuff or chewing tobacco excessively, and who knows the injury being done through nervousness, heart weakening, kidney disorder, eye weakness, impaired memory, loss of vitality, etc., should write to Edward J. Woods, 242-F, Station E, New York City, and get the very interesting *free book* that will be sent promptly upon application.

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I have an important confidential message for you. It will come in a plain envelope. How to conquer the liquor habit in 3 days and make home happy. Wonderful, safe, lasting, reliable, inexpensive method, guaranteed. Write to Edw. J. Woods, 242 D, Station E, New York, N. Y. Show this to others.

Our Common Foe.—(From the Federated Furnishing Trade Society of Australia.) Sent by O. Schriber, Gen. Secy. We are exhorted, principally by the ARM CHAIR warriors of the Stock Exchange brand, to "stand shoulder to shoulder" in a conflict to retain "OUR" country. This leads us to the issue of grimmer reality to the whole working class rather than capitalist wars; to the fact of their economic conquest on the battlefield of Modern Industrialism, the bondage cords of which are spun of the superstitions of nationalist pride and workingmen's humility.

Yes! The workingman should fight; he should take up arms; but against a FOE WHICH KNOWS NEITHER NATIONALITY NOR RACE; a foe common to all peoples of the world and all grades of labor—intellectual or manual. This foe needs neither bugle call nor sloppy patriotic phrases to achieve its supremacy. Labor's enemy comes not at us with ensigns flying; subjection of the laboring classes has been obtained without this show and glitter.

To comprehend the extent of servitude which the working people disenfranchised in factory, mine and market—are compelled to endure today, we need but to glance upon the structure of our social system. It is here we will find a more cruel warfare (in the sense at least that it involves the direct persecution of women and child labor), more prolonged, (in the sense, at least, that National Peace does not bring Industrial Peace), and less humane (in the sense, at least, that soldiers are but automata in the hands of ambitious Military Leaders) than France's soil is now witnessing.

The dominating class in the daily life of all is the Capitalist Section whose very existence (as a class) has made inevitable the workers' social destitution. We cannot here involve ourselves in an academic discussion in economics. For our present purpose, the issue may be given in these few and simple words:

The Capitalist class, in acquiring possession of the avenues of wealth production has deprived the wage-earning class from participation in the essential and primary pursuits of life, save under conditions which compel the forfeiture of the product of their industry. It is not only mere ownership which fortifies the capitalists with economic mastery; their accumulated wealth, built upon the surplus of exploited labor, is in turn employed to further deny access to natural resources and to that extent the impoverishment of the working masses renders their own existence secure.

If this is not Despotism,—what is it?

OUR ANSWER

Capitalism is Labor's enemy, and, like the cancer worm, bleeds the life of the nation from within. The economic subjection of the Industrial masses constitutes a conquest more real and more complete than the Militarist Fiend dreams of. Militarism itself is but one of the accessories in the hands of the Capitalist class to more securely subjugate wage-earners. Therefore let us not be misled as our grandfathers were; whilst they had but visions, we have weapons. Shibboleths and a vain appeal to base superstitious passion are but snares

laid for unthinking workmen. But the worker, now conscious of his economic status will reply:

We have fed you, housed you, fought for you;

And you have stunted our souls, crippled our manhood, pauperized our declining years;

YOU, the sweaters of our children, the oppressors of our class;

Sirs! AFTER YOU THIS TIME!!!

Clear Heads in England.—Charles Harrison, chairman of the National Union of Brewery Workers, sends us a reply by the organization's president to a letter from one of the boys who tried to justify himself in going to the front. We wish we had space to reproduce his entire letter here. It is worth pasting on every lamp post in this and any other capitalist country. We quote in part:

"There is no such thing as 'Freedom' (elementary or otherwise) in any civilized country. Wherever civilization is, Industrialism reigns; wherever Industrialism reigns, Capitalism is rampant. Economic bondage is the one universal feature. Wherever wage slaves are held in economic bondage, 'freedom' is merely a term and will remain so until Capitalism is overthrown. We must overthrow Capitalism.

"Prussianism is the logical conclusion to that colossal abomination—capitalism, so is Dublinism, St. Petersburgism and Johannesburgism. Wherever you find an industrial country, the rulers are certain to desire the protection of their country (THEIR property, THEIR vested interests). This protection can only be assured by military organization. This military and naval organization is not composed of the ruling class, but of 'Henry Dubbs.'

"No army and navy has ever yet been in existence for the benefit and protection of the wage slaves—they have all been used for the protection of vested interests. While the wage slaves are fighting on the Continent, the stay-at-home capitalist is grabbing the trade YOU are taking from Germany. Will YOU benefit? Most decidedly, NO! You are simply tightening the noose of wage slavery around your own neck. When labor has a country to fight for then there might be occasion to bear arms.

"The FIGHT AGAINST Capitalism is all Socialists live for. We will not drop it for any other 'ism.' If all Socialists had refused to participate, no European war could have gone beyond the starting point. Because we were not sufficiently organized is no reason why we should offer ourselves for targets for the bullets of Capitalism.

"It matters not to me which nation started the war. I care not which nation is supposed to be right from the standpoint of commercialism (which is the only standpoint our rulers consider). I am but a class conscious unit in the proletarian army and every unit of that army is too valuable an asset in the class struggle to be killed by a comrade.

"Capitalism is your enemy as it is mine and Militarism is no more the cause of the war than is burglary, prostitution, wife-beating or drunkenness—all these and many others are only the outcome of what you are at present offering your life for, i. e., PROFIT MAKING."

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

Making Up Our Deficit. In the annual report of the financial condition of the publishing house, on page 503 of the *INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW* for February, I offered to make a personal contribution of one thousand dollars to the publishing house during 1915, provided other stockholders and friends among them make up an equal contribution. Up to the time of going to press only one such contribution has been received; it is from Comrade L. A. Jayne, an Oregon stockholder, who sends a cash contribution of \$2.30 along with an order for books. If one out of five of our 2,500 stockholders would do as much, the deficit would soon be disposed of. We certainly have a number of friends who could easily contribute larger sums, and probably would have done so before if they had realized how urgently the money is needed. We have always run the *REVIEW* at a slight loss and made up the loss from the sale of books. We have always sold our books to stockholders at just about the average cost, based on normal sales. The European war has cut off a large part of our sales, while it is impossible to reduce expenses in proportion. That is why there is a deficit, and it must be made up soon if we are to continue our work on the same scale as before. I am not asking others to do what I would not do myself. If I give \$1,000, what will you give?

CHARLES H. KERR.

Our Removal Sale. In a few weeks we shall move into a beautiful fireproof building near the lake shore, with plenty of air and light. Full particulars will be given in next month's *REVIEW*. But meanwhile it is vitally important that we sell a large part of our present stock of books before moving. This for two reasons: first, to reduce the quantity of material to be moved, and thus the cost of moving; second, to bring in the ready money that will be required to pay the bills. On pages 449 to 451 of our last issue we gave a list of the books to be closed out, with special reduced prices. We can not take space this month to

repeat the names of the books, but we will summarize the offers:

A full set of the Pocket Library of Socialism, fifty five-cent books, all different, for 50c; two sets to one address for 90c.

Twenty-nine ten-cent books, each 32 to 64 pages, all different, for \$1.00; 100 assorted 10c books for \$4.25, 1,000 for \$10.00.

Eleven 15c books, all different, for 80c; 50 assorted 15c books for \$3.75, 100 for \$7.00.

Eleven 25c books, all different, for \$1.20; 50 assorted for \$6.00, 100 assorted for \$11.50.

Six cloth-bound volumes with the *INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW* one year for \$2.00.

Forty-seven cloth-bound volumes uniform in size, or any books published by us to the amount of \$23.50 at retail prices, together with a fully-paid certificate for a share of stock in our publishing house, all for \$16.50.

We prepay postage or expressage on the books included in all these offers.

The offers all expire March 31, 1915, and it is better to order at once, since some of our titles are nearly exhausted, and will not be reprinted till after we move, while some of the books, especially the "Pocket Library," may not be reprinted at all.

Bound Volumes of the Review at 60c Each. Until March 31 we will, on receipt of 60 cents, send by mail or express prepaid a cloth-bound volume of 796 large pages, containing the issues of the *INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW*, from July, 1907, to June, 1908, inclusive. This price is far below the actual cost of manufacture, and our only reason for making the offer is that through a mistake too many copies of this particular volume were bound. For \$4.20 we will send to one address by express prepaid seven volumes of the *REVIEW* in cloth binding, including all issues from July, 1903, to June, 1910, inclusive. These volumes contain a detailed account of the events leading up to the founding of the Industrial Workers of the World, and the early history of the

organization. Volumes I, II, XI and XII are out of print and can not be bought at any price. We have a few each of volumes III, XIII and XV, and until March 31 will sell them at \$2.00 each. After that time the price of all volumes will be raised, since not nearly enough are on hand to supply the demand. No Socialist library is complete without a set of the REVIEW.

A \$1,500 Loan to the Publishing House.

Just as we go to press with the March REVIEW, a letter reaches us from Comrade Estelle Baker, author of "The Rose Door," enclosing a New York draft for \$1,500 as a loan to the publishing house without interest, payable on thirty days' notice, but which she thinks she will be able to let us keep for at least a year. This help makes it certain that we can for some time to come continue to take advantage of the cash discount on all our bills for paper, binding, etc., but as this loan must be repaid later, it does not relieve us from the necessity of providing for the deficit mentioned on the preceding page. All contributions for this purpose will be acknowledged in the REVIEW unless the contributors wish their names withheld.

A HANDY PRIMER

"THE Law of Biogenesis," by J. Howard Moore, might be called a primer of physiology, sociology and psychology. It is by no means as awesome a thing as these names might suggest, however. On the contrary, it is a distinctly interesting and informing little book, one which is worth while for itself, and yet more for its value to parents and teachers.

The central idea of the book is that the development of the individual repeats the experience of the race. Each human being starts as a one-celled animal and even at birth its evolution is far from complete. The new-born child can not walk, can not even crawl, but it can hold its weight by its hands—a reminder of the time when our ancestors lived in trees. In mental matters, too, there is a recapitulation. The things the boy likes are often very different from those that interest the civilized man.

Prof. Moore emphasizes strongly the

fact that it is useless to combat nature, but easy to direct her. Boys like to throw, to run, to hit things with a club, and it is useless to hope to scold these desires out of them. But they will get more pleasure from throwing a base ball in from the field than from throwing stones at a bird, more fun from lining out a hot one than from clubbing a cat. The gang spirit in boys is unescapable, but parents and teachers can become leaders of the gang, instead of delegating that important task to the neighborhood bully.

A good many biologists doubt the recapitulation theory of development, yet in its broad lines, that theory is indisputable. Whether it extends to all elements of growth or not may be questionable; also, it is probable that the overemphasis of any stage, such as that of the gang foreshadows the preferences of the child when he becomes grown. But Prof. Moore is on firm ground nine-tenths of the time, and on interesting ground all the time.

"The Law of Biogenesis," by J. Howard Moore; Kerr & Co. Price, 50 cents.

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The Law of Biogenesis

“EVERY reptile is a fish before it is a reptile, every bird is a fish before it is a bird; every mammal is a fish before it is a mammal.

“There is a time in the embryonic development of all higher vertebrates when they have not only a fish shape but breathe by gills like fishes and have two chambered hearts and the peculiar circulation of the fish.”

This includes the human animal, from the lowest savage in the depths of the African forest, to the scientist or engineer of the most civilized communities, as Prof. J. Howard Moore amply proves in this new book.

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He shows the origin of many unexplained instincts and impulses existing in modern man, which are heritages from our prehistoric ancestors. All these surviving instincts or tendencies must be understood in order to be checked or utilized. They may be made the *servants* instead of the *enemies* of progress.

The advantage in the struggle for existence always lies with the man who understands evolution; he realizes the trend of social progress and utilizes the forces at hand to further the interests of his own class. He wastes no effort in trying to stem the evolutionary current. Instead he rides upon it to ultimate victory.

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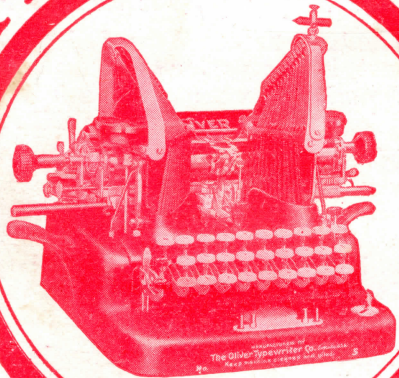
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