



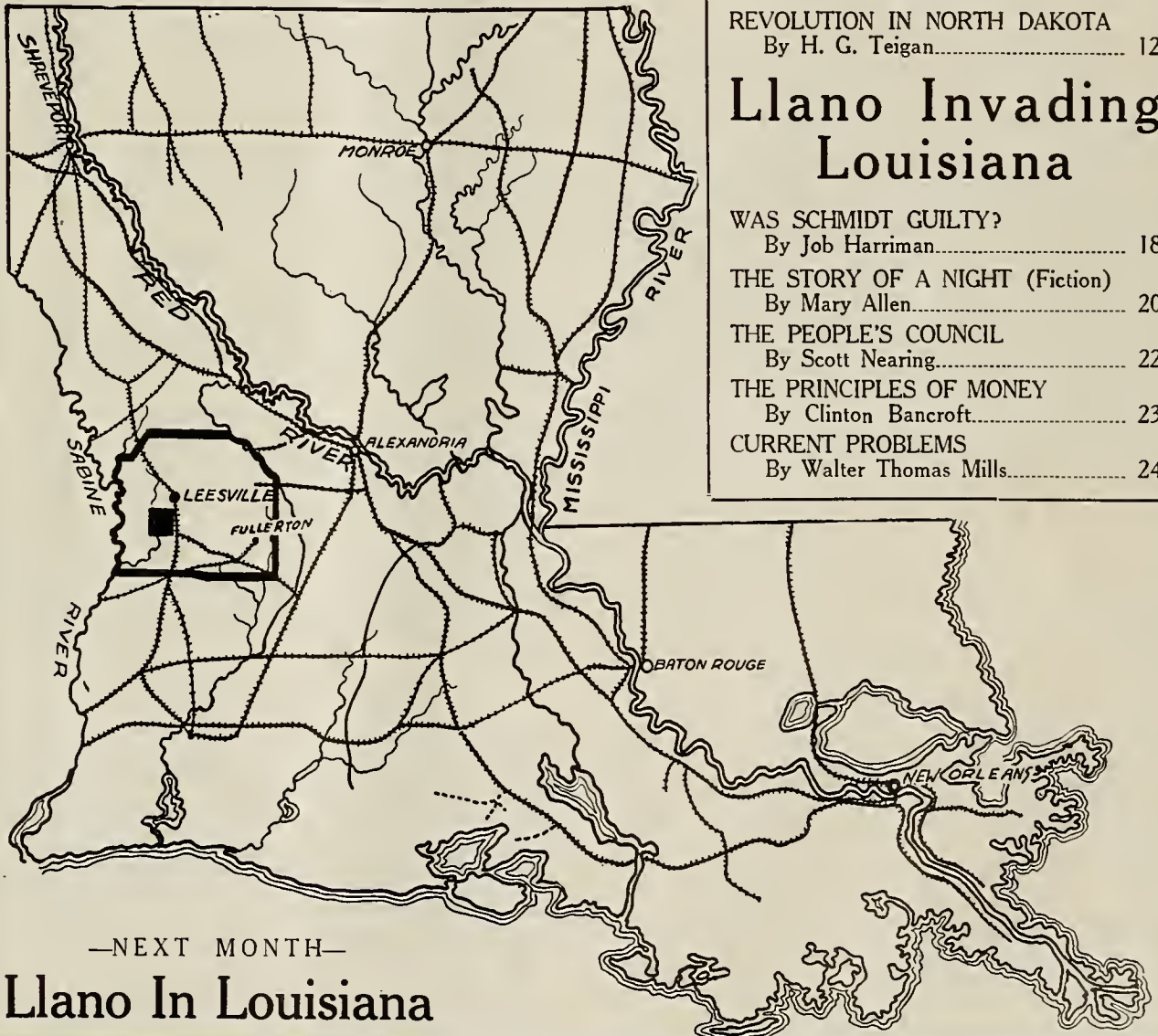
Western Comrade

November 1917

Price Ten Cents

Making Socialism a Power

--a Symposium



EDITORIALS	Page
By Job Harriman.....	3
DEMOCRACY AND EFFICIENCY	
By Alec Watkins.....	9
THE PROBATION SYSTEM	
By H. A. Sessions.....	10
REVOLUTION IN NORTH DAKOTA	
By H. G. Teigan.....	12

Llano Invading Louisiana

WAS SCHMIDT GUILTY?	
By Job Harriman.....	18
THE STORY OF A NIGHT (Fiction)	
By Mary Allen.....	20
THE PEOPLE'S COUNCIL	
By Scott Nearing.....	22
THE PRINCIPLES OF MONEY	
By Clinton Bancroft.....	23
CURRENT PROBLEMS	
By Walter Thomas Mills.....	24

—NEXT MONTH—

Llano In Louisiana

Your Gateway to Freedom

Llano's 16,000 Acre Plantation in the Highlands of Western Louisiana

THE Llano del Rio Co-operative Colony was established at Llano, Los Angeles County, California, in May, 1914. It attracted attention throughout the country because of the calibre of the men who were conducting it. Hundreds joined the colony and during the three years hundreds of acres of orchards and alfalfa were planted, a community garden was grown, and many industries were established, among them being the print shop, shoe shop, laundry, cannery, warehouse, machine shop, blacksmith shops, rug works, planing mill, lime kiln, saw mill, dairy, cabinet shop, nursery, rabbitry, hog raising, lumbering, publishing, transportation, doctors' offices, wood yard, vinegar works, bakery, fish hatchery, barber shop, baths, swimming pool, studio, commissary, hotel, drafting room, post office, Montessori school, commercial classes, library, and others as well as social features such as the band, weekly dances, instrumental quartets, musical societies, etc.

Not all were operating all of the time, but nearly all were successful. The social features of the Llano Colony at Llano were an unqualified success.

From the first, the intention was to form other colonies, extending the work as rapidly as possible. The first extension has been organized.

16,000 FERTILE ACRES

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

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

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

The purchase of this body of land was not made without careful investigation. The colonists at Llano appointed a committee of three who went to the land and carefully inspected it asking innumerable questions concerning it. Comrade Job Harriman had already looked at tracts offered for sale in various parts of the United States. None equalled the one purchased in Louisiana.

A TOWN CAME WITH IT

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

WHAT CAN BE PRODUCED ?

This is the first question. A careful investigation from many sources shows a good variety. These reports did not agree in detail, and in cases of doubt, the product named has not been included in the list given here. Cotton, sugar cane, and corn will probably be the principal crops, though sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, and melons do particularly well and pay good returns. Pecans are native to this region. Oats are profitably grown. Peaches, plums, prunes, cherries and most berries do exceedingly well. This higher region is being developed for figs to quite a large extent. Vegetables of all kinds thrive and produce prolifically. There is no better peanut land. It is not likely that citrus fruits can be produced here.

The first task will be to prepare the land for crops, and it is the intention to do this at once. Cattle, sheep, and hogs can be grown here and it is quite likely that the livestock industry will be given special attention.

PLAN OF DEVELOPMENT

Definite plans for the development of the new colony are now being worked out. Efficiency of workers will be insisted on. The eight-hour system, with the equal wage will be features. Industries will be established as rapidly as possible. The colony will undoubtedly be made to support a population of several thousand persons through the agricultural development and the industries.

The general plan contemplated is to make heads of departments responsible for the work they are in charge of, with a general superintendent in charge of the whole. Experience has shown that the interests of efficiency are best served in this manner.

The land will be put under cultivation as rapidly as this can be done. The housing will be the best that it is possible to provide, and no definite statements can be made except that wooden houses will be built at first.

TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES

Being on the main line of the Kansas City Southern railroad with a switch on Llano property, the matter of transportation will be a simple one. Two navigable rivers are not far distant. The port of New Orleans has steamers to the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of both North and South America.

WHAT ABOUT LLANO, CALIFORNIA ?

The California Llano Colony will be left in charge of a comparatively few men to develop according to a definite plan to which they will work. Orchards will be planted and cared for and the property at Llano made very valuable.

The work of transferring most of the population as well as the industries and the personal effects of the residents is a big task. The sawmill, blacksmith shop, farm implements, some horses, cattle, rabbits, and hogs will be left.

Residents and industries will be transferred in the order in which they are most required. The publishing department will be among the first moved.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

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

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

Membership Department
LLANO DEL RIO COLONY, STABLES, LOUISIANA

The Western Comrade

"The Most Constructive Magazine For Socialism in America."



Devoted to the Cause of the Workers

Entered as second-class matter November 4th, 1916, at the post office at Llano, California, under Act of March 3, 1879.

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

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The Western Comrade neither approves nor disapproves the sentiments expressed in contributions not signed by one of its editorial staff.

VOL. V.

LLANO, CALIFORNIA, NOVEMBER, 1917.

No. 7

Editorials By Job Harriman

ARSENE is the last message from hell. It is a gas with an arsenic base. Science knows nothing that will counteract its deadly effect on the human body. Nothing is known that will neutralize it in the air. A breath of it is certain death. It is odorless and invisible. It is heavy and requires almost a storm to carry it away. It hovers about its victim and makes the burial of the dead impossible. Certain death awaits those who come to bury their dead! The materials of which it is made are abundant and cheap. One air ship can carry enough, when compressed into a bomb, to kill every man, woman and child in a village of four hundred.

It was first thrown by the Germans into the ranks of the Allies. The bombs burst with such slight violence that the soldiers of the Allies thought that the Germans had exhausted their explosives. But in a few hours they suffered from blindness, spasms and finally death.

One American magazine suggests that the combined air fleets of the Allies be equipped and that this terrible gas be dropped on all the cities and towns of the Central Powers.

The Central Powers have made the discovery and are probably already prepared for a raid.

This deadly gas is fraught with the most appalling and far-reaching consequences of any war weapon ever conceived.

Woe unto the people of the world when chemistry assumes entire control of this war!

LLANO is now extending its operations into Louisiana. Llano, California, is located in one of the finest orchard districts in the world. It is high grade orchard and alfalfa land. But the land purchased in Louisiana far excels it for general farming. No irrigation and no drainage will be necessary there.

Those who have not visited all parts of Louisiana and are not familiar with its varied climate, have an erroneous idea of the agricultural possibilities of that state.

The highlands, where the Colony will be located, is one of the most picturesque countries on the continent. The land is

rolling and threaded with beautiful woods and creeks, with excellent range grass for live stock extending miles in every direction.

The bottom lands are extremely rich and the rolling lands produce large and abundant crops. Our tables can be bountifully supplied from our own range, fields and gardens the first year.

There is an abundance of hardwood timber to supply every want of the colony for furniture, finishing and building lumber and all domestic purposes.

The materials for a veritable empire are there. Knowing what we know of co-operation in Llano, we can say to the world that the future of Llano in Louisiana is a guaranteed success.

A force will be kept at Llano, California, where the orchards will be developed and the Llano property brought into bearing and great value. A full description of the new Colony property and its possibilities will be found in several numbers of the Western Comrade.

We commend a careful perusal to all who are interested in this wonderful undertaking.

THE END of the war is not in sight. Even the beginning of the end is not yet.

Before this war ends, the public mind must turn its back upon the accumulation of fortunes and move firmly for the uplift of humanity.

Ambition to make money has led to this world disaster.

Economic power in the hands of the few makes military power inevitable.

It matters not whether this power is in the hands of an aristocracy or a dynasty, the results must finally be the same.

When militarism rises, it of necessity takes the same form in every land. The most efficient military power becomes the standard and the pattern for all other countries. Superior efficiency compels all others to act likewise or be crushed. There is no choice. The world is patterning after the German

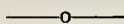
methods. These and other superior methods will remain as long as capitalism lasts.

Men may cry peace, peace, but as long as there are conflicting interests there will be hostile forces struggling to dominate.

Already we are being told that the war will last yet ten years and that men now living may not see the end.

If this is true, may the people not well ask if the present forms of government have not utterly failed? But all present forms of government are capitalistic in their nature. The surplus power arising out of all industries and commercial transactions is held by the few and used to determine governmental policies. And the governmental policies of the world have led to a world cataclysm. The abolition of conflicting interests in domestic, national and international affairs, and the establishment in their stead of a community of interest, is the only salvation for the race.

War after war, cataclysm after cataclysm, will follow in the wake of capitalism.



BRAZIL, Japan, and China have just entered the war.

As a source of food supplies, Brazil will be important to the Allies.

But the entrance of Japan and China is fraught with many misgivings.

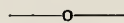
These countries can land their troops through the Persian Gulf on Eastern Turkish soil more cheaply than Occidental civilization can land troops in Eastern Turkey. But Turkey lies adjacent to the Dardanelles and the Suez Canal. There are the highways of commerce for Asia, Africa and Europe.

What if the ambitions of Japan should lead her to seek their control? Would England surrender them?

What if she were to join Russia in her demand that the Dardanelles, the Suez Canal, the Strait of Gibraltar, the English Channel, the Panama Canal—that all these should be free to the world? Would England and the United States surrender them?

These highways are matters of world interest and will be involved in peace negotiations.

When one thinks of a conflict between Oriental and Occidental civilization, with the Eastern resources untouched, the armies and navies of these countries fresh while the West is worn and weary and more than half spent, it shrouds one's soul with gloom and despondency.



NOT ONLY the throne of Germany, but the governments of every country stand perilously near a precipitate precipice over which they may any day be thrust, following the Czar of Russia.

Whoever has observed the operations of Germany must know that the crown will be cast down by internal dissensions rather than by external forces.

Von Hollweg was forced out of office by the Reichstag.

Dr. Michaelis is fast following for the same reasons.

Every succeeding ministry will follow more and more frequently until either the crown falls or a radical cabinet is formed.

The same condition exists in France.

A similar condition exists in England, though it is a little less pronounced.

Italy is similarly afflicted and the late German victories will aggravate conditions there.

Even our own country, according to the *New Nation* and *Current Opinion*, is unsettled. These journals are impressed by the fact that "the old war motivation has not been in evidence during this war." John Dewey, of Columbia University, advises political leaders to note "that it is rather a cool, dispassionate, even grudging recognition of a great job to be done"; while the late vote of the New York City mayoral campaign emphasizes the fact that he has not only told the truth, but that even more than he has stated may be true.

There is great danger of a popular reaction in all countries. Nor can one be surprised when death-dealing messages like *Arsene* ring throughout the world with the groans of the dying.

One thing is daily becoming more and more evident, and that is that we are rapidly evolving into a new order of things.

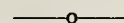
Our government has already assumed partial control of the flour mills and granaries, the coal mines, the food prices, and yet finds itself surrounded by a craven desire on the part of business men to reap enormous fortunes in this unfortunate hour of national distress.

The very business men who are crying loudest for patriotic sentiment are looting the country's resources by the commercial transactions, and by so doing, are committing acts of real treason to this country.

Every fortune so reaped impels others of similar greed to deal likewise, while each such act forces the government to place greater limits upon profits. The process is inevitable and if the war continues long, which it will, the government will frankly be forced to conscript not only all profits but all wealth.

This governmental act will be the ushering in of the new order. Let us hope that the government will not hesitate firmly to take this step. It seems to be the only step that will enlist the support of the masses who are now sorely feeling the effects of high prices, low wages, and heavy taxes.

By government conscription of wealth, profits and incomes, the war could be far more equitably financed, the interests of the people unified and public unrest to some degree, allayed.



THE New York campaign is the most illuminating fact in the political firmament of the hour, and Hillquit is the central star.

Hillquit! Who is Hillquit? He is a lawyer of the first magnitude. He has largely determined the present attitude and policy of the Socialist party.

He has had much to do with the general urge that demands of the government that it state its terms of peace.

He has always been opposed to the war and the vote he received not only astonished the government and this country, but it astonished the world. We were all amazed at the voice crying in the wilderness, "Make ye your paths straight!"

Well may we all put our ears to the ground and listen to the rumbling of the underworld!

THE SOCIALISTS of the world have for a quarter of a century foreseen this world war coming like a tidal wave, and have relentlessly struggled, in every way within their power, to avert it. Their power was not sufficient, but their propaganda has developed a world-wide movement that points to the solution of this world war problem.

It is true that Socialists thought that the conflict would come between the working class and the governments of the world.

If the struggle would have survived, democracy would have died, and plutocracy would have reigned supreme.

But the logical evolution of commercial and industrial events developed ambition for empire along with commercial and industrial dominion. This brought on the clash of arms between governments and not between the people and their governments.

Having foreseen the coming of the war for so long, and having believed that the struggle would begin between the people and their governments, the Socialists, for the most part, fail to recognize this war as the social revolution which they, for so long, have foreseen.

The complex situation puts the Socialists of the world in a most embarrassing position. They all belong to an international movement. They have met in international congresses for years. Their economic principles and philosophy are the same the world over. Their interests and aims are identical. The thought of shooting those with whom they have so long worked to avert this war, is unbearable.

Yet each and every one desires to be faithful to his own country. Between these two extremes they vacillate and find themselves in worlds of trouble. Many Socialists do not understand that this is the Social Revolution, while most people do not understand the difficult position in which the Socialists are placed.

If it were possible for all governments to conscript all Socialists to work in the domestic industries so that they would not be compelled to shoot the members of their organizations with whom they have worked so long, the vast majority of the civic discord would disappear and social evolution toward the new era would be promoted with greater harmony.

This being improbable, it remains for us to lend what aid we can to a public understanding of the situation and to bring about the greatest degree of possible harmony.

STATE SOCIALISM is rapidly and irresistibly marching upon the world.

The capitalists are opposed to it.

The Social Democrats are opposed to it.

But the logic of events favors it and so it comes.

Everybody, capitalist and Socialist alike, should work for it. It is the next step in civilization and is the only solution to our social problems.

If civilization survives, it must take this step. Failing to take it, civilization will relapse into barbarism.

State Socialism does not mean tyranny.

Universal suffrage and direct legislation are the antidotes for political tyranny. These movements are the forerunners

the world over, of government, industrial and commercial control.

Popular sentiment is forcing the former while the war is forcing the latter; and self-preservation will compel each nation to continue them both.

Thus it is that we are now at the birth of a new order.

MILITARISM is the child of special privilege. It springs as naturally from privilege as ambition springs from power.

They both lead to tyranny and oppression, then to revolution. Whosoever possesses a special privilege must shape the laws to protect him in the enjoyment of that privilege.

Every privilege protected by law results in increased burdens upon all save the beneficiaries.

As the beneficiary loves the advantages, so the burdened hates the disadvantage. Finally, the law becomes an object of derision and contempt.

Disloyalty, resistance, and riot follow close upon the heels of contempt for law. Then comes the cry for law and order.

Already having law to protect privilege, a military force is organized to preserve order.

Thus militarism is born of special privilege.

The hatred and contempt that sprang from the burdens resulting from legalized privilege are carried over to the military force that preserves order while the burden is still imposed.

Neither law nor order nor military power can induce or compel human beings to love a crushing burden. They struggle against a burden as naturally and persistently as water runs down hill. It may be held in check for a while, but the time must come when the pressure must be greater than the strength of the dam.

Then the revolution is on.

THE "LONDON POST" says: "The Allies are determined upon one peace only—the peace not of compromise, but of victory." Lloyd George, supporting this position, says: "A peace which does not give France Alsace-Lorraine, Italy the Trentino and Istria, which leaves Austria with Bosnia and Turkey with Armenia and Mesopotamia, a peace which restores the German colonies—would be disaster for the Allies and victory for the Central powers."

Peace with victory? Indeed! We entered the war for "peace without victory." We entered to "save the world" from Prussian autocracy and "for democracy." But England seems to think that we are staying in it for territorial conquest and aggrandizement, the conquest of her allied powers.

Peace without victory is right. But peace with victory would destroy democracy and make the world safe for autocracy.

THE NET INCOME of 29 steel, munitions, and machinery concerns was \$69,365,568 in 1914 and in 1915 it was \$596,236,644.

"War—what for?"

Simple enough.

Llano Invading Louisiana

“WHEN are you going to Louisiana?” This is the question asked and repeated. It is heard in the woods where the boys are getting out the logs to be sawed up into packing cases. It is heard at the tables in the hotel at every meal. It is heard in the machine shop, and wherever two colonists meet. This is the one absorbing subject of conversation.

The work at Llano is largely done. Fields have been cleared of brush. The sawmill is installed. Roads have been built. Houses are here a plenty to house the inhabitants for a long time. Industrial buildings and warehouses are built and in use. Remains only the planting and the caring for, orchards, the little gardening, and the irrigating and harvesting of alfalfa. A few men can do the work and do it well. The rest of the residents will now go on to Louisiana, to develop the new lands, to bring them into bearing, to erect houses, to establish industries, to organize socially. Definite plans for the work at Llano are being worked out and a quite complete general plan is already adopted.

But how to get to Louisiana—that is the problem.

It is 2000 miles, probably 2500 miles from Llano, California, to Stables, Louisiana. To move several hundred people there, to pack up their household goods, to move

to repair cars in case of breakdowns. Some of the boys are ambitious to hold meetings en route. At the time this is written nothing definite regarding automobile journeys to Louisiana has been decided on.

The automobile route adopted lies well to the south, and the towns visited are not large, most of them. The reason for keeping so far to the south is to keep away from snow as much as possible. It is estimated that the average time to make the Llano-to-Leesville trip will be in the neighborhood of 18 days, possibly more. The towns through which the Llano caravans will go are: Victorville, Barstow, and Cadiz, California; Parker, Wenden, Palo Verde, Buckeye, Phoenix, Chandler, Globe, Rice, Saford, Duncan, Heyden, Winkleman, Ray, Arizona; Lordsburg, Deming, Los Cruces, New Mexico; El Paso, Van Horn, Pecos, Midland, Colorado, Sweetwater, Abilene, Cisco, Ranger, Mineral Springs, Weatherford, Fort Worth, Dallas, Terrell, Tyler, Longview, Mansfield, Texas; Shreveport, Mansfield, Chadwick, Leesville, Louisiana.

The third departure was the publishing department, which included the WESTERN COMRADE and the LLANO COLONIST. Thousands of pieces of literature were printed in the six weeks just prior to departure. Extra help had been employed and frequently night shifts worked

While Moving—

To the New Home in Louisiana, the WESTERN COMRADE will possibly be delayed in the issue for December. Every effort will be made to set up the machinery as soon as possible.

All communications should be addressed, after November 15th, to

THE LLANO PUBLICATIONS,
STABLES, LOUISIANA.

them to the trains, to get them under way, to house them again in their new home—this is all a titanic task. But the people of Llano are buckling to their work. They know what they want to do. They have met and conquered bigger tasks than this one.

The first contingent left Llano for the South, Sunday, October 28, when George Deutsch, commissary man, and C. M. Cason, chief accountant accompanied Job Harriman. Comrade Cason will take charge of the books there and will have complete charge of the accounting, just as he has had at Llano. Comrade Deutsch, who has been in the commissary for several months, will organize and systematize that department at Llano. He will have better quarters at Stables than he had at Llano, and he expects to install a system that will be superior in many ways and which will be a source of pride and satisfaction from the very first.

Other contingents will leave as soon as they can be made ready. A number of the comrades plan to go by automobile, some in privately owned cars, others in Colony cars. Not many women will make this automobile trip, but for men who have been accustomed to “roughing it” there is the spice of variety to attract. Road maps have been diligently studied and efforts made to secure the most accurate, detailed, and uptodate information regarding the state of the roads. Expert mechanics will accompany the auto caravans

in order to get the work out with as little delay as possible. The big press ran every day and all day long. The little press put in good time. The linotype was kept busy; the stitcher and folder were scarcely ever idle during the daylight hours. Extra copies of the publications have been printed and special descriptive literature has been made ready for mailing.

With the going of the publishing department went the machinery of other industries, loaded with them and sent on ahead. Wood-working machinery and repair machinery went. Following them will come the other industries as rapidly as they can be made ready for the trip.

WHAT WILL BE DONE AT STABLES?

Stables is the little Colony town one mile south of Leesville. It is the new colony headquarters. Here the Llano Colonists and the new members will live and work out the solution of their ideals. Here they will live until they build their own new city. That is scheduled for some time in the future. There are many things to be done first, so the colonists will occupy the buildings they bought, except such others as are immediately necessary, and will make their way as is deemed best.

There will be a number of departures from the methods used in Llano, California. Some of them will be because of changed conditions. Others will be the result of lessons

learned. Others will be those which it was always intended should be employed, but which conditions never made possible before.

There will be changes in management that will result in increased efficiency. This is not a mere guess hazarded at random, but a fact. The departments will be better organized than ever before and their duties will be more definitely decided. There will be a better general plan. The men in charge are men who are experienced in the work under colony conditions.

Standardization of labor is to be a Colony ideal, modeled after standardized labor plans elsewhere. Many a letter has brought the question: What will you do with the man who does not do his share? With standardization of labor it will be possible to deal with this individual and to compel each to do his part toward the success of the whole. Out of it will grow an efficiency of production that will redound to the credit and benefit of the entire colony.

Other improvements in methods and management are planned, but it is still too early to speak definitely on them or even to say what is contemplated, for there are many contingencies, and the possibilities of their not being instituted at once are many. Therefore they will not be mentioned until they are accomplished facts.

The same general plan that has been followed at Llano, California, is to be followed in Louisiana. That is the collective ownership, of course, and the eight hour day and the equal wage, the commissary, the social features and social service, the use-possession of houses. The style of city has not been determined. No attempt will be made to remodel Stables or to make it into anything but an ordinary railroad town. When any effort is made to work out a city plan, it will be in a new spot, where no previously built buildings will interfere or inject new problems.

But all energies will be bent at first on the clearing and planting. Of course it is not necessary to clear the land in order to get crops, and the clearing will be deferred as much as possible so that the greatest possible acreage may be put in. There is plowing to be done, the purchasing of seed, the laying out of the land, the organization of farming groups and departments, and a thousand and one things to make the new colony a producer from the very start. No time is being wasted, and the small group of colonists now on the land is doing all it can, without altogether considering the eight-hour day, which is the way with enthusiasts everywhere who are intent on achievement.

The chief crops to be grown this year, aside from the vegetables, will be corn, cotton, forage crops, sugar cane, melons, sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, peanuts and oats. There will be others, of course, but those will be the chief ones. Unless the unforeseen intervenes, they will go far to sustain the colony, and there should be a surplus for sale. There will undoubtedly be a community garden, but in addition to this, it is quite probable that many residents will also raise garden.

Reports regarding the healthfulness of this district continue to come in from many different sources. It has been called the ozone belt. The piney Highlands of Western Louisiana are quite different from the lands bordering watercourses—along the Gulf Coast or along the Mississippi. Because the land is high and rolling, consequently well drained, there are no mosquitoes. Being no mosquitoes, there is no malaria. This region has been known as one of the most healthful of the South, and the health reports from the ozone belt are of the best. The most

authentic reports only have been considered, and all agree on the healthfulness of this region. A prominent physician of the ozone belt, of which the colony lands are a part, is quoted as saying, "There is tonic in the very air we breathe here, a natural tonic. That is why it is known as the ozone belt. The water is good and pure in wells of 45 feet and deeper. . . . There is another reason why we have so little sickness. The country is new and free from those influences of a thickly settled country where civilization has grown old and congested and careless, and besides, we have some very good practical laws on sanitation in Louisiana that help to keep our citizens clean and well and strong." Another prominent physician of the Highland district is credited with the following: "There are rarely any cases of throat troubles not preventable by reasonable care in dress and ventilation. The reason is that there are no violent and sudden changes of weather, such as are common in northern states. . . .

. . . . Persons affected with such ailments; and even with asthma and the primary stages of pulmonary trouble are materially benefited by coming to this country."

It is necessary to stress the healthfulness of the Highland district forcefully, because there is so much misinformation existing concerning Louisiana. That her swamps are large and unhealthful is not to be gainsaid. But the assertion might safely be made that every state in the Union has spots that are far from ideal as regards health conditions. Unfortunately for Louisiana her swamps have been far better advertised than her more healthful regions, and this dates back to ante-bellum days.

The Highland District of Louisiana is quite different from any other portion of it, and from the fact that it has been covered with heavy timber, and therefore was not visited by tourists, and not inhabited by a very large population, there is little information to be secured from those who have been to Louisiana. usually. It is also true that little printed matter exists regarding this district, for where there are few people there is little reason for putting much information into print, and without the necessity it is not done. This explains the difficulty of learning much about the Highlands from any books to be found in the ordinary library.

The land is well drained, is rolling, and the elevation of the colony lands is about 240 feet. The growing season lasts from seven to nine months. Some authorities give a longer growing season than this, but the time here is conservative and long enough to satisfy most persons.

Corn is likely to be one of the chief crops, if not the most important of all, for many years to come. Yields are good from the start, and a government farm adviser who has worked and studied Highland soil, makes the statement that the lands will produce up to 70 bushels. This is not on new land, however, but on land that has been well filled and well enriched and carefully farmed. He claims, however, that with one legume crop for fertilization, and using only ordinary care and methods, the land will produce 40 to 55 bushels to the acre. This is accepted as being authoritative, as the man who makes the assertion is in the government service.

Crops are quite certain in the Highlands, for the growing season is long. Late cold springs or early falls do not shorten the season enough, in the years when they do come, to endanger crops. Rainfall is sure; drouths are unknown. It is possible to take off a crop of corn and the same year to plant a restorative forage crop that will put back in the soil the plant food taken out by the corn.

LIVESTOCK OPPORTUNITIES

The West has always been associated with the cattle and stock industry; Texas, too, is usually considered in connection with stock raising, but few persons ever think of Louisiana as a State where cattle and horses, hogs and sheep have a very high place in the list of products.

Yet government reports of the opportunities presented for raising cattle and sheep and hogs indicate that this industry can be made a very profitable one. There was a time when the tick made this an extremely hazardous business, but science has found ways to prevent the spread of this disease and to eradicate it entirely. Government reports are now produced showing that the cattle industry can be carried on with the moderate guarantee of generous profits.

The number of forage plants grown in Louisiana or native to this State is not equalled anywhere else in North America, it is claimed. Among them are Bermuda Grass and Lespedeza, (a plant native to the South). Most of the clovers thrive there and produce heavily. Alfalfa does well. Cow peas, velvet beans, and soy beans are tried and proved crops. Sudan grass and timothy do particularly well. Sorghum can be grown as stock feed with great success.

Some of the forage crops listed here are well known to farmers from all parts of the country, but Lespedeza, which is held in high favor in Louisiana, is not so well known. It is an annual, greatly resembles alfalfa, has wonderful soil building properties, and will yield from one to three tons of hay, said to be equal in food value to alfalfa.

The stock raising end of farming, though offering great profits, has not been taken up extensively in the South, although more and more attention is now being devoted to it. The mild and pleasant climate makes it unnecessary to invest heavily in shelter for stock. The abundance of cheaply grown feeds of so many varieties reduces feeding expense to a minimum. Added to this is the fact that cotton seed meal can be secured at little cost for fattening, and corn can be produced plentifully. Peanuts and sweet potatoes are fed liberally to stock, especially to hogs.

Sweet potatoes and peanuts left in the ground when the crops are harvested will be found by the hogs so that none will be wasted. Root crops of all kinds are profitable for feeding.

Beef production is also facilitated by the abundance of crops and the variety that can be grown. The Colony should be able to produce beef of prime quality at an exceedingly low price, and there is no doubt of the ability to sell it.

Dairying, too, is among the industries that may be started at once and which promise good returns, even guarantee them, in fact. Here again the abundance, cheapness, and variety of feeds reduces dairying problems to a minimum, and markets are both near and good. Good standard bred cows are being brought into Louisiana, and the dairy industry is being built up rapidly. It is the intention of the Colony to enter extensively into the production of milk, butter, and cheese, and there are no obstacles apparent to prevent this.

The United States Bureau of Animal Husbandry is credited with the statement that the production of dairy food is at less cost in the South than in any other portion of the country, and it is impossible to conceive of conditions being more favorable in any portion of the South than they are in the district wherein lie the new Llano lands.

The poultry business also promises big returns in the Highland Plantation of the Llano Colony. There is no severe winter to interfere, and hens can range out of doors every day of the year, except during rains. The equipment required is probably the simplest that can be used anywhere. Poultry feed can be produced on Colony lands.

Splendid claims are made for sheep and goats, and the reasonableness of the claims is quite evident when consideration is given to the bounteous forage crops.

PUTTING LAND UNDER CULTIVATION

Many questions have been asked and many objections raised concerning the cultivation of stump-covered land. The average number of stumps to the acre is about fifty. The actual number may range from ten to several hundred. But clearing the land of them is not a difficult process, according to information that appears to be entirely trustworthy.

There is little undergrowth left. The trees were removed perhaps ten years ago. There is little except very young saplings which interpose no obstacles, and the stumps which are long since dead and dry. The principal task is to get the stumps out of the land.

These stumps are of the long leaf yellow pine variety. They do not rot because they are filled with pitch and rosin. Instead of branching roots, there is a main tap root that goes straight down. This would make their removal difficult but for the fact that they are so filled with pitch.

A machine is used for quickly boring holes into the stumps. It consists of a large power-driven auger mounted on wheels. A two-and-one-half-inch hole is bored into the stump, starting at the surface and boring diagonally through, emerging about 15 inches below the surface. By digging down to the hole and starting a fire, the stump is soon consumed, the hole bored through it acting as a flue that creates a draft which keeps the fire going. Soon nothing is left but a little pile of ashes. The entire stump is thus burned, clear down into the roots below the bottom of the auger hole. It is said to be a very efficient method and not expensive. The secret of the plan is the hole that leads the fire to the heart of the stump.

It is not, however, necessary to remove stumps in order to farm the land. Lacking lateral roots, the stumps do not present very great obstacles and it is possible to plow close to them. The land can be farmed before it is cleared, which is a distinct advantage to the colony, as it will permit cropping a large acreage at once.

WHAT WILL BE DONE FIRST

The general methods to be pursued will not be greatly different than have been outlined as colony procedure in the past. Many improvements in management will of course be made, as experience has demonstrated many things.

The housing and transportation were the greatest problems at Llano, California. They were eventually solved. The new colony at Stables, Louisiana, does not present these problems. The railroad, with a switch on colony lands, will lay goods down within a few hundred feet of where most of them will be used. There is already a hotel, and there are many houses suitable for immediate use, with abundance of materials on the ground or cheaply bought to erect residences of a substantial nature without much delay.

Of course the first task is to make people as comfortable as possible, and this is already being done.

The second is to arrange for the housing of industries.

There are large sheds and other buildings which can easily be made to do for this purpose.

The third, and one which must be carried on with the other two, is to prepare the soil and plant crops. Nothing must delay this work. It must be undertaken at once, and be carried on whether other work suffers or not. That is the law of farming the world over, for the seasons will not wait on the farmer's convenience.

The Llano industries will be moved, erected, organized, and started as soon as possible. It is quite probable that many of them will be come immediately profitable, not only as a colony venture for colony uses but also for the outside business that may be secured. While no prophesies are offered, it is evident that with a comparatively large population near by, a share of outside business should be easily secured. Llano has good mechanics and workmen, and if it becomes necessary to go into competition with the outside, there is little doubt that they will be quite able to hold their own, when they have colony backing.

Already the offices are established at Stables, and the visitors to the new colony are being hospitably cared for and entertained in the hotel there, which is quite adequate for present uses, but which undoubtedly soon will be outgrown.

The publishing department will be installed with as little loss of time as possible. Special efforts will be made to put this industry on a working basis at once. The publications will hereafter be issued from the new colony, the postoffice of which is at present Stables.

Farming in the South will be in the hands of those who know most about it, and every effort to secure knowledge of more efficient methods and more profitable crops will be made. While it is an accepted fact that the man who has farmed successfully in any district knows how it should be done and is the man whose methods should be followed, it does not follow that his methods are the best possible, and a constant search will be made for better ones.

There is little doubt but what the cannery will be established at Stables, but there is quite a lot of work to be done at Llano in the meantime. The Llano cannery is just finishing its greatest season. Canned fruit and vegetables, and the machinery and boxes and whatever is used must be packed for shipment. Plans are already being made to can vegetables in large quantities for the coming year. There will probably be less fruit and more vegetables put into cans next season as it will be several years before the Colony fruit industry can be put on a producing basis in the South.

The peaceful and constructive invasion of Louisiana by the Llano colonists is one that should be welcomed by the people of the South. The colonists have always been able to get on amicably with their neighbors, and there is every reason to believe that the people of Vernon Parish will have nothing to regret when they find the Llano people living amongst them. The Socialists of the South are

much interested in this peaceful invasion and promise a most cordial reception. Socialism was never more an issue than now, and never was more interest shown. Adding the efforts of the Llano community to the propaganda of the fighting Socialists of Texas, Arkansas and Oklahoma should go far toward cementing the South together for more liberal laws, and should strengthen the movement greatly, making it a Solid South for Socialism.

The Llano Community invites friends and skeptics alike to visit it, to learn what is being attempted, to join in making the ideals of constructive Socialism a reality.

Letters have already begun to come in asking for more information about the plans of the colonists. The question most frequently asked is, "What are you going to do with the Colony in California?" This is the question which the colonists at Llano asked themselves and the answer has been found.

The present plan, as has already been stated, is to bend most of the energies toward bringing the Louisiana Colony to the point of production as rapidly as possible. To this end the majority of the residents of Llano, California, are being transferred to the new property. But even within the last month, or at any rate since the Louisiana move was definitely decided on, new members have come to Llano who expect to stay here. They will remain. They will help in the planting of trees, the building of flumes, and the other work that must be carried on. Others will want to come to California, and they will be permitted to do so to the extent that there is work for them. As this is being written a comrade in Los Angeles writes to know about our plans for Llano. He wants to know if we intend to build a model city at Llano. It is impossible to give a direct answer to this question or to others of a similar nature. This is something which will be left to the

discretion of those who live at Llano. Certainly, if they wish to do so and it is deemed practicable. It is not just nor feasible for those who go to Louisiana to dictate what those who live at Llano should do. The only thing that may be said definitely and safely is that the Llano colony in California is to be retained and its development continued.

Democracy and Efficiency

By Alec Watkins

(Written Specially for Western Comrade)

THE opinion is quite general that Democracy and Efficiency are incompatible. In conducting our organizations we socialists help to confirm this belief.

We are not inclined to trust those in authority very far. A critical examination of history has developed in us a rather large capacity for suspicion. And frequently, when the necessity for suspicion has largely gone, the instinct still persists. In our organizations we are often afraid to delegate any real power to the officials we ourselves elect; we insist upon electing committees when far better results could be obtained by allowing the presiding officer to appoint them; we demand that all business be brought before the main body when much of it could well be left to our officers and committees. It would be difficult to devise a more effectual way of tying our own hands.

This is done in the name of Democracy; but it is no more necessary to democratic management than is poor accountancy, slovenly janitor-work, or anything else that produces chaos where there should be order.

It has been said that democracy is not a FORM of government, but a KIND of government: it is the kind of government in which the governed are in control of their own affairs, but the form it takes is a matter of expediency, and may vary according to circumstances. Popular control is the essential feature. Democracy prevents the control of the business of all of the people by a few of them, but to insist that all of the people pass upon all of the details of all of their business prevents any sort of adequate control whatever, even by the people themselves. In fact, if the members of an organization pursue such a course consistently for any length of time, they are likely to have no business left to control.

Efficiency does not require that the members of an organization relinquish their control of its affairs, but it does necessitate the placing of a larger amount of confidence in executive officers than we in the socialist movement are in the habit of placing in ours. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, but perpetual suspicion buys us nothing but trouble.

Criminality---The Probation System

By H. A. SESSIONS, Probation Officer
Fresno County, California

(Written Specially for The Western Comrade.)

MANY writers have commented on phases on the "Probation system," as if it were new, untried, of doubtful value and of questionable efficacy in the protection of society from criminals, and in the discouragement of crime.

I think it can be shown that in California, outside of San Francisco, in accordance with the population, there was less crime amounting to a felony, and excluding the "new-made" crimes, ending February 1st, than in the preceding year.

Every session of congress and of the legislature adds new crimes and misdemeanors to the already long list. To these the supervisors and city council add ordinances innumerable, until no man is safe from prosecution and persecution. The best lawyers in the state do not know the laws. Every man blunders along, liable to be picked up by some enemy, and publicly pilloried and disgraced, or perhaps summarily punished, and yet he may have injured, cheated, wronged or defrauded nobody, knowingly and intentionally.

With the growing multiplicity of laws, it becomes a matter of necessity that there be a sifting out of offenders and a severe restraint of those who knowingly, intentionally, and persistently commit injurious and anti-social acts; and on the other hand a lesser restraint of those who ignorantly, unintentionally, or under sudden strain or passion, commit some serious crime or misdemeanor.

Since the memory of man judges have had the power of "suspending sentence," or in other words withholding punishment. The offender was then free to go about as if no charges had been made against him. The essentially new thing about the probation system is that before the sentence is suspended a careful investigation is made, and that after the suspension of sentence the guilty party is required to keep in touch with a certain officer of the court in order to prove (probare) himself worthy of this lesser form of punishment.

As to the punishment of men placed on probation, let me say that their average term in jail before suspension of sentence is about two months. That ought to be ample deterrent for most people and is as much of that kind of punishment as will help any one to reform. The man on probation has temporarily lost his citizenship, he is subject to arrest without warrant, cannot enter into any business, nor move about from place to place without consent of the court, and if he lives up to his instructions, lives a more correct life than does the average man.

In Fresno county the utmost care is taken to find whether or not a man is a repeater of serious crimes, a professional criminal or has had a long criminal record and almost none of these have been placed on probation in the last four years.

So far as known only seven per cent of the men placed on probation in the last four years have committed serious offenses while on probation, and nearly fifty per cent of the men sent to state's prison commit serious offenses after they are discharged. The Blue Book of England for 1912 states

that out of 168,260 convictions for that year 104,171 had been convicted at least once before, and over 12,000 had been convicted more than 20 times each. This proves amply that sending men to prison does not protect society unless every sentence shall be for life. Short terms in prison are absolute folly so far as the individual is concerned. They do vastly more damage than good. The criminal short-termer, schooled in all the arts of vice, is turned loose without supervision, and the bad results to others are much greater than the good done by "making an example of him."

Suppose that every automobile driver that broke the least traffic regulation was put in jail for at least a month—none escaping. There wouldn't be so many infractions, but there would finally be a great many more criminals and the ultimate effect of such punishments would be a fearful lowering of social conditions.

Discharged convicts frequently say "The people put me in a position to learn a trade and they must expect me to work at it." And they do until they are again caught.

So far as the individual delinquent is concerned the probation system is, at the lowest, eighty per cent efficient.

As an effective deterrent and a factor in the reduction of crime, time only will determine its value. As yet there is no general increase of crime attributable to it.

In England, when more than a hundred offenses were punishable by death, there were more crimes of violence than now. It isn't prisons, sheriffs, policemen, prosecutors and courts that prevent crime. It is the free exercise of human rights, a fair share of the world's production for every one, education—mental, moral and physical—and the application of the golden rule.

I am interested in my work because of its great opportunities for helpfulness. The Probation officers reconstruct broken families, break up hopelessly vicious ones, find homes for un-

fortunate children, restrain vicious ones, protect the weak and helpless, secure for many children their educational rights, restore criminals to good citizenship, find jobs for the jobless and homes for the homeless.

I am interested in probation work, because I believe its net results will add richly to the sum total of human happiness. The probation system is constantly educating people as to the meaning of crime, its causes and prevention, and in doing this, is recording the results of much social experimentation. In the records of the Fresno county courts are hundreds of documents which were prepared in the probation office, showing, more or less correctly, the causes of crime, delinquency and dependency.

I freely predict that the study of the causes of crime will result in a new system of penology which will deal principally with causes. The probation and parole systems are also showing the possibilities of the control of delinquents outside of prison walls. The time is not far distant when no one will be sentenced to prison except those physically dangerous.

In olden times, the prison was principally a place of detention, pending trial and judgment. In England, at one time, the death penalty was inflicted for one hundred fifty-six of-

SENDING men to prison does not protect society unless every sentence shall be for life. Short terms in prison are absolute folly so far as the individual is concerned. They do vastly more damage than good. The criminal short-termer, schooled in all the arts of vice, is turned loose on society without supervision, and the bad results to others are much greater than the good done by "making an example" of him.

fenses, one of which was catching rabbits. One by one the punishments were lopped off, leaving the courts no alternative than imprisonment. Now that we know that imprisonment is probably the cause of more crime than it prevents, it becomes our duty either to invent new, rational and effective punishments, where punishment is desirable, or ascertain the cause of crime and stop it at its source.

We find that much crime is merely the result of weakness and adverse conditions, rather than a vicious habit of mind, and therefore such delinquents need help, education and training more than imprisonment. In cases of crimes against property, restitution from the earnings of the delinquents is often a better corrective than the prison, and much more satisfactory to the injured party. Imprisonment for property crimes usually results in complete moral bankruptcy. In the last analysis, I do not hesitate to say that the crimes of society against individuals are responsible for most of the crimes of individuals against society.

The greatest hope of our juvenile department in the probation office is the elimination of a large part of its work by other agencies, among them, the school, the church, the welfare commissions, domestic relations courts, and by legal enactments, such as the widow's pension, workman's compensation, health and employment insurance and shorter hours.

Such agencies should assume care and supervision of the neglected and defective, leaving only the criminally inclined or weak-minded in charge of the probation officer. The probation officer for juveniles should be more and more a special investigator and advisor for the juvenile court judge, and possibly a referee or assistant judge, and less and less an executive officer.

In the future, the probation staff will include a psychologist, skilled in mental derangements, both men and women medical and surgical specialists. This means ascertaining the cause of every delinquency and a prevention of its repetition by correcting or removing the cause, where possible; and permanent supervision, where impossible.

As the probation officer for Fresno county, I am frequently asked "What is the cause of the increase of the social evil and the consequently alarming increase of venereal disease?"

In my opinion there are many contributing factors such as lack of parental care, more leisure, night life, lack of wholesome pleasures and entertainment. But by far the most important is the economic factor.

After existence is assured, the strongest impulse we have leads to the happiness in the love-life. That impulse waits not on ethics, religion, politics or other inventions of civilization. All that can be done is to guide it.

Love is primarily a home and home-making product. Exotic passion is the creator of the brothel, the rooming house, the childless apartment house and the woman who impersonates the beloved wife and mother no matter what her nominal station may be.

By far the greatest influence in producing laxness of sex morals in our modern society I believe to be the "code of honor" of the casual and migratory workers. They despise one of their class, who, on uncertain work and more uncertain wages, entangles a woman by marriage and drags her and her children down with him to squalor, misery and probable dishonor and disgrace.

Many a time have I heard an old man of this class "tongue-lash" a younger man for defending the marriage relation. Such men know the futility of the attempt to establish a home on a laborer's wages. Few have the courage and persistence to save enough money to pay for the home before marriage and it becomes well-nigh impossible afterward.

For the purposes of this argument, soldiers and sailors may be classed with casual laborer. Their excesses and immoralities are almost proverbial.

Low wages and unemployment then, are at the basis of the "free relation" and the demand for the immoral women among the common laborers. If society permits, they do not seek the respectable girl, the woman in the sheltered home, but consort with the public woman. If the latter are not in evidence, with the advent of an considerable number of casual workers into a community, the procurer, the messenger boy, the taxicab driver, soon produce them, and the ranks of the public woman are rapidly recruited from the unattached and homeless. The ordinary farm hand in California teaches his code to the son of the man he is working for. In idle times he teaches the town boys. Seeing no hope for better things, they abandon themselves to illicit relations, defending themselves with a certain show of honor.

The remedy is the assurance of steady employment and a fair opportunity for home-building. Harris Weinstock is on the right road in his advocacy of rural credits and state land colonization. Homebuilding for the ambitious, steady employment at fair wages and a square deal—this is the secret of social reform.

If I could have my way, every boy would be taught a good trade, and at twenty-one, if his work and conduct had been good, he would be provided with a home which could not be taken away from him and which he could not dispose of. He might earn a better one and leave it to be occupied by another young couple, but it could not be sold.

In Serbia every capable farmer was given twenty-three acres of land to be his as long as he used it. In Bulgaria, every man gets seven acres

as a birth-right, but he cannot sell it. For sixty years our government has tried to give every man a farm, but he does not build a home upon it.

An attempt to place every man above want and the fear of starvation may seem like a costly experiment, but I believe that the productive power of the nation would be so greatly increased that the additional cost would be as nothing.

I place the cause of our social ills in their relative importance as follows:—unemployment, alcohol and drug habits, incompetence (heredity and neglected training), disease, commercialized vice. Underlying and intertwined are the political policies of the land, taxation, finance, transportation, marketing and public service. And behind all is the personality of the individual.

If unemployment, incompetence and disease are overcome, the other questions will be solved.

* * *

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

NEARLY fifty per cent of the men sent to state's prison commit serious offenses after they are discharged. In England, when more than a hundred offenses were punishable by death, there were more crimes of violence than now. It isn't prisons, sheriffs, policemen, prosecutors and courts that prevent crime. It is the free exercise of human rights, a fair share of the world's production, education—mental, moral and physical—and the application of the Golden Rule.

The Revolution In North Dakota

By H. G. Teigan

Written Specially For the Western Comrade. Those Copying Please Give Credit.

[This is the second of three articles by H. G. Teigan, telling the story of the Nonpartisan League of North Dakota.]

THE campaign of 1916 was really opened in the fall of 1915. A glance at the files of the "Non-partisan Leader" will bear testimony to this fact. A cartoon on the first page of the first issue contained a challenge to the politicians that their kind were no longer desired to act as officials for the people of North Dakota.

The Leader had on its editorial staff at the beginning such able men as Charles Edward Russell, O. M. Thomason and J. M. Baer, the cartoonist, who now represents the first district of North Dakota in the lower house of congress. Under the inspiration of A. C. Townly, president of the league, the Leader staff proceeded to lay the foundation for a class-conscious organization. Not much was said at first about the program of the League, which had been endorsed by each member at the time of enrollment, but nearly every editorial, article and cartoon had for its guiding principle that of developing class-solidarity and the spirit of organization in the members. The propaganda consisted mainly in showing up the politicians and the interests that were misleading and preying upon the farmers. Several important articles were published on the Nanna administration showing where the Governor and the Banking board had crushed several baking institutions that had not acquiesced in the policies of the crowd in power. The administration was also attacked on its unfair system in shouldering the greater part of the taxes on the farmer.

However, it was not long until the program was taken up and discussed by Mr. Thomason. He wrote a series of articles dealing with the different planks of the program. But inasmuch as no convention had been held to adopt, or more correctly, to outline a program, it was deemed advisable to obtain some direct word from the people on this matter. Thus, in the November 16th issue of the Leader, the members of the organization were invited to discuss through the columns of the paper this question—"What kind of laws do you want?" The letters received, and there were a great many of them, clearly indicated that the program as originally outlined was right in line with the demands of the farmers. There was strong demand for such measures as the exemption of farm improvements from taxation; State ownership of terminal elevators, flour mills, packing houses, and cold storage plants; rural credit banks, and State hail insurance.

On December 9th a speaking campaign was inaugurated, which was continued up to the time of election in November, 1916. The first meeting was held at Pettibone, Kidder county. President Townly, A. E. Bowen, Mr. Townly's chief associate in the building of the Non-partisan League, and several other speakers addressed this meeting. It was, to say the least, a wonderful success. The hall was packed, and the interest manifested was remarkable. The reason that Pettibone was selected as a starter was that one of the local banks had turned down more than a hundred checks issued by farmers of the vicinity for membership in the league. The reason given was this—"Bank won't pay on this paper." The ostensible reason given by the cashier of the bank, when Mr. Townly, in company with several local farmers, called on him, was that the checks were not made out on the regular printed blanks furnished by the bank. The real reason, however, was that the bank did not want to see the farmers organized POLITICALLY. Many other banks were guilty of the same

"skulduggery" and many are still manifesting the same treacherous attitude toward the farmers and their organization. Needless to state, the checks were paid by the Pettibone bank after Mr. Townly and the farmers "called" on the cashier.

By the first of the year, 1916, the spirit of organization had been developed to a wonderful extent. The meetings had been largely instrumental in bringing the farmers together, and of course the Leader had been even more effective in this respect. The farmers were becoming class-conscious. They were beginning to realize that bankers, grain speculators and owners of large industries have interests diametrically opposed to those of the farmers, in the economic sphere.

Conditions now warranted actual political action on the part of the farmers. **Interest, solidarity, understanding**—all these had been sufficiently developed in the minds of the League members to enable them offering battle to the Old Guard.

On January 27th, President Townly issued the call for precinct meetings. The call read as follows:

NOTICE TO PRECINCT CONVENTIONS

"You are hereby notified that on February 22nd, 1916, at 2 p. m., the members of the Farmers' Non-partisan Political league will hold a meeting in each voting precinct in North Dakota to elect delegates to the Legislative and State conventions.

"Urge every member to come. Here is where your work begins.

"Watch the Leader for further notices.

A. C. TOWNLY, President."

The politicians and the kept press were "up a tree," so to speak. They were hostile and yet, not being able to understand the League's strength, they did not know what to say. Many of them figured that it would be unwise to launch forth in too bitter attacks on the Organization as that might prove the more dangerous to them in the end. Several that had been bitter in attacking the League when being organized, now "pulled in their horns." It was not until after the precinct conventions that the real power of the farmers' movement was learned. The farmers attended these conventions in a spirit of religious fidelity. Newspaper reporters and politicians were excluded from the convention halls, and this, probably more than anything else, struck terror into the hearts of these gentlemen. The precinct conventions were followed by district legislative conventions, at which candidates were endorsed for the legislative assembly, and the district conventions were followed by the State Convention at Fargo, March 29th.

Lynn J. Frazier, an actual farmer, living on his farm near Hoople, in the northeastern part of the State, was nominated for Governor. He was 41 years of age, and a graduate of the State University. He was one of the most popular students that the institution had ever had. He was captain of the football team, and ranked as one of the leaders in his class. In his home community Mr. Frazier had held several local offices and was, at the time of his nomination for governor, an official of several farmers' organizations. Needless to say, he was not an office seeker, and if the farmers had not drafted him into service, he would never have become a candidate for governor or for any other State or national office. In this instance the office sought the man.

To show the surprise with which he received the announcement of his nomination, I want to relate his own story of the matter upon his arrival at Fargo, the day after the convention:

"I drove into town Wednesday, and they sent word to me that I was wanted at the telephone. When I got to the phone, they told me that it was League headquarters at Fargo talking and asked me to come up here right away. I told them I couldn't come that night, because I had my overalls on and no suitable clothing with me.

"I went back to the farm and packed my grip and came up here and it was then I learned they wanted me to run for Governor and that the League delegates in their convention had nominated me."

The politicians and newspapers were panic stricken. Few of them knew anything of Mr. Frazier, and for that reason did not know how to proceed to attack him. The papers harped mostly on the leadership of the Non-partisan League and the way Frazier had been nominated. They charged that he had been nominated by a convention, which was in violation of the spirit of the primary election laws. They also maintained that Mr. Frazier had been forced upon the farmers by the "Socialist" leaders of the league. Of course the charge was utterly absurd, as Socialists are not in the habit of forcing republicans upon the people (Mr. Frazier had always been affiliated with the republican party.) Yet it would be expecting too much had the politicians in their desperation not resorted to such tactics. They had to have something to rave about.

Little criticism was offered by the opposition, on the candidates endorsed by the league. In fact, the newspapers and politicians could not dig up anything that would in any way reflect upon the candidates, but, on the other hand, these tools of Big Business continued to assail the leaders and officers of the league. They were labeled "carpet baggers," "Socialists," "I. W. W.'s," "atheists," "free lovers," and given every designation that the exploiting class has ever given to the leaders of a working class revolt.

Mr. Frazier's chief opponent for the republican nomination was a brilliant young lawyer and politician, Usher L. Burdick of Williston. Mr. Burdick was a very popular man and would have had a walk-a-way for the governorship had it not been for the existence of the Non-partisan league. He had been a candidate for the governorship in 1914, but was defeated by the machine—politician incumbent of the office. L. B. Hanna. At that time, practically all the newspapers in the State supported Mr. Hanna. Burdick was thought by them to be too much of a radical. He had held office as Speaker of the House of Representatives and Lieutenant Governor and was known to be decidedly independent in his political views. These facts, however, made Mr. Burdick all the more formidable as an opponent of Mr. Frazier. He was considered progressive and a good many of the league members had been favorably inclined toward his candidacy. He was defeated for the league endorsement mainly because of the fact that he was a lawyer by profession, and was counted a politician. Besides, no one knew exactly where he stood on the measures demanded by the farmers.

The reactionary elements of the State, which would not have supported Mr. Burdick, were now, however, compelled to rally to his support. These reactionaries had fought him two years before and had heaped all kinds of abuse upon him at that time, but now they were compelled to accept him as the "lesser of two evils." If Burdick should be elected there was no organization back of him that would insure stability to his administration. Then, too, it was held by the Old Guard politicians that if he could be used as an instrument to defeat the organized farmers' movement, it would be only a short time until they would be back in the saddle. On the other hand, if the league candidates should be victorious, there was no telling when, if ever, they would be turned out of office. Nearly all the self-styled progressives supported Mr. Burdick. There were only a few scattered radicals like Professors Worst and Ladd of the Agricultural

College and Dr. Gillette of the State University who came out in open support of Frazier and the league ticket.

In North Dakota the real test is in the primary. There has been little chance for a Democrat or Socialist to be elected to any office of importance in the State, and any candidate who might be nominated by the republicans for office could feel reasonably certain that his fight was over after he received the nomination. The primary is held on the last Wednesday of June preceding a general election. In 1916, this came on June 28th. Hence it was that all efforts were put forth to defeat the league candidates in the primary. It was generally felt, and even admitted by the politicians, that if the league candidates should be successful on June 28th, there would be no chance to defeat them in the general election.

During the months of May and June a desperate fight was waged by the reactionary elements. In addition to the attacks on the League leaders, one of the claims made by the Old Guard was that the league constituted, in the eyes of the law, a partnership, and that every member was financially responsible for any indebtedness that might be incurred by the Organization. This charge was promptly nailed by the Leader, and the author of the charge, Dr. L. T. Guild, then editor of the Fargo Daily Courier News, was offered \$1000 to substantiate his charge in court. Dr. Guild dropped the proposition like a hot cake. Just before the primary, however, the organized Opposition sent out a circular to every voter in the State. It was headed—"NORTH DAKOTA IS FACING A CRISIS." In this circular an attempt was made to show that the election of the League candidates would mean the financial ruin of the people of the State. But the farmers of North Dakota felt that there was little for them to worry about, even if such were the case. Ruin already stared them in the face if conditions were to continue as they were, any length of time. Besides, the majority of the farmers felt that their own representatives would be less likely to cause their ruin than those representing the interests that had always preyed upon them.

Just before the primary, Mr. Frazier and several state candidates made a tour of the State in a special train. Everywhere they were greeted with large audiences and this despite the fact that it rained almost continuously from the time the train left Fargo until it returned. Everything pointed to victory. On Tuesday evening, June 27, the last meeting was held at Fargo, and the next day the election took place. Rains throughout the State cut down the vote somewhat and undoubtedly operated to the disadvantage of the League ticket. In spite of this, however, Mr. Frazier received approximately 3000 majority over all his opponents combined. The vote for each candidate was as follows. Usher L. Burdick, 23,362; J. H. Fraine (candidate for the ultra-reactionaries), 9,780; Lynn J. Frazier, 39,246; George J. Smith (candidate of a few country newspapers owned by Smith), 2,981.

After the primary, the League carried on a regular educational campaign. There was no question as to the outcome in the general election. The State being normally republican by a two to one majority, the tremendous victory of the League in the primary made the election of its candidates a cinch.

The only office for which there was any contest was the supreme court. There being no party designation permitted for election to this office, the Old Guard saw a chance of electing at least one candidate. If one candidate could be elected, the court would still remain under the control of Big Biz, as there were two hold-over members. If, however,

What Must We Do To Make Socialism a Power?

A Symposium of State Secretaries

Written Specially For the Western Comrade. Those Copying Please Give Credit.

A. L. SUGARMAN, State Secretary, Minnesota Socialist Party

WHAT must the Socialist party do to become a power in American politics? It must get out of politics, in the ordinary sense of the word. A political campaign, in my opinion, is merely a scheme by which we take advantage of the interest the public shows in elections to present the principles of socialism, under the guise of being as highly excited over the prospect of sending men into public as are the old gangs.

Not that we do not wish to put our comrades into power. Of course this is desirable. But, in importance, this does not begin to compare with the propaganda value of a campaign. The vital thing is to get socialism before the people.

For the reform will come in proportion to the rise in the socialist vote. Bismarck hated socialism, and yet gave the people of Germany all of the palliatives, in order to stem the rising socialist movement. And so the American capitalist class will give the people a thousand remedial measures, just as fast as the socialist vote justifies them.

Consequently, it would appear to me that the most needed advice to the movement is that it should stick to fundamentals. By so doing, it will secure for the people the little benefit derived from "immediate demands," and at the same time will be building up a great body of revolutionary proletarians, who will ultimately be prepared to take over the world in the name of labor.

W. H. HENRY, State Secretary
Indiana Socialist Party

THE uncompromising position of the Socialist party should be the continued position, but we should try to reach the farmer in the future more than we have in the past. It is in my opinion a rather unsettled time to do other than plow right ahead with our work, as we are doing at the present time. When the war is over, the position the party will be in will give us a great advantage over all parties, and then we should, I think, get together with cool heads and work out the best there is in our party brains—to the end that Socialism in America may be able to reach and bring under its wings the great mass of humanity that rightly belong to us, and in most cases if rightly and properly approached will be glad to become a part of our great party. At this time we must plow right straight ahead, and by all means keep our organization together and build greater its numbers till the light of reason again is able to enter the minds of the people. I think it would be most unwise for any of our comrades to think of any great changes, or at least to even suggest any changes until sanity gets back on the job. Our cause is too sacred to the welfare of labor to allow anything to sway us from the path that leads to greater unity and comradeship of the Socialist forces of America. Let us not be severed from our course by the distracting influences of the war-fever. Let us ignore governmental tyranny, and exploit the possibilities now within our reach.

FRED IRISH, State Secretary, Maine Socialist Party

WHAT the Socialist party should do is to become, not a greater power in American politics, but a **POWER**.

With our present programs, platforms, proclamations and propaganda, we are as impotent as a little yellow dog, baying at the moon. These things represent noise of much the same character as blank cartridges, and while, like the small boy, we may please ourselves with delusions of childhood, it imposes on no one else.

Power! It is a "kingly word," as Jack London once remarked, but who, with all the lessons of the past twenty years of political striving, is fool enough to believe that power will ever come to the workers in quantity sufficient to overthrow the capitalist system and establish on its ruins the co-operative commonwealth, solely through casting a ballot for the Socialist party? Our naivety is most pitiful.

EMIL HERMAN, Secretary Socialist
Party of Washington

THE Socialist party is organized to accomplish a certain definite purpose, to achieve the emancipation of the working-class. To attain this end it is necessary for the working-class to become conscious of the power it may wield through political and industrial solidarity.

To become the dominant power in American politics we must develop knowledge and efficiency sufficient to be able to cope with, and overcome all of the political machinery of the capitalist class.

The two important essentials, therefore, are education and organization. The latter will follow logically as a result of the former. We must educate

to develop knowledge; we must organize to make the knowledge effective.

Our lecturers and organizers should all qualify as teachers of scientific Socialism—no others should be placed in the field. Even in the heat of political campaigns our main purpose should be to teach Socialism to the workers and to organize them to make it a fact.

Locals should be encouraged to organize study-clubs for the study and discussion of Socialist fundamentals, current political and industrial events of importance to labor, and the principals of parliamentary practice.

In nominating candidates for office we should be careful that no one is nominated except he be qualified for the duties of the office he is to fill.

Socialist publications should, in alternate issues, devote at least one column to some phase of the science of Socialism and the necessity for organized effort on the part of labor through the Socialist party.

Dues for membership in the Socialist party should be increased by 100 per cent so as to make it possible to put into effect the program of education and organization as outlined above.

To sum up then: In order for the Socialist party to be-

WHAT must be done to make the Socialist Party a **POWER** in American politics? This is the vital question that a number of the most prominent State Secretaries of the American Socialist party attempt to answer for the readers of the Western Comrade. Why does the Socialist party stagnate while the Socialist movement spreads phenomenally? There must be something radically faulty with our organization. This fault must be corrected. What are YOU doing to solve this problem?

come a power in American politics we need more knowledge, greater efficiency, better organization, and more money with which to prosecute the work of educating and organizing the working class for its emancipation.

E. F. ATWOOD, State Secretary, South Dakota

WE ARE confronted by three facts: 1st, war; 2nd, invasion of constitutional rights; 3rd, increasing severity of the struggle to live; with incidentally increasing fortunes to a horde of greedy and traitorous speculators.

Our aim is to win the world from capitalism to Socialism. War is the topmost fruit on capitalism's tree. Opposition is useless and even foolish; it is a waste of energy. The longer it continues, and the more the speculators oppress the people, the more they drive them to seek a remedy. We have the only peaceful remedy offered. This is also a statement of facts, not of principle!

With every constitutional right safe-guarded, we are still of the servant class, ruled by the master class, for the rulership by capitalists is much greater than that by the political state.

The only real issue before us is the class struggle and the inculcation of class consciousness.

Take advantage of the situation and of the wrongs that grow from it to build up the Socialist party, not as opponents of war, not as clamorers for rights, but as human beings who understand and who are determined to capture and to use the powers of government for the entire people, and not for any class.

In South Dakota, on this idea, we have doubled our membership and again doubled that, in five months. And, we will double it several more times.

Follow the international:

"In the event war should come notwithstanding the efforts of the Socialists to prevent it, then it becomes the duty of the Socialists to work for its speedy termination, and to use all the power at their command, utilizing, the political and economic crisis produced by the war, in an effort to arouse the discontent of the people so as to hasten the abolition of the rule of the capitalist class."

The weakest thing about the capitalist system is the small number in the master class. It is absolutely foolish to try to impose our theories, while we are the insignificant minority, upon the master class. They will not do as we could do it through some other organization. Let the Socialist party use every effort to get members, to educate them, and to end capitalism by carrying elections, making laws and putting capitalists out of business, once for all, by inaugurating socialism.

South Dakota dues last year averaged some \$50 per month. In 1917, May, \$81.20; June, \$143.20; July, \$170.95; August, \$331.60. Not because of programs, but because of the class struggle becoming better understood.

GEORGE C. PORTER, Ex-State Secretary,
Nebraska Socialist Party

I WAS not in accord with the action of the majority at the St. Louis convention or the approval of that report later by the membership. The question appealed to me to be of such far reaching importance as would not justify compromise on my part. For two months after the convention I remained in the party thinking that possibly that course might be justified in view of my own position being known as it was. Local

differences of a logical development from the majority plan obliged me to either support the action of the majority or leave the party. My personal view was then and is now that this division makes the central thing of the Socialist party organization a question as to its attitude on the war, while the correct attitude, as I view it, would have been to rally the working force of the nation to the support of the nation, but to insist that the war should be in reality a war for democracy and that as means to that end, our organized energy be extended largely in seeing that the wealth of the nation should pay the bill on no more favorable basis than that given to workers in fighting the nation's battles.

As I view things, the Socialist party's attitude would if successful, divide the workers in two hostile camps and allow the shirkers a free hand to loot the nation. For this reason, I resigned as state secretary in June, left the party and have joined the Social Democratic league, and am now working with others for an alliance of all the real progressive groups throughout the nation.

C. B. LANE, Ex-Secretary, Socialist Party of Arizona

IF THE Socialist party is ever to become a power to be used in the interests of labor, it must maintain a clear and distinct policy, and not lose its identity in the conglomeration of reform movements that is so attractive. My faith in the efficacy of appealing to the reason of the working classes to vote themselves out of bondage has undergone some serious shakings the last two years. We seem to be getting further along in a year by the exigencies of militarism than by a decade of agitation by socialists.

Let us be less enthusiastic about our program of immediate demands. The people are at present taking a lasting lesson in socialism, given them by the experiences encountered in the world-war. When capitalism has bled itself white by war, the people will automatically accept socialism without the necessity of holding an election to demand it. The function of the Socialist party then will be only to point the way to democratic management.

The greatest work before the party today is the encouragement of co-operative enterprises so that the working classes may secure an education in the management of industry. In this manner, when the opportunity arises, socialists will be able to lead the way in the actual work of socialization.

THOMAS W. WILLIAMS, State Secretary,
Socialist Party, California

THE Socialist party must abandon its program of negation, discard the swaddling clothes of party infancy and enter the world's conflict with a constructive program and a positive message.

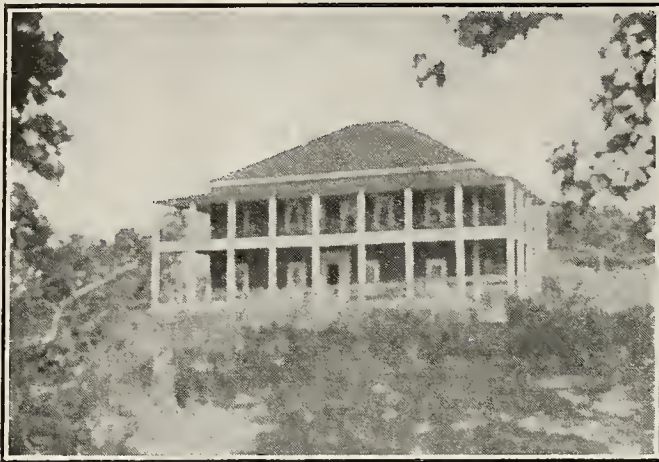
Political mud-slinging has had its day. A "ferminist the government" policy in the United States is suicidal. The people are the government.

We should stand squarely on the declaration of rights enunciated in the Declaration of Independence and affirmatively proclaim the right of free speech, free press and peaceable assembly vouchsafed in the United States constitution.

Dissipate prejudice and disarm opposition by contending for constitutional law. Force the enemy on the defensive.

This extreme anti-war program and anti-draft agitation

(Continued on Page 19)

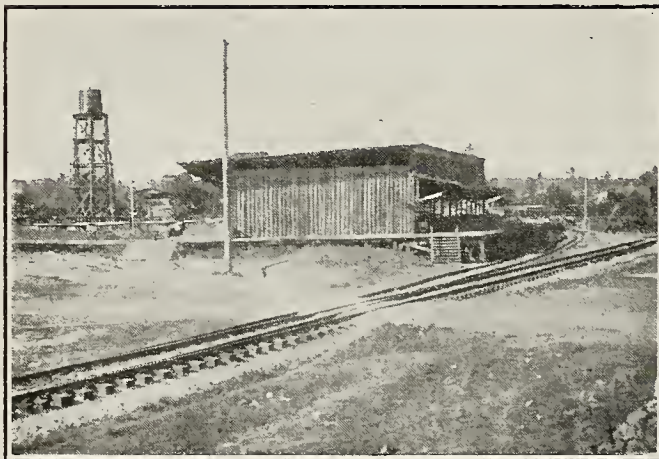


Hotel building on the Colony at Louisiana. It is well built and comfortable and has eighteen rooms. Guests can be comfortably housed.



Office building acquired by the Colony. There are six rooms in it and a garage. Business can be handled in a businesslike manner.

Another of the warehouses purchased with the Colony's Louisiana Plantation which can be used as a warehouse or torn down and the lumber used for building.



Smallest warehouse on the Louisiana Plantation. Note the railroad and the switch in front. Tank and waterworks in rear.



Woodland scene on Colony plantation. The general scenery is said to much resemble that of Pennsylvania. Many thousands of dollars have been spent on the plantation.

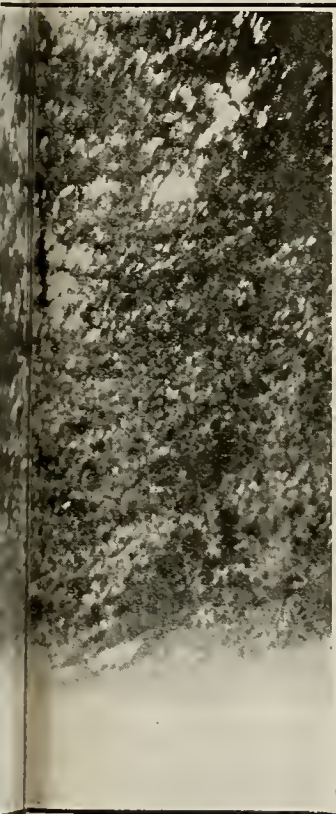
Colony store, with postoffice in connection. This will be operated in a manner similar to the one at Llano, California.



by the colony with the Louisiana Plantation. A safe is already installed. Business is being done there.



Concrete driers which came with the Louisiana Plantation. Photo taken from interior of large warehouse. These driers can be used for fruit and lumber driers.



of the Louisiana Plantation. The amount of timber that of the woods of Pennsylvania is on this property.

One of the big warehouses purchased with Louisiana Plantation. It will save a vast amount of labor and contains much lumber.



Was Schmidt Guilty?

[This is the seventh installment of Comrade Job Harriman's address in the trial of the Los Angeles dynamiting cases.]

WHETHER the eastern or the western method is correct, is not for me to say. I was involved in the Los Angeles movement; I know its character and the methods pursued; and I know that violence was not indulged in nor encouraged; but that we had made up our minds to capture the powers of government by the ballot and to conduct our fight to the end along such lines. To that end and along those lines three hundred thousand dollars was spent.

During the four years fight in the East only eighteen thousand dollars was spent in their campaign of violence, if the evidence of the State is correct. A much cheaper campaign than was that in Los Angeles.

This eighteen thousand dollars according to the State's evidence was paid to Ryan, Hockin, J. J. McNamara and Webb with J. B. McNamara and McManigal in the field. We have no way to contradict this evidence. We have no money to bring witnesses from the East. The state has had according to our best information, over a hundred thousand dollars. This defendant has had only such amounts as his friends could raise. It has been a poverty trial from the beginning. The prosecution has had all the money it wanted. The defense has not had one quarter as much as it absolutely needed. We therefore have no means to bring the evidence to contradict the testimony concerning the character of the eastern movement.

Suppose, however, the eastern campaign was one of violence. Are each of you sure that you would not have acted as the McNamaras did, had you been confronted with the same conditions? Was not that a war in fact? What is it one will not do for his life? Was the life of the organization not at stake? Were the wages of the men not dependent upon the power of the organization? Suppose you were in such a fight and the comfort of your family and of thousands of other families were at stake, and a billion dollar company was making war upon you with the determined purpose of breaking your organization and forcing your wages down, would you strike back? If so, how hard would you strike, and what would you strike with? Whether you endorse their course or not one should at least be charitable when he meets with such conditions.

Whatever may be your opinion of the eastern policy there can be but one opinion as to the policy in the Los Angeles strike of 1910.

There was one fact that stood out in bold relief and that fact was this. A four years' campaign in the East cost only eighteen thousand dollars. A six months' campaign in Los Angeles cost the vast sum of three hundred thousand dollars.

In the East there were a number of explosions destroying a vast amount of property. In the West there was no violence whatever until one of the eastern men came, bringing his munitions of war with him, and did the work, if the disaster was caused by that means. The western movement was not connected with the eastern movement and was not familiar with its method.

There is not one word of evidence to show that the men in Los Angeles were connected with the eastern campaign, but all the facts show that their policies were altogether different.

The labor movement had practically captured the city of San Francisco and had made up its mind to capture the city

of Los Angeles. Their political and industrial campaign was being conducted with energy and intelligence. Great numbers were being gathered to the unions and the political organizations. The power was appalling and the victory was certain. You will remember that fifty thousand votes were cast for the labor movement. The slogan was Los Angeles first and Sacramento next. Every one knows that the powers of government were practically in their grasp and that such movements are not violent but peaceable, not destructive but constructive in their methods. The hope of the movement was never stronger than in that day and the despair of the enemy was never greater. The evidence showed that three hundred thousand dollars was spent in that strike and in the development of that great movement. That this money was paid to those who are locked out and to the strikers in sums of seven dollars a week. With this small pittance the men bought the food, clothing and shelter for themselves and families and entered into the struggle, with a determination and enthusiasm to build up their unions and capture the city, that had never been equalled in any labor struggle in America.

In the face of this fact the prosecution made a futile effort to trace a thousand dollars from J. J. McNamara to O. A. Tveitmoe. It is true that a check for that amount was sent by McNamara to O. A. Tveitmoe, but the check was endorsed by Gilson, Mr. Tveitmoe's secretary, and deposited in the strike funds and forwarded with other money to Los Angeles and accounted for in the disbursements to the strikers at seven dollars a week. This was the only remaining link with which they endeavored to connect the western strike with the eastern struggle. There was absolutely no foundation in fact for such a theory and it was explained so satisfactorily that the prosecution did not again refer to it.

Not only did the strike committee receive one thousand dollars from McNamara's organization but it received similar sums and oftentimes much more from almost all the other international unions in the country. This fact forces us to the conclusion that if the McNamaras were involved in the Times disaster they did it on their own responsibility and entirely without the knowledge or consent of the strike committee who manage the Los Angeles strike.

You men live in this community and so do I. I know what the policy of the struggle was, and I am proud of it. If tomorrow the same situation were present I would enter the struggle again. Never in my life have I seen such self sacrifice and such profound devotion to a cause as I saw in that terrible struggle. Those who work only for fees and who will not work unless the fees are forthcoming, cannot understand the capable men who go into a movement and devote their lives to its interests for a meager consideration.

I am not saying that the spirit of our friend from Indianapolis is vicious; but I do say that he neither knows the movement nor understands the spirit, the hearts or the minds of those involved in the struggle. He speaks of the three hundred thousand dollars as though it were a tremendous sum. He forgets that it fed thousands of men for many months and supported a tremendous campaign. He forgets that he has received five thousand dollars for only three months work in this case.

Mr. Noel—"I haven't got it yet."

Mr. Harriman—"Well I hope you will never get it for you certainly have not earned it. You see Mr. Noel, it depends upon whose ox is being gored. The sum of money spent in

the Los Angeles strike was three hundred thousand dollars. Only a few hundred dollars would have been necessary for a campaign of violence. Is it not evident that the methods pursued were peaceful and constructive?

It is true the reasons for the strike were the same. The interests out of which both struggles arose were the same. They are the same in all strikes. In both cases the unions were on one side and the Erectors association were on the other. They locked the men out in the East and they locked them out here. They were fighting for higher wages there and they were fighting for higher wages here. Wages and hours define the battle line in every labor struggle.

Mr. Noel refers to this fact with a sneer and asks what was gained.

What was gained? A complete victory was gained and it was worth all it cost in pain and suffering. Before the strike the union men worked ten hours a day for two dollars and twenty five cents. Now they work nine hours a day for four dollars and fifty cents. That is what was gained. One hundred per cent raise in wages and one hour less work is the victory that was won. Do you think it was not worth the fight? Ask the men who fought the fight. Ask their wives and their children. They will tell you better than I what a world of difference there is in such a raise in wages. Twelve dollars a week would scarcely clothe and feed them, but twenty five dollars brings the comforts of life and with it the possibilities of education, of culture and of refinement.

I saw the terrible fight and though I was not one of the strikers, yet I feel that I was one of them, and if it were necessary I would go through it again to gain as much. You will remember that the merchants and manufacturers were on one side with all their social, political, and economic influence, while the unions, in the beginning stood practically alone. The merchants and manufacturers were in control of the city government. They controlled the city government and knew how to use the city courts to their advantage.

This is no guess nor mere assertion. With these facts I am more familiar than is our friend from Indianapolis. Let me read to you an ordinance that was passed during that strike and you will see the cloven hoof and the fiendish purpose of those by whom it was enacted.

Before this ordinance was passed it was argued night after night before the city council. The representatives of the labor organizations were on the one side and the attorney for the merchants and manufacturers, Earl Rogers, who also acted for them before the grand jury, was on the other.

They were losing ground rapidly and the unions were as rapidly gaining. Every thing had been peaceable up to that time, and the union men felt that their victory was certain. The notorious anti-picketing ordinance brought on the crisis. With it the courts and the police force of the city were converted into an engine in favor of the merchants and the manufacturers.

Night after night the argument proceeded but from the beginning the entire council sat in the balance on the side of the merchants and manufacturers. Every night, yes, every minute spent in argument before them was absolutely wasted. The ordinance was passed as an emergency ordinance. There was no emergency except to retrieve the losses of the merchants and manufacturrs. They knew what a failure meant. They knew well enough what it meant to pay four dollars and fifty cents a day for nine hours, instead of two dollars and twenty five cents for ten hours work. They saw the stream of wealth being diverted from their coffers to the pockets of the producers. There is no use of closing our eyes to this fact. This strike like all strikes arose over wages and hours. The conflict of interest was the cause of that class war, as it is always the cause.

The fight was started by the merchants and manufacturers. They locked the men out. They refused to confer. They said we have nothing to arbitrate. The fight is on. We offered to put the negotiations in evidence, but the letters and proposed contracts were ruled out. I cannot therefore, state the terms to you. I am not permitted to tell you how fair the terms were that the union men proposed. But I am permitted to read an ordinance fraught with the most villainous consequences of any law that ever stained the pages of our legal lore.

Upon the passage of this ordinance the courts became instruments in their hands. The police power was at their command. The state law, the state militia, and standing army were all ready to enforce this little apparently insignificant ordinance. With the powers of the city government in their hands, they confronted the union men, not only with their own power, but also with the power of the city, the state and the nation.

Up to the time the ordinance was passed, there had been no violence whatsoever. The men on the picket line were urging the non-union men to quit work, or not to take their places, and to join the union. The success with which they were meeting is best told by the ordinance which I will now read to you.

This ordinance was so construed that any conversation between a union and a non-union man, within the city limits, even though two miles from the place of employment, was held to be in the vicinity of the shop and therefore a violation of the ordinance. I tried many of the cases and I know that this was the construction put upon the law.

Immediately upon the passage of the law, over four hundred men were arrested. The jails were full to overflowing.

["Was Schmidt Guilty" began in the May issue. Back numbers ten cents a copy.]

Making Socialism a Power

(Continued from Page 15)

has borne its fruit. It has well-nigh throttled the entire party activity. It has brought the party nowhere except in jail, with a suppressed press, raided headquarters and outlawed propaganda. The party is exactly where some of us predicted it would be when it adopted the St. Louis program. Most of the energy of the national office at the present time is taken up in disavowing the intent of the resolution on war and militarism.

Cease to feed on misfortune or rejoice in unequal conflict with capitalistic intrigue. Become leaders in the world activities, not barking Nice dog.

The ascendancy of class is not the goal of Socialism. "Abolition of class" must be its watchword. "Struggle for place and power" must give way before the slogan "abolition of privilege."

Cease to deal with effects and institute cause. Build the new order and the old will pass away.

Given capitalism and the selective draft law is legitimate. Granted the profit system and war is justifiable.

The remedy for war is not anti-war, anti-government agitation but the enactment of laws which will abolish the cause of war. The cure for the compulsory draft is not individual resistance but the abolition of capitalism.

Here in California we are trying to outline a propaganda along these lines. Cameron H. King of San Francisco has drafted a proportional representation election law which is now in the hands, of the printer. It will be in circulation shortly to place same on the ballot next year. Under this measure groups will have representation in the

(Continued on Page 28)

The Story of A Night By Mary Allen

Written Specially For the Western Comrade. Those Copying Please Give Credit.

THIS IS the story of a memorable night, lived by Joan and Peter and faithfully recorded next day in the diary of Joan.

The feeling came over me a little while before we reached our first camp. For weeks and weeks I had been dreaming of this trip with Peter, and now with my dream come true the strangest, gauntest, loneliest, sickest feeling came over me—I couldn't tell whether it was in my heart or my stomach!

It grew worse and worse. I thought the long, dark shadows which were creeping up the side of the mountains might have something to do with it, or the deep silence of the woods. Not a sound could be heard, except the murmur of the pine trees as they swayed softly back and forth, and the beat, beat, of our horses hoofs as they plodded up the trail. All day we had been winding up, up, from the valley into the hills and the thick of madrone and live oak trees, then on until the trail was almost invisible on the carpet of pine needles. Peter had arranged the whole journey, our departure from San Francisco the day before, our night at Duos Rios ranch with Peter's old friends, our marriage in the early morning at the ranch house which now lay so far below us, and this our horseback trip into the heart of the San Hedrin mountains. How happy I had been! How lightly, how gladly I had left all behind to go with Peter! And now as we wound upward Peter said,

"It's almost time to make camp." And the shadows tremendously long and the murmur of the pines more audible, and the air took on the chilliness of a mountain evening, and then—something went wrong inside of me. My gladness fluttered out like a candle.

The trail made a sharp turn and we were wrapped by the darkening shadow.

"Here's a bully camping spot," Peter said. "This is far enough for one day's trip, little partner."

I started to dismount and Peter reached up and pulled me from the horse and held me a moment before setting me on my feet. And in that moment my strange sensations took a perfectly definite turn. I knew exactly what was the matter with me.

I hated Peter.

I hated Peter!

Yes, it was as bad as that. Not only did I no longer love him—I HATED him!

And here I was—trapped! Married! Alone!

Right then I began planning a divorce. And my people are Episcopalians, too. So that shows to what a pass I had come. But I could not be divorced here. And in the meantime—

Oh, why, why, had I ever married? And what was I to do? How could a girl's nature so change in a few hours? To love a man in the morning and hate him in the evening! There was only one answer. I was a poor, base, fickle excuse of a woman!

All this flashed through my mind in the short space it took for Peter to lift me from the horse. Then he stooped to kiss me. I squirmed from his grasp. Peter looked at me in astonishment.

"Right, O," he said slowly, and started to turn away. I could not look up. My lips were beginning to quiver.

Peter hesitated and I could feel him looking me through and through. Finally he spoke in a cheerful, matter-of-fact voice.

"I'll get supper tonight." He turned to the pack-horse and

began to unload our camp supplies. "You can begin learning to cook in the morning." I had told him that I wanted to commence that part right away, as I am very inexperienced.

There was something so comforting and practical about Peter as he busied himself unsaddling the horses, whistling in the meantime, that I almost stopped hating him. The horses attended to, he began gathering together a pile of logs. It was the first night I had ever spent in the open and I felt very awkward as I tried to be useful, but Peter said I would learn in a night or so.

When he began to get supper the load came back and rested still more heavily on my heart. It was quite dark now save for the glow of the logs in the great fire. While he was busy at one end of the fire placing the coffee pot in a bed of coals, I crept softly away.

When I came back in my load was heavier still.

For now it rested upon my conscience as well as my heart. What would Peter say when he found out?

"Dinner is served, Madame," Peter announced flourishing a long spoon.

I sat down cross-legged in the firelight, on one side of the box which served as our table. I don't know what we had to eat. It did not impress itself upon my mind.

"Aren't you going to brag on the cook?" Peter said in an injured tone.

"Everything's fine," I managed to say feebly. I saw his sharp eyes upon me and I choked down a bite of something. After that I pretended to eat while all the time I slyly threw what food I could behind me. I suppose I used poor judgment, for the next thing Peter said was,

"Are you sure you're masticating your food properly, Joan? I know this air is bracing, but the fourth slice of bread in three minutes—really now—"

Did he know? And was he poking fun at me? He looked very sober, but you can't always tell about Peter. Sometimes he calls me Miss Slow—no, Mrs. Slow.

He had not tried to kiss me again, but he was very cheerful. He washed the dishes and I dried them. Then he started for the bundle of bedding to arrange it for the night. He was whistling when he started. The whistle stopped short for a few minutes. Then it started again, this time higher and a trifle louder. He came back to where I was sitting. I was as cold as ice. He sat down by me and took my hand.

"Which one is intended for me, Joan?" he asked.

I could not speak, just pointed.

"Well, you've made them all wrong," he said. "Come, I'll show you. You should have put more blankets underneath, and in dividing them you have been too generous with me. I'm used to sleeping out."

He rearranged the blankets. "There. That's better. Now let's sit by the campfire awhile."

All my love came welling and surging back. It was most remarkable! I looked around at the trees, standing like guard beyond the flickering firelight and at the stars shining down with their beautiful friendly light and I wondered how I could have thought the forest lonely. For now it seemed as though it would wrap me in its very arms. Wildly, madly happy, and very contrite, I wanted to nestle close, close to Peter and tell him all about it.

"Peter," it finally came out, "there's something I feel I ought to tell you."

"Yes?" he said.

"Something strange and terrible happened to me this evening.

"Yes?" he said again.

"For awhile I thought I didn't love you!"

"That was queer."

"I—I—Peter, I thought I hated you!"

"As bad as that?"

"Yes. I have to tell it all. I made up my mind to get a divorce!"

"So soon?"

"Yes. What could have been the matter with me?"

"An aggravated case of feminine psychology perhaps, found most often among Anglo-Saxons."

"What?"

"We don't care what was the matter as long as you got over it. See the picture in the fire, Joan."

After that our wedding evening was just as I had dreamt it.

When I had gone to bed, Peter came and tucked me in and sat by me awhile longer. Finally he said good-night and turned to go. There was something very dreary looking about his back.

"Peter! "I called after him. He turned quickly.

"Come close, Peter. I haven't hurt your feelings, have I?"

"Not a bit."

"You must understand, Peter—you must see—it's this way—" I was quite breathless, so I swallowed and started again. "You see, I've never been married before—and it goes kind of hard with a girl!"

"I see," he answered. "And I've never been married before—and it goes kind of hard with a fellow! So we'll just do the best we can, and I'm pretty sure it will all come out right."

"I'll—do—just—as—you—say, Peter" I whispered. "I love you that much."

"Well, then, just be yourself. And don't worry. Now go to sleep. You'll find the ground pretty hard first night out, but you'll get used to it."

So once more we said good-night.

I could barely see Peter lying in the flickering light of the fire. He was so still I thought he had gone right to sleep. Suddenly he gave a toss.

"Joan!" he called.

"Yes, Peter!"

"I just wanted to say that of all the unnatural, abnormal, perverted, creatures on the face of the earth, there's nothing to equal a dear, sweet, innocent girl! I just wanted to say that!"

"Yes, Peter," I said meekly.

"I'm going to bring up my daughters differently!"

"Yes, Peter," I said again.

After that he went right to sleep.

But for a long time I would not go to sleep. I wanted to live over the day and have waking dreams of the future. Gradually I grew drowsy. The soft rustling and cracklings outside the magic circle of our fire, the fall of the embers from the burning logs, the murmur of the pine trees, the comfortable munch, munch of the horses, soothed and lulled me into a state, half-sleep, half a strange, waking ecstasy. The tree tops swaying so gently seemed to be whispering friendly things, nice little secrets meant just for me. They seemed to creep softly down close to me and whisper, whisper, as if they had something very special that they wanted me to know. But they could not make me understand. They tried and tried but their language was different from mine and they could not make me understand. So they went sadly away, and I woke to find myself whispering "Don't go! Please don't go!" before I realized it was only a fantastic dream.

At first I could not recall where I was. Then it came back to me that Peter and I were married. Yes, there was Peter, rolled up in his blankets sound asleep! How wonderful, how deliciously wonderful, to have Peter sleeping so near me! Always it would be like this. I would wake to find Peter!

But I must sleep or I would not be rested for our trip tomorrow! Five days we were to be on our journey, camping in a different spot every night. I settled down in the blankets and closed my eyes. But there was a rock or little lump of dirt, or pine cone under my hip which kept getting larger and larger. I turned over and was quite comfortable for about five minutes. Then another lump sprang up like a mushroom against my shoulder blade. I moved again only to find another lump. It was strange. The ground with its thick covering of pine needles had looked so soft the evening before.

"It's an enchanted forest," I thought, drowsily, "and I have made my bed on some fairy's play-ground. She's getting revenge."

Then I became conscious of something else. The cold was creeping into my blankets. It was not an honest, gentlemanly, cold; it was a sly, sneaking, thief of a chill that came crawling out of the ground, stealing around my body and into my bones.

I curled myself into a little ball, but it did not help. I stretched out straight and that was worse. I quickly curled up again.

He didn't know I was uncomfortable. I wished I knew more about husbands. What were they like when wakened suddenly in the middle of the night? Of course, ordinarily Peter is the kindest, best fellow in the world; but, after all that didn't prove everything! We had a dog once who was very good natured, but he would snap like anything if disturbed when sleeping! Not meaning of course that Peter would snap! I shuddered and felt ashamed of my revolting comparison. But it showed that I couldn't tell just what Peter might do before he became thoroughly awake. I loved Peter—anything, anything he might do now would not keep me from loving him. But I would not waken him and tell him I was cold and miserable.

Then a happy thought struck me. I would slide my bed closer to the fire. Perhaps the ground would not be so hard and uneven there and I could get warm.

I crept out of bed very cautiously and moved the blankets so that my feet would be close to the big red log. Then I rolled the blankets about me once more.

Yes, it was much more comfortable. It was just like having a hot water bottle against my feet. I dozed off.

I woke with a start. My feet were down-right hot!

Gracious heaven! My blankets were on fire!

I jumped up and managed to smother the flames by rolling the top of the blankets over onto the burning edge. I moved with the greatest care in spite of my excitement. My blankets were ruins.

Now what should I do? Peter was selfish to lie there so comfortably while I was suffering!

Well, maybe I could manage. I'm not very long, and there was a piece of blanket that seemed to be free from burns. As I crept in and tried to wrap it around me, I hoped it wasn't smutty. But I had to risk that. There were worse things than a little smut! I crawled down to make it cover my shoulders, and my feet stuck out. I crawled up a little and my shoulders stuck out. It was like the games I used to play—sometimes my feet were "it," sometimes my head. Wedding trips were frightful things! I would never take another!

I was shivering by this time and intensely miserable. How warm and comfortable Peter looked! He was selfish. He

(Continued on Page 28)

The People's Council

What It Is and What It Stands For! By Scott Nearing, Chairman.

WHAT IT IS

THE People's Council movement is a local, national and international federation of the forces that are working for democracy and peace. It arose out of the crisis that came with the great war; it has played a leading part in the establishment of the Russian Republic; it is active in England and France; it has gained a firm foothold in the United States notwithstanding the efforts made by the forces of reaction to destroy it.

The People's Council is growing in spite of the immense odds arrayed against it. The Council was prevented by the authorities in three states from holding a full convention during the first week of September, 1917; nevertheless it completed an organization. The Council has been denied the use of the mails, except for first class matter; nevertheless its message is being scattered broadcast by zealous men and women in all parts of the country. Every mouthpiece of privilege, vested wrong and reaction has reviled and denounced us; nevertheless the choicest spirits of the country are joining our ranks.

The movement is growing; growing rapidly; growing because it is getting the support of the leading liberal and radical elements of the country; growing because it has a message to deliver and a work to do for the people of America and of the world.

WHAT IT STANDS FOR

Its object—political and industrial democracy. The People's council is one among many organizations that is working toward "equal opportunity for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and therefore toward the extermination of special privilege by means of the public control of all public business, economic as well as political.

Its purpose—united action. The People's council differs from many organizations that are working for the same objects, in that its purpose is to secure united action among the champions of progress by providing a common meeting ground for all of the liberal and radical forces in American life, and through our relations with similar movements in Russia, England, France and other foreign countries, to make common cause with the forward-looking people of the world.

The forces of reaction are tied together in a world-wide organization. If the forces of progress are to win, they too must have the strength that comes only with united effort.

Liberals and radicals differ in theory and differ in method, yet there are many things like the maintenance of free speech and a free press; making wealth pay for the war; freeing the land for the people; democratizing industry; and maintaining social and economic justice, upon which all liberals and radicals agree. It is the purpose of the People's council to discover these points of agreement, and to unite the forces behind a program that will realize them in the life of the community.

Its policy—a minimum program. The People's council will not be a partisan organization. It will aim to establish a common meeting-place for the liberal and radical partisans of the country. The Council expects to have in every community, a local People's council; in each state a state council, and for the country, a national council, composed, respectively, of the representations from all of the liberal and radical forces in the community. The Council proposes that these delegates shall meet locally and nationally, and work out a

statement of the local or national issues upon which they can agree. The statement of common issues, when it is made, will provide a minimum working program upon which the liberals and radicals can unite their forces, stand together and fight the issues to a successful conclusion.

Each of the organizations sending delegates to the People's council will, of course, carry on its own work in its own way, but all will unite in working for the common minimum program upon which all have agreed.

Its next move—organization. For the immediate present, we propose four lines of activity,—

(a) We are circulating hundreds of thousands of the "Referendum Peace Delegates Ballot". Advise the national office how many of these ballots you can use to advantage and we shall send them to you.

(b) We have opened a Washington office and propose to assemble there, at the earliest possible moment, a strong working body from the organizations constituting the People's council.

(c) We must send a delegation or mission to Russia, England and France with instructions to establish co-operative relations with the Workmen's and People's councils in those countries.

(d) We must push the work of organizing local councils with the idea of having 1,000 local councils established before the congressional election in November, 1918.

If there is a local council in your town, join it. If there is no local council, organize one. A letter to the Organizing Secretary, addressed to the national office will bring you suggestions and literature.

Beginning with first of the year, all local councils in good standing will pay to the national office a pro rata yearly assessment for the work of the national office. Until that democratic plan of finance is operative, the People's council needs ten thousand men and women who are sufficiently interested in its work to pay \$1 down and pledge a dollar a month for ten months.

If the fight which the People's council is making for democracy and peace is worth twenty five cents a week, every reader of the Western Comrade will send his name and his dollar to the national office, 138 West 13th street, New York City.

The Challenge of the Tillers

Ye say to us, 'tis we who feed the world:

Ye give us loud enjoining of our task;

Ye scruple not the boon of boons to ask—

Our toil's allegiance to a flag unfurled.

Hear then our cry, in righteous anger hurled

Upon the easeful ones who blink and bask

Within the halls of greed, who wear the mask

Of truth, yet are as waiting adders curled:

How shall we serve if ye possess the land?

How long shall we be herded like the kine

With mete and bound and harsh dividing line?

Without the soil, what use the willing hand?

If then your words be aught but mouthings vain,

Restore our rightful heritage again!

—Richard Warner Borst.

The Principles of Money

By Clinton Bancroft

Written Specially For the Western Comrade. Those Copying Please Give Credit.

ISSUING mediums of exchange is properly a government function. But as the full exercise of that function is essential to the industrial welfare of a community, in so far as the government fails to perform it, the individuals of the community are frequently forced to resort to more or less effective methods of performing it for themselves; and as the function is best performed socially, there is always manifested a tendency among individuals to associate themselves together for the purpose of performing it. Banking corporations, stock exchanges, boards of trade, clearing houses, labor exchanges, are all evidences of this tendency on the part of individuals to get together and handle in an associate way, and place the associate stamp of genuineness upon bills, notes, stocks, bonds, certificates and other representatives of value issued by the individual. But the result of such individual or associated effort at performing a government function can never equal the results of government effort. That is, other things being equal, any representative of value which the government has stamped as genuine and approved must always exceed so stamped by private individuals or corporations, when all purposes are considered. But for very many purposes that stamped by the latter may be as commercially useful and valuable as that stamped by the government.

These principles are stated for the purpose of emphasizing the fact that the banks of the co-operative banking commonwealth in establishing a new system of responsible banking and exchange are only conforming to a commercial and industrial necessity that is being forced upon them as it is upon other industrial and commercial bodies by the failure of the government to do what it ought to do. They will issue their media of exchange protecting for the reasons given, that they ought not to be compelled to exercise such

a function and declaring that their only purpose in doing so is to supplement, so far as they can, the insufficient volume of government medium; and the methods they will adopt of supplementing the insufficient supply of government money is again simply to do what the government ought, but has failed to do, namely, to furnish the people opportunities for mediumizing the real values they may possess.

To understand why the government should be the only issuer of money, it is necessary to understand the principles upon which the money of the future will be based. These principles are two in number and simple in statement. The first, is that money should be solely and only a representative of value, not a value itself, and therefore in no true sense a measure of value. It should represent only. It should stand for, it should reflect, it should represent value, but it should possess none. If it possesses value in itself it is a commodity and the transaction in which it is used is a barter and not a sale. If it possesses value it can not be money; it can never be aught but a commodity, and its commercial use never anything but barter. All the conventions and agreements from Adam to the Millenium, and all the government stamps of the world can never make money out of a commodity. It may be called money, and it may be used to facilitate ex-

changes; but its commodity character, its intrinsic value, forever prevents its becoming money. It is a circulating barter, a current commodity, but not money. Its circulating, representative value is forever mingled and confused with its intrinsic value. It thus becomes a measure of value and a measure that is false and vicious because no one can tell how far its circulating value and how far its commodity value is operating its measurements. Measuring value is no proper function of money; that which it represents may do so, but money may not except in such representative capacity. Money can only represent value, nothing more and nothing less than that. This principle cuts out of the definition of money everything that possesses value in itself.

The second principle declares that the sole and only function of money is to identify the ownership of value. But in performing that function it follows ownership, and in following ownership it becomes a medium for exchanging among men the ownership of values. This last, a result of its function, has come to be popularly regarded as the function itself. There are critics who uphold that popular error, and maintain that the purpose of the function has been mistaken for the function itself; that the function of money is to serve as a medium of exchange, and that the purpose of that function is to identify ownership. But as this article aims only at establishing the principle that the purpose of money is to identify the ownership of value, it matters not whether they call its doing so the function or the purpose of the function. This second principle, that the primary function of money is to identify the ownership of values, and therefore becomes a medium for exchanging those values, directly depends upon and flows from the the first principle laid down—that money is simply and solely a representative of value; for

THE SOLE and only function of money is to identify the ownership of value. In performing that function it follows ownership, and it becomes a medium for exchanging among men the ownership of values. This last, a result of its function, has come to be popularly regarded as the function itself. The banking system of the co-operative commonwealth will be based purely on the natural tendency of money to represent value.

if money simply represents value, then its natural purpose would seem to be to represent that value to some one and thus identify the ownership of that value. Upon these two principles the money of the future will be based, and upon them the banking system of the co-operative commonwealth will be built so far as circumstances and conditions will permit. To establish the soundness of these principles it is only necessary to trace the history of the birth and growth of money. Let us look at that a moment.

The ownership of value can be identified in two ways only, by its legal, actual possession, or by the legal possession of that which represents it. In ancient times the former method was practically the only method. Actual, lawful possession was necessary to identify ownership. He who wished to establish his legal ownership to things had to show actual, legal possession. It was not a very satisfactory method, for legal possession in those rude times was not always easy to hold nor easy to prove; but it was the only way they knew and they had to conform to it. If men wished to exchange with each other ownership of things of value, they could only do so by a witnessed exchange of actual possession. Whether these things were chattels or land made

(Continued on Page 29)

Current Problems By Walter Thomas Mills

A Game of Chance for the Chance to Live

(Written Specially for Western Comrade.)

IT HAS been seen in the previous articles that only by the union of the trades-unionists, the co-operators, the farmers and the Socialists, is there a possibility of deliverance for the workers.

It has also been seen that in this struggle for deliverance as in the daily task of making a living, the work of organization and management is the greatest task of all.

The question this time is: How can effective organization and management be secured in this struggle for deliverance?

Just recently the State Federation of Labor, the co-operative societies and the farmers' organizations of the State of California met in conference. The purpose of the conference was to consider what public measures all of these organizations could unite in supporting and to create a joint body to undertake the furtherance of the measures agreed upon.

The conference was representative of all these interests and the State Federation of Labor interrupted its regular annual meeting to provide the time and place for its proceedings.

A joint committee of twelve from each of these groups, that from the trades unions, the co-operative societies and the farmers' unions, was appointed.

The committee will meet at an early day and adopt such measures as all can agree to support and it is confidently believed that whatever measures these three committees can agree on will be instantly adopted and supported by the Socialists of California.

With this union of interests there can be but one outcome. The useful people of California will take over the management of affairs in their own behalf.

At the same time this is going forward, it should be noticed that the Socialists of the State have ceased to argue that they are the representatives in politics of the working class and have created a form of state organization which can be nothing else than a part of the workers and which will need no resolutions to make it such.

Now, each of the nine great industrial or occupational groups in the State elected its own State organizer and these organizers at once became the only State Committee.

The State Committee just going out of office was made up of most capable and devoted comrades, but I am told that none of them were members of any trade union or other industrial or occupational organization.

The printers, the transport workers, the farmers, the building trades, the office employees, the miners and the factory workers are all represented by those who are members of their own trade organizations and the professional workers and the house wives are represented by persons of long years of service in the occupations which they represent.

The new committee of organizers is to meet soon and the most serious tasks before them are these two,—the party's

activity in connection with the referendum measures to be supported in the next election, and the organization of the new committee work so that at the earliest possible moment there may be nine people in the State each with a Ford car and each giving his whole time and his best energies to the promotion of the particular economic interests of the group which has elected him and which group alone will have the power to instruct or recall.

The party now has two Ford machines, neither one of which is now in the party service.

The party has a membership of 2500. It has has a vote of 100,000. There ought to be a party membership of 10,000 straight away and of 25,000 before the next election. The additional Ford machines and the additional working force can at once make this party mean something in the economic battles of the future.

There must be harmony of action with the newly-organized joint committee of the trades unions, the co-operative societies and the farmers' organizations. But the action must not be simply harmonious. It must be effective.

What has all this to do with the "Game of Chance for a Chance in Life?"

Heretofore in all the great movements involving the opportunity to have and to use the means of life, these movements have all the time been more or less games of chance.

The grangers built a great farmers movement. It was disrupted by politicians who used their positions in the state to destroy very largely the efficiency of that organization in the work which it undertook at the beginning.

The Knights of Labor, with only a few years' run, while at its height accomplished more progressive things in behalf of labor than was ever accomplished before or since in so brief a period.

But the clash of interests, not at all economic in their character and having no rational place in a labor organization, tore that organization into shreds in the hour of its greatest possibilities.

The Populist party was primarily a farmers' movement. The Knights of labor, which had helped to create this party, went on the rocks and the Bryan Democrats took over the farmer cause to serve it with a single measure entirely temporary in its benefits had it been victorious. But it went to defeat and to disaster.

The Socialist Labor party commanded at one time the respect and the support of a very large and capable following, but the struggle between factions—neither one of which was representative of any great economic interest—made of the party a lingering group of dogmatic converts serving anything but the definite, immediate interests of any body of workers.

It may be that all this only fortells the probable outcome of

(Continued on Page 29)

THE Socialists of California have ceased to argue that they are the political representatives of the working class and have created a form of state organization which can be nothing else than a party of the workers and which will need no resolutions to make it such.

Co-operation the World Over

Notes About the Chief Co-operatives Gleaned from Many Sources

The Socialist Exchange

The Socialist Exchange was established January 16, 1914 and is now finishing its third year. Its founders were all members of the Socialist party. The original idea in starting the organization was to establish a co-operative through which members could benefit both financially and in an educational way. Educationally, the institution has been an unqualified success.

In order to become a member of the Exchange, one must be a member of the Socialist party in good standing. A membership in the exchange costs \$5.00, which amount is all that any one person may invest. There is no stock, no system of shares, no interest, no dividend and no wage. We are selling on a basis of ten per cent, all money over and above expenses going back into the business.

The store is open twice a week, on Wednesdays from seven to nine p. m., and on Saturdays from one to nine p. m. One manager and eight assistant-managers are regularly elected. Everybody must clerk. A schedule hangs in the store at all times which shows when and how long the respective members must work.

We do all our business by credit cards, no cash being handled. The goods come in denominations of \$1, \$2, \$3, \$5 and \$10. The cards are consecutively numbered from one to so many thousands and each series has a different color. There is always an assistant manager at the desk who sell cards and who debits the cards as the customers bring in their bills always in duplicate. The system gives us a simple record of everything we do. We have but one book for our book-keeping. The first item is for the credit-cards sold during the day; the second item is the bills paid; the third item is the sales to the members. This gives us a complete record of each days work.

When selling credit cards, the name of the purchaser, the number of the card and the amount purchased go down in the book.

Having to run a store in addition to the occupation of making a living is a rather strenuous job. Therefore, we had to simplify matters as much as possible.

We sell groceries, dry goods, furniture, carpets, rugs, and jewelry. In fact, we sell everything except shoes and hats. We have connections with large wholesale houses. We also sell coal in carload lots direct to the consumer. Three to five householders combine, order a car, get teams, and unload the car.

We have saved a good sum of money in that way.

We also have a tailor shop in which we make suits and overcoats to order. All of our clothing has the union label. We sell our clothes to everybody and especially to those living in the rural districts.

Our advertisement has appeared in the American Socialist.

We are making the tailor clothes for the American Co-operative Association, which is the business department of the American Society of Equity, the big farmers' union.

I am now making arrangements with a large house to sell ready-made boys' and men's suits.

In the fall we buy potatoes in car lots and distribute them. We also sell apples and honey in large quantities, thereby saving ourselves money. In our by-laws, we have a provision whereby members can deposit money in the store in any amounts they wish. They cannot, however, draw out more than \$5 a week unless they give the manager thirty days' notice. We also have a provision that when a member dies, all the profits that have accumulated through his purchases may be drawn out. By that I mean that if such purchases amounted to \$400, according to the last inventory which has been taken, that amount in profits can be taken out. The same holds true if a member becomes sick or is out of work. The manager appoints a committee to investigate into all these conditions, and if the committee reports favorably, then the member secures his share of the profits.

In writing this, I do not wish to imply that our enterprise has been a brilliant success from the very beginning. It has not. People have not yet been educated to the point where they can appreciate the co-operative system of doing business. At times we become disheartened. But our membership at the present writing is staunch and tried and will stick.

Remember, that only members may buy in our store. In other words, it is a closed shop.

F. G. HACHENBERGER, Manager,
Machinist Local, No. 478

Pick Your Manager

It is a peculiar and significant fact that nearly all the co-operative stores that have failed within the vicinity of New York during the past three years were organized and managed by experienced business men. One of the most miserable failures was that of a store under the management of a high-priced professional buyer.—Co-operative League of America.

Association a Power

Association is the master word of modern days; it is the key to efficiency, power and equality.

Corporations are associations of capital for its profit; labor unions are associations for the profit of its members; co-operative associations are for the profit of all the people who choose to associate.

Co-operative associations for business economize cost, prevent sharp practice, assure honest goods and weights. There is no private profit in co-operative business—therefore no temptation to be unscrupulous. The people own the business and, strangely enough, refuse to cheat themselves. The members elect their directors and the latter employ the help to do the work as the stockholders and directors in a bank do. There is this difference, however: The officers in a bank make all the money they can and pay it as dividends on the stock; the managers of a co-operative association sell as cheaply as possible, turn the profit to the customer, and give the stockholder only the interest.

When co-operation becomes general, there will be no great private fortunes, no involuntary poverty, no international trade rivalry, and, therefore, no war. Co-operation will turn the economic and social interests of the world into the channels of peace and good-will.—The Nelson Co-operative Association, New Orleans, Louisiana.

Results Abroad

Co-operation has paid in other countries. The movement began in England when twenty-eight poor weavers of Rochdale started a store of their own with a capital of \$140. They found that by being their own merchants, selling to themselves and distributing profits among themselves, they could save money which had formerly gone into others' pockets. Co-operation was proved practical, and its influence extended rapidly. To day there are more than 4000 co-operative societies in Great Britain alone, with 2,700,000 members. These with their families represent 8,000,000 persons. In 1912, these societies did a business of more than half a billion dollars, returning to members profits of \$60,000,000 or more than ten per cent on their purchases.—New England Co-operative Society.

The Co-operative League of America

The Technical Advisory Board of the Co-operative League of America, Educational Building, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City, is composed of experts in every department of Consumers' Co-operation, and is representative of all parts of the country. A request to the office of the League will bring to individuals and societies the best obtainable advice in regard to particular problems. In the interest of Co-operation you are invited to utilize this opportunity.

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News and Views in Agriculture

Kernels of Seed Corn Truth

If you plant corn from stalks that have suckers, that is what you will raise. Like begets like. Select your cornseed from the stalk as it stands, so you will know its parentage.

Short, thick, stormproof stalks with ears that grow low are the right kind for the Central and Southern States. Get your seed from such stalks because slender, top-heavy stands are likely to mean losses.

Seed ears from the best-producing stalks in the field produce more than seed ears apparently as good, but gathered without considering the productivity of the parent stalk. The place to select seed corn is in the field, not in the crib; the time to select it is as soon as it is mature, not at husking time.

Take seed corn from the best-producing stalks as they stand thick in the field. Such seed is more likely to meet competition successfully than seed which comes from a stalk which stood alone and did not suffer from the crowding of its neighbors.—U. S. Dept. Agriculture.

Pink Bollworm Not in Texas

The experts state that reports that the pink bollworm has established itself in Texas are erroneous. In the past few weeks there has been an unusual outbreak of the common bollworm of cotton, an insect which in one stage assumes a reddish color. It is believed that the reports are due to the finding of the one which has been common in Texas for many years.

Save the Beeswax

Owing to the unprecedented demand for beeswax and the high prices now offered, it will pay even the amateur with only a few colonies of bees to save and sell all the wax he may accumulate. A year or two ago wax was selling for about twenty-six cents a pound. Now it is worth from thirty-six to thirty-eight cents, and large quantities are being exported, especially to Russia. It will be well for the beekeeper to keep all the wax obtained when uncapping combs for extracting honey, as this is wax of the best quality.

Perhaps the easiest way of getting wax out of the old combs is to put the combs into a meal bag, tie the mouth firmly, and put the bag into a wash boiler on the stove. The boiler should be filled about three-fourths full of water, and after boiling starts the sack should be kept moving by means of a large stick, possibly a clothes stick, considerable pressure being exerted, which will help to work out the wax.

After several hours the boiler may be set off the stove, and some bricks used to keep the bag at the bottom of the boiler. Much of the wax will rise to the top, and can be removed readily after it cools. Sometimes it is skimmed off as fast as it rises. Of course much more wax can be obtained with a wax press. The average amateur is not provided with such an equipment, but can obtain a very satisfactory press for about six dollars. Extractors that use the heat of the sun to melt the combs cost about four dollars and a half.

All the wax that is to be marketed should first be melted up and molded into a cake in order to facilitate handling. The wax may be easily shaped by being run into bread pans or any square cans. If care is taken most of the wax can be dipped out without carrying much dirt.—Country Gentleman.

Efficiency in Breeding

Two lines of profit are derived by the use of specially selected mares on farms, viz., in raising colts, and in doing farm work.

To secure the maximum gains from this system, all the animals used for work on the farm should be brood mares.

Mares chosen for work and breeding must be well-bred, sound individuals of desirable conformation. It does not pay to raise scrub colts.

Mares doing this double duty should receive extra care and management.

The selection of a stallion is highly important. A low service fee should not tempt if the stallion is inferior.

There may be less interference with the farm work if the most mares foal in the fall.

It is advantageous to produce a uniform lot of foals. Select breeding animals with this in view.

Careful choice of matings creates greater possibilities for the offspring, but these possibilities are realized only when nourishing feed and regular attention are given the young animals.

The plan suggested is an advance toward producing better horses. Count on the colt crop, but remember that good breeding, proper feed, and careful management are essential.—Bureau of Animal Husbandry.

The Function of the Farm Bureau

A farm bureau is an organization of farmers and ranchers who combine to promote agriculture through co-operative study of farm conditions.

Many types of farmers' organizations have long been existent. There have been farmers' clubs, granges, institutes, unions, alliances, and others. Some of these have been more or less successful, but many have passed away. Their failure has usually been due to one or more of the following causes: (1) lack of a distinct purpose to fill a definite need; (2) lack of membership to sufficiently represent all classes of farmers and types of farming; (3) lack of co-operation with other similar farm organizations; (4) lack of continuous and unselfish leadership.

The farm bureau is distinct from all of these. It is not primarily a social organization; neither is it essentially to unite farmers so as to lower prices of stuffs bought and to raise prices of products sold. It is formed to bring together for mutual co-operation those farmers who want to investigate the fundamental problems that are involved in production on their farms.—University of California.

The Need of Organization

Lack of organization among farmers spells chaos, immediate loss to the producer and ultimate loss to the consumer. The organized producers are getting fair prices and the unorganized are losing all the time.—Harris Weinstock, State Market Director of California.

A Poison for Squirrels

Government formula. Barley (clean grain) 16 quarts, strychnine (powdered alkaloid) one ounce; Bicarbonate of soda (baking soda) one ounce, thin starch paste, $\frac{3}{4}$ pint; heavy corn syrup, $\frac{1}{4}$ pint; glycerine, tablespoonful, Saccharin, $\frac{1}{10}$ ounce.

The Revolution in North Dakota

(Continued from Page 13)

the League should capture the three places on the bench, all hope would be gone.

The Interests knew that the executive department was gone, but they also knew that the Legislative branch could not come entirely into the possession of the League. They knew that there were 24 hold-over senators, 22 of whom could be relied upon to thwart any attempt to legislate for the farmers. Now, then, if the court could be retained, all would not be lost. Hence a live campaign was waged by the Old Guard for the capture of at least one place on the bench. The League, however, paid no special attention to the court, as the primary had given its candidates a considerable margin over those supported by opposition.

In the election, the League candidates swept the field. Frazier defeated his democratic opponent by a vote of 87,000 to 21,000 and the remainder of the League ticket won by similar majorities. The League candidates for the Supreme Court had majorities ranging from 13,000 to 24,000. Eighty five out of 113 members to the lower house and 18 out of 25 senators chosen at the 1916 election, were captured by the League. It was the most smashing defeat ever suffered by the Plunderbund at any time or at any place. So far as possible the victory of the farmers was complete. But, at that, it was only a tame affair compared to the victories that are in store for the farmers and wageworkers through the instrumentality of the National Non-partisan League in 1918.

[The next and last article in this series will appear in the December Western Comrade.]

Reviews of Recent Readable Books By D. Bobspa

"Why Italy Entered the War"

Carnovale Luigi performs a welcome task in his comprehensive volume, "Why Italy entered into the Great War." Few countries are so little understood in all ways by Americans as Italy. Mr. Luigi gives the background of Italian history from the Roman days to the present, stressing the events from the middle ages to the present and showing how Austria has been the natural enemy of the Italian people through it all. He denies strenuously that Italy carefully studied the two sides of the situation and sided with the group of warring nations likely to profit her most. And he makes a strong and convincing case.

The volume consists of 673 pages, the first half being in English and the second half an Italian version of the text. The author has also written several other books that have been widely reviewed, notably, "Journalism of the Italian Emigrants in America."

Seven reasons are assigned for Italy's entrance into the arena of war: (1) Patriotism. "Thus the people, blinded by the astuteness and brutalized by the perfidy of such parasitic hydras, could not see the light diffused by the apostles of truth (Mazzini and Garibaldi). They could not free themselves from the cancerous error, which is the above-named false patriotism the fundamental cause of all the calamities, of all the sorrows, which today more than ever oppress humanity." (2) Irredentism. "It was a question with Italians how to liberate thousands of their consanguineous relations who were oppressed in their own homes (that is, on ground geographically, historically and morally Italian) by a stranger tyranny that the Italians themselves knew only too well." (3) Austrian sympathy with papal hopes for restoration of temporal authority. (4) National cohesion and military efficiency. There was a desire to refute the current opinion in foreign countries that Italy was lacking in both. (5) Fear of isolation by all the other powers, no matter how the conflict might terminate. (6) The right to travel—a reason assigned a big place in the American protests. (7) Human solidarity. "The Italian people, on account of one of the natural laws which psychologically distinguish the human races from one another, have implanted in them two sentiments: a sentiment of sympathy for the weak, and a sentiment of indignation against the strong who tyrannize over the weak."

Luigi's attachments to Italy do not blind him to underlying causes of the war. He merely realizes what we have practically all been forced to recognize, that there are more elements than one shaping the complex affairs of human destiny. Says Luigi:

"The life of a nation, nowadays, notwithstanding its complexities, depends in great part on essentially industrial bases constructed by the people, not for their own advantage, but for the advantage of a big bellied and cruel minority called plutocracy, which has nothing else in common with the people except their simple Darwinian origin.

"Such national industrialism, is able to maintain itself and prosper—always to the benefit of the big-bellied and cruel minority called plutocracy must necessarily push itself into commercial competition against the industrialism of another nation, or nations, and vice versa. But commercial competition, in order to give financial results proportionate to the insatiable greed of the nationalist plutocracy, must be incessantly and strenuously favored and defended by the State.

"And why shouldn't it, if the State government of today, be it covered by a mask surrounded by a royal crown or by a republican cap, is none other than a being voluntarily placed at the services of the big-bellied and cruel minority called plutocracy?.....*.....*.....*.....*.....And the war which today rages in Europe is one provoked for no other reason than that of jealousy of the German plutocracy for the English commercial supremacy of the world. The other causes were all of secondary importance."

There is much more in this strain. But you must not think the book contains nothing more. It is a comprehensive statement of the subject of Italy's connection with the Great War.

(Italian-American Publishing Company, Chicago.)

"Little Stories of the Screen"

The movies present life in sharp outline—quick, snappy and comprehensive surveys in the minimum of space. One would not think of looking to the scenarios themselves for literature. Yet such a volume has been printed, and it is as interesting reading as the screen productions were interesting to look upon.

This is William Addison Lathrop's "Little Stories from the Screen." Twenty-five of the author's scenarios are here reproduced, exactly as they were submitted to the studio. They cover a wide range of subjects and practically all will be familiar to the average movie fan. I can see where they would be of value as models to scenarios writers. But

their greatest function will be entertainment. J. Stuart Blackton, one of the elite of the producing world, says "Mr. Lathrop writes the most alluring synopses of anyone I know."

Pictures from the movies illustrate each story. There is a snap and swing in each tale—for there is no place for anything but action. The author disclaims any literary intent, yet his makeup is such that he cannot restrain from a delightful literary quality in even what ordinarily supposed to be as bald as a movie synopsis. Those presented were accepted by various film companies and produced in one to five reels. The best known actors and actresses and directors figured in their making.—(Britton & Company, New York.)

"The Red Badge of Courage"

A beautiful red leather edition of Stephen Crane's masterpiece, "The Red Badge of Courage," has just been printed. I suppose it is the military spirit of the rulers that prompt a reprinting in such attractive form of this wonderfully told "Episode of the American Civil War." In some the story will foster the spirit of patriotism and atavism. But they are unthinking, indeed, who thus respond to the touch of Mr. Crane's epic.

For the thinker the story carries another message—the horror of war. Stephen Crane gave one of the most vivid "close-up" portraits ever painted of a battle field and its surroundings. Not that this picture drips with blood. Its horror is of a deeper nature. Few stories have so powerfully presented a psychological study of a human being. The youth enlisted in a burst of ambition, only to be disillusioned in the long, tedious days of camp life. Then came the first battle. The day just preceding the action found the youth harrowed with fear that he would be a coward. In his first battle he did run from the firing line, but in the mixing up of regiments his act never became known. How he subsequently learned the deeper meaning of the army is told step by step. The searching of the soul is deep and thorough.

This classic of Mr. Crane's imagination is beautifully descriptive, dynamic in action and intense in the depicting of the passions of an ordinary mortal. The new edition contains a portrait of the author and an introduction by Arthur Guy Empey, author of "Over the Top," whose experiences in the European war. He says, "The Red Badge of Courage" is not a story of war. It is War, the real, unvarnished thing." And again "To the civilian who has never smelled powder, and who wants to know what it feels like to have the bullets 'cracking' around him and the shells moaning overhead and tearing up the landscape, 'The Red Badge of Courage' will take him safely through the battle, and when he reaches 'The End' he also is a veteran."

He who understands war will hate war. As a masterpiece of literature and as a classic indictment of the brutality of war, Mr. Crane's book is worthy of this greater hearing the new edition will give to it.—(D. Appleton & Company, New York.)

With Our Editor Friends

Frank Harris puts across a great bit of journalism in the October Pearson's Magazine, in his "Open Letter to the President." He commends the president for many of his acts and points out his opportunity to lead the world to peace and democracy if he will. "Lay the foundations of a real republic, Sir: turn a sordid capitalistic despotism into a great industrial democracy and your name will stand in the future above those even of Washington and Lincoln side by side with the sacred names of Gutama Buddha and Jesus the Christ."

Harry W. Laidler tells of the co-operative movement of Britain. There are also "Arizona's Tea Party," by Harold Callender; Bernard Shaw on "The Golden West"; Michael Monahan on "The Great White Way"; H. P. Richardson on "Ingersoll and the Chicago Anarchists"; Charles Peters in "Devastated Europe," by Maure Martin; and many other interesting features, including comment on men, books and current affairs by Frank Harris. G. B. Shaw says:

"That sort of thing is always going on in America. What is the use of writing at the angry ape? If he won't listen to Shakespeare he won't listen to me. I have no illusions about the Golden West; probably, however, it only seems the worst place in the world politically and juridically because there is less hushing up; that is, less solidarity among the governing class than in England or Russia.

"I have tried without success to get nominated to the Irish convention. I am delegated to the Allied Socialist conference in London next week, and to Stockholm; but I cannot see what Socialism has to do with the war. War is not a Socialist game; and it is one at which the loser must pay.

(Continued on Page 29)

Making Socialism a Power

(Continued from Page 19)

legislative bodies of the state in proportion to their strength.

With the assistance of J. H. Ryckman of Los Angeles we have drafted a public ownership measure and a social insurance bill which, if placed on the ballot, will focus the attention of America to California.

The public ownership measure provides that the "state or political subdivision thereof may engage in any occupation or business for public purposes, and contract necessary debts therefor authorized by the people for certain purposes definitely stated and secured by bonds upon such utility or enterprise; requires provision be made for levying annual tax upon value of land irrespective of improvements and not otherwise, to pay interest semi-annually and principle within time determined by people, and appropriates proceeds thereof to such payment until debt is fully paid; declares provisions thereof not controlled or limited by other constitutional provision."

The social insurance bill establishes "social insurance system supported solely by taxing land, irrespective of improvements, administered by five commissioners each paid five thousand dollars annually, for health, welfare, support during illness, disability, old age and disemployment of persons and their dependents, citizens of California, having insufficient incomes to live in reasonable comfort; declares minimum weekly standard thereof ten dollars plus three dollars for each dependent (non-dependents sixty years old, or unable to earn same, to receive sufficient from fund to make their income equal thereto); relieves this section of all constitutional restrictions."

I am sure this program will appeal to the American spirit.

VICTOR J. McCONE,

State Secretary Socialist Party of Oregon

THE Socialist party may become a great power in American politics if it will divorce itself from alien influence, if it will come out in the open and say: "We are here in America; let us be Americans and stand by the nation armed in a just cause." But it is doubtful if it will ever do that. The party machinery is under the control of the foreign language federations, none of which are moved by purely American considerations. Of them all, the most active and pernicious, is the German federation which resorted to regular machine politics to secure the election of Adolph Germer as national secretary.

Our war program, namely the so-called "majority report" is the thing that sticks in the crop of so many Socialists. It is so unmistakably comforting to the enemy. It repudiates that necessary loyalty to one's country that must always be an introduction to any criticism one has to offer. It is a slap in the face administered by the Socialist party to the people of the United States, and the people of the United States are backing the war. Let no one forget that fact! This is already a popular war, and will be more so as time goes on.

When the casualty lists are published, the effect will be to make the war even more popular, for the fallen heroes will be the people's own, and woe to those in that hour who shall raise their voices in opposition to the national will and endeavor!

We are informed in the July issue of the National Socialist party bulletin that article 2, section 6, of the national constitution has been repealed by referendum by a vote of al-

most two to one. This section of the constitution was aimed at the anarchists and syndicalists in the Socialist party who looked upon the party for a time as a convenient buffer for the "situations that the I. W. W. would create for it." It was hoped that this section would drive these Bolsheviki out of the movement, but they were back at the St. Louis convention and under the guise of the so-called Socialist Propaganda league they repealed the famous "section 6" and in their "Majority report" committed the Socialist party to the anarchist program.

When one reads paragraph (I) of the program of the "majority report" with its anarchistic phrasing, and then thinks of the repeal of article 2, section 6, of the national constitution, one doubts whether the Socialist party will ever "become a greater power in American politics." One conjectures, rather, that the Socialist party will finally become as insignificant as the Socialist Labor party.

The Socialist press is endangering its existence by its undeniable and ultimate treason to the American cause. The Socialist party since the St. Louis convention has been careering around the political field precisely as if it had no sense.

If the Socialist party desires to become a great power in the land it must first repudiate the work of the last national Socialist convention, and then take the position assumed by the London convention of the various Socialist parties of the allied nations. It must shake off the incubus of alien control. The foreign language federations must be forced to resume their proper subordinate place. Americans should, and must, control the party policy. The party must Americanize itself and instead of antagonizing America, it must seek to interpret the spirit of America in language America can understand. It must stand behind the government in this war. It must free itself from the suspicion of pro-Germanism. If it will do all these things it has a chance; otherwise, though Socialism is in the ascendant, the Socialist party is doomed to extinction.

The Story of a Night

(Continued from Page 21)

would be sorry if he knew I was unhappy.

Oh, if only I knew something of the customs and habits of husbands!

The tears were beginning to come. Frozen and distracted, my feet started towards Peter. I did not. It was my feet. They took me to where he lay. I leaned close and studied his face in the firelight. I had never seen him asleep before. Now that his brown eyes with their twinkling lights were closed, his face looked much older and a little sad. But perhaps it was the flickering shadow of the fire. I could not be afraid of Peter when he looked like that.

I touched his face softly. "Peter!"

He reached up, not yet half awake, and caught my hand.

"Joan! Oh Joan! You wanted to come! You wanted to!"

I had to tell him the truth. He would find out in the morning anyway.

"My bed burnt up."

"What!"

"M-m-y bed b-burnt up. I m-moved it and it g-g-got burnt up."

Peter fully awake now, sat up, and reached for his little electric search light.

"Burnt up? Are You burned?" He turned the light upon me.

"N-no. Just c-c-old."

Peter extinguished the light and I heard a suspicious sound. "It isn't f-funny," I said.

"Her bed got burnt up! Her bed got— No, of course it isn't funny! Did her bed get burned, poor little dear, and are her footsums cold? Well, come! Peter will warm you."

Gently, comforting, he pulled me beneath the shelter of the warm covering. I lay breathlessly still while the tears dried on my face.

"At last my opportunity has come," Peter said. Oh me! Once I caught a mouse in the granary and when I took it in my hands it lay stark and stiff with fear. I thought of it now.

He held me close. "There's no wing sprouting on this shoulder blade—and none on this. Well I'm relieved. I've always been afraid of it. We don't want any angels in the family. Now go to sleep, or I'll spank you!"

My arm reached softly round his neck. "Peter," I whispered, "I—love—you—so. I wish I'd come sooner. Why didn't you make me?"

"I don't want a slave," he said stubbornly.

We lay without speaking a long time. Finally I began to drowse.

"Peter! How fast your heart is beating!"

"Yes, my precious."

"Peter—it was funny—about—the—fire—and—and every-thing—"

"You're sure" he asked cautiously.

"Yes. Laugh if you want to."

And he did. He sat up and laughed; and he lay down and laughed; and he hugged me and laughed.

"Oh! Joan! You darling There's a big daub of smut on your nose! I saw it by the search light! You blessed little idiot!"

"I don't care. It's probably on yours by now."

He laughed harder than ever. "What a night! We'll never forget it!"

He subsided into soft chuckles.

"All the same, Joan—"

"H-m-m?"

"God Bless that fire!"

Book Reviews (Continued from Page 27)

If there be a loser he will have to pawn his shirt. Only a draw can make the sort of pious peace that the Russians are dreaming of possible. So we must await the events."

* * *

One doesn't ordinarily review a catalogue, but when it is Alfred A Knopf's announcement booklet it is a work of art in itself and worthy of mention. His fall announcement list should fall into the hands of all book lovers. Send for it—220 West 42 Street, New York. Mr. Knopf publishes books for one reason we all work for—to live. But that ends the financial part of the game. He wants to live—has to and does. But above all he wants to produce the best there is in literature and does.

I could fall upon the neck of Mr. Knopf and congratulate his aesthetic sense. He says "I love books physically and I want to make them beautiful." A poor book is better than none if it is impossible to have lovely books, but the true lover of books wants them to be beautiful. That is one reason I like Mr. Knopf's publications so well—a worthy classic in a worthy cover. And he has experimented until he can produce beautiful books as cheaply as the less lovely variety. His fall book list includes a new American novel, "The Three Black Pennys," by Joseph Hergesheimer; three Spanish translations—Pio Baroja's "The City of the Discreet," V. Blasco Ibanex's "The Cabin" and Alberto Blest-Gana's "Martin Rivas"; "God and Mr. Wells," by William Archer; "The Art Theater," by Sheldon Cheney; "A Book of Prefaces" by H. L. Mencken; "A Chaste Man," a novel by Louis Wilkinson; "The Dead Have Never Died," by Edward C. Randall; "Interpreters and Interpretations," by Carl Van Vechten; "Lustra" by Ezra Pound; and several other equally noteworthy books. If Mr. Knopf's Russian hound imprint is on any book, you need not worry as to the worth of its contents.

The Principles of Money

(Continued from Page 23)

no difference. Convenient or inconvenient, the exchange of ownership had to be made by the actual transfer of the possession of the thing itself. If "A" wished to exchange his land for the land of "B", "A" must in the presence of witnesses bring "B" on his land and taking up a handful of earth or breaking some twigs from the trees give them into the hands of "B" and by a formula of words declare the latter to be the possessor of the land; and "B" must go through the same ceremony with "A." Chattel likewise had to be transferred by giving actual possession in the open market or before witnesses.

Current Problems

(Continued from Page 24)

the Socialist party.

Anyway it is agreed that in all these efforts the workers have never had more than a chance and in the end a losing chance at that?

Chances which cannot be avoided must be faced and the consequences bravely endured. Frost and flood and panic in the elements and among men all bring chances when the best that one can do is to take his chance and take with fortitude whatever the chance may bring.

But the rational scheme of progress is one which avoids all needless chance. The opportunity to earn and to have a rational means of living a rational life must cease to be a game of chance and instead become a definite program of service and reward.

To accomplish this means that the organizations and management must be so related to the common good that it cannot serve itself except it serve the common good.

The Socialist has taken the first needful step in the creation of such an organization and is providing for such a management by directly relating each organizer and committeeman to some industrial occupation whose interests he must serve effectively or he cannot remain in his place of service.

The trades unions, co-operators and farmers have taken a step by creating a joint body for State-wide action composed of those who are of their own rank and whose personal interests cannot come into conflict with the interests of others committed to their care.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, OF WESTERN COMRADE PUBLISHED MONTHLY AT LLANO, CALIFORNIA, FOR OCTOBER 1, 1917.

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The owners are, Job Harriman, Llano, California.

The known bondholders, mortgages, and other security holders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

(Signed) ERNEST S. WOOSTER

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 29th day of September, 1917.

F. H. CHAMBERLAIN

Notary in and for the County of Los Angeles, State of California.

(My Commission expires May 19, 1920.)

In the Western Comrade for December

"SPIRITISM AND SOCIALISM"

Lincoln Phifer, Editor of The New World, contributes a special article to the WESTERN COMRADE in which he discusses the subject of spirit manifestation and its relation to the liberal movements of our time.

"CRIME—THE PROBATION SYSTEM"

H. A. Sessions, for 10 years Probation Officer of Fresno County, California, contributes his second special article to the WESTERN COMRADE on the question of dealing with juvenile crime. Sessions analyzes the causes of delinquency and prescribes a remedy.

"JESUS AND WAR"

Robert Whitaker, Socialist divine and veteran in the Socialist Movement for a decade, entertains and edifies WESTERN COMRADE readers with a specially written article on the relation existing between Christianity and the current conceptions of nationalism and patriotism.

"CO-OPERATIVE EDUCATION"

A. A. George, Vice-President of the People's College, Fort Scott, Kansas, in this specially written article, points out the necessity of the workers of the world co-operating to educate themselves.

"REGENERATION"

Dr. John Dequer, well-known by all WESTERN COMRADE readers as a brilliant, forceful writer, has contributed a special article for the December number. Dr. Dequer discusses the World War and the social and industrial revolution which must inevitably follow from it. This contribution is the finest that has ever been offered by Dr. Dequer.

"THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH"

Clinton Bancroft will contribute another of his inimitable and specially written articles on the forces that make for socialism and co-operation.

"THE REVOLUTION IN NORTH DAKOTA"

H. G. Teigan in the December number completes his series of three articles, specially written for the WESTERN COMRADE, on the rise of the exploited farmers in the Northwest and of the triumph of the Non-partisan League.

"MANAGING THE RESOURCES"

Walter Thomas Mills, author, teacher and orator of international fame, tells WESTERN COMRADE readers how the workers are to get permanent control of their affairs.

"LLANO IN LOUISIANA"

The December WESTERN COMRADE will contain another fascinating description of the inspiring work of the members of the Llano del Rio Co-operative Colony in developing the Louisiana extension of Llano. Photographs of the various activities of the new colony will be liberally sprinkled throughout the December magazine.

EDITORIALS

Job Harriman will contribute three pages of comment and opinion on the political and sociological issues of the day.



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- Lesson V.—Trades Unions and Socialism.
- Lesson VI.—The Farmers and Socialism.
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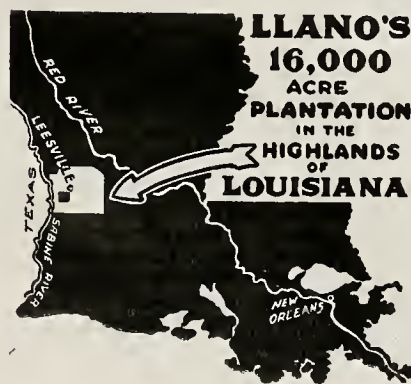
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