

"I am not afraid to spend the better part of my life in the penitentiary for the sake of my principles. I am afraid to betray my principles".
--Max Eastman in his address to the Jury

WE stand in the presence of a revolution—not a bloody revolution; America is not given to the spilling of blood—but a silent revolution, whereby America will insist upon recovering in practice those ideals which she has always professed, upon securing a government devoted to the general interests and not the special interests.—Woodrow Wilson in the New Freedom.

THE TRUTH



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WHOLE NO. 69

WHO SAID THE INTERNATIONAL IS DEAD?

The Confederation of Labor and the Socialists of France in Convention Assembled in Paris Unanimously Passes a Strong Resolution Condemning the Arbitrary Impeachment of Eugene V. Debs.

BROKERAGE FIRM SAYS RESULTING COMPETITION WILL DESTROY "DANGEROUS POWER OF LABOR" AND RESTORE INDUSTRY TO STOCKHOLDERS.

A few weeks ago in this paper we printed a warning to the workers. The warning came from the president of the Manufacturers' Association. It came in the shape of a letter from that official to Everybody's Magazine. It was, of course, not intended for the eyes of the men and women who do the work of the world. It was intended only for the eyes of those who live off the toil of those who do this work. It was frank, but not quite so brutal as the warning we print below.

This warning, under the title "The Business Situation," is taken from the sheets of a brokerage concern which maintain offices in Boston and New York and branch offices elsewhere. This concern, Wrenn Bros. & Co., has membership in Boston, New York and Chicago stock exchanges, and is also a member of both the New York Cotton Exchange and Chicago Board of Trade. In other words it acts as the agent of those who gamble in commodities. This, in the last analysis, means that the counters used in their gambling are made from the flesh and blood of the workers.

This statement on the business situation was not intended to be read by any but members of the capitalist class. We have used capital letters in reprinting a portion of this statement, which for shameless plutocratic brutality has rarely, if ever, been equalled.

THE BUSINESS SITUATION.

The acceptance of the eight-hour day by the United States Steel corporation, and the continued decline in the railway net earnings serve to emphasize the growing domination of labor over business. This domination, so unreasonably exercised and backed by such irresistible political power, is viewed with ill-concealed misgivings by business men and investors. However, it is not a new condition and the situation is one which will doubtless provide its own remedy. That is to say, labor has grasped much of its present power by virtue of its ability to clog the wheels of industry, and thereby cripple the prosecution of the war. BUT WHEN THE WAR IS ENDED NEARLY ALL OF THE 3 OR 4 MILLION MEN ENGAGED IN WAR WORK AND OF THE 5 MILLION MEN IN MILITARY SERVICE WILL BE COMPETING FOR POSITIONS; AND THIS IN ITSELF SHOULD GO VERY FAR TOWARD DESTROYING THE DANGEROUS POWER OF LABOR OVER BUSINESS AND RESTORING OUR INDUSTRIES TO THEIR STOCKHOLDERS AND OWNERS. Meanwhile the steel industry and the railroads are but little or no more subject to labor dictation than other industries. Hardly a big business in the United States could make a dollar of surplus earnings for stockholders with wages at the present level and prices of products for sale at the pre-war level. A labor readjustment is something that all industries require for their future welfare, and the very universality of the requirement gives assurance that it will occur. Thus a wage level unsupportably high for times of peace is no indication that a given industry is in an exceptionally weak position.

These financial junkies have no hesitancy in stating that the millions of men who, not for money reward, are serving in the armies of this country, must after the war be compelled to compete for jobs with those no wengaged in industry and that this competition "should go very far toward destroying the dangerous power of labor over business and restoring our industries to their stockholders and owners."

Could scoundrelism go further than this? To pit man against man in a struggle to earn bread for themselves and their loved ones! And to welcome this struggle because it will restore industries to their stockholders and owners." And to think that millions of those who will be compelled to thus struggle will have faced death and hardship on the battlefields of Europe under the flag of the country that these despicable capitalist exploiters now dishonor with their presence! And these men are "eminently respectable citizens." They belong to the "business interests," representatives of which, organizations such as the National Security league, are trying to induce the people to send to Congress. They should be literally "spewed out of the mouth" of the nation.

But here is a surprise in store for the financial and industrial pirates who think that they are going to be able to continue to see manhood and womanhood of this nation as mere counters in their capitalist game. And the surprise is coming very shortly. The plutocrats in a portion of Canada have already had a rude awakening. Returned soldiers are NOT going to COMPETE for jobs as the employers would wish them to do and thereby reduce the standard of living and increase the profits of the capitalists. A new world is in the making and it will be the hands of the workers who will do the shaping, and not the cruel, clumsy fingers of those whose shameful mishaping in the past has brought naught but misery upon the mass of the human race.

JURY AGAIN DISAGREES IN MASSES TRIAL

Eight To Four For An Acquittal

MAX EASTMAN'S MAKES A COURAGEOUS STATEMENT

The Russian situation managed to get pretty squarely into the contest, in spite of efforts of counsel for the prosecution to keep it out. Spectators and auditors in the crowded court room were on edge hoping to get some new information. John Reed was allowed to say that his work in Russia as an employee of the ministry of foreign affairs, of which Leon Trotsky is head, was to get propaganda into Germany with the intention of fomenting a social revolution in that country which would dethrone the kaiser.

Tells What Creel Said.

Seymour Steadman, counsel for the indicted editors, insisted on mentioning the fact that George Creel himself had declared that at least one of the documents appearing in the Sisson papers was spurious, and at one time he flared out:

"If Raymond Robins and other men who know about Russia were allowed to tell what they know the administration might act differently in the matter."

Reed was on the stand for a couple of hours, during which, besides telling something of his work with the Soviet government in Russia, he gave a brief review of his experience as a war correspondent.

Many Witnesses Called.

Besides Reed, the witnesses during the day were Max Eastman, Arthur Young, Louise Bryant, Rev. Norman Thomas and Merrill Rogers, who was recalled to stand for five minutes.

Reed's war narrative came in answer to a question from his counsel as to the experiences that led to his writing of a caption for a quotation from the New York Times, which appeared in the Masses, on the subject of the prevalence of insanity among soldiers during war. He had headed the article, "Knit a Straitjacket for Your Soldier Boy," and was given free rein by his own counsel, the district attorney and the court to tell what he had seen that had led him to put that heading on the article.

With a face white with emotion, eyes in which the pictures he was painting seemed to live again, leaning forward in the witness chair, Reed told what he had seen of war on many battlefronts during a period in which he had been present 55 times with soldiers in action.

Armed With Dynamite.

"In Mexico," he said, "I saw 400 barefooted revolutionists,

Don't ask the News Tribune! . . .

The News Tribune in their issue of the 7th inst. stated that Olli Kinkkonen committed suicide. In committing suicide they called him a Judas. In the first place, fellow-worker Kinkkonen did NOT commit suicide, and in the second place, he is not a Judas.

We are not familiar with the details of the finding of our fellow-worker's body. Perhaps the police could throw more light on the subject. But we venture to say that Kinkkonen did not commit suicide, because all the Knights of Liberty in Duluth could not drive Kinkkonen to such a death, because Kinkkonen was a MAN, in every sense of the word. Ever ready to stand up for his rights and ever ready to see that his compatriots also received their rights. Because of his indomitable spirit and his class loyalty, Kinkkonen was feared by the business element of this city, including his own countrymen. Kinkkonen had no need to commit suicide, even if he was afraid. Because he had over two thousand dollars saved up and it was quite easy matter for him to leave town and go elsewhere. The Knights of Liberty went up against a tough proposition, tougher than they first realized. Kinkkonen struggled as best he could, but finally the cowardly gang that deceived him were too much for him and he died.

The News Tribune likens him to Judas Iscariot. They might have said worse things about him, in fact, they might have classed him as being as cowardly as the editor of the News Tribune. The editor of the News Tribune has not performed any useful service to mankind, he is incapable of such service. Reared in an atmosphere of subservience to the interests of the Steel Trust, he does not know what service means. All that the editor of the News Tribune does is to scatter camouflage, in order to conceal the robbery that goes on day after day under the guise of patriotism. Let us review the record of Kinkkonen and the paymasters of the editor of the News Tribune, the capitalist ~~and the~~ country and obtained work at the mines. Day after day, year after year he went down the mines and worked mighty hard. No dinners at the Spalding, no soft downy couches and no women, wine and song for Kinkkonen. All that he had to do, was to slave and sleep. That has been his lot ever since he came to this country. When this country declared war, Kinkkonen was still working at the mines, still digging for the ore to give us steel, that would give us the guns, ships, etc. What were his masters doing all this time? How much service were they rendering the country? On July 11th, 1917, President Wilson delivered a speech, and in his speech he made this appeal to the masters of Kinkkonen:

"Patriotism leaves profits out of the question. In these days of our supreme trial, when we are sending hundreds of thousands of our young men across the seas to serve a great cause, no true man who stays behind to work for them and sustain them by his labor will ask himself what he is personally going to make out of that labor. No true patriot will permit himself to take toll of their heroism in money or seek to grow rich by the shedding of

their blood. He will give as freely and with as unstinted self-sacrifice as they. When they are giving their lives, will he not give at least his money?"

What answer did these American Pharisees give to the appeal of the President? Was it one that would make any American feel proud of them? They gave but one answer and that answer was one that will go down in history, to their eternal shame and dishonor. Whilst men were giving up their lives, in order to stem the tide of Prussian militarism, these soulless profiteers, men without religion, or patriotism, commenced to coin the very blood of these boys in the trenches and the tears of their womenfolk into gold. Fat red-war dividends was

the answer to the President's appeal. Don't take our word for it, read it for yourself:

Kinkkonen gave all that life could give. He went down to the mines and risked his life, day after day; the profiteers did not risk one cent. Kinkkonen lies in his grave, a victim of the men who have prostituted the spirit of the men who lie in the trenches, giving of their lives.

WHO IS THE JUDAS NOW?

In the old wars drum of hoofs and the beat of of shop feet. In the new wars hum of motors and the beat of shod feet. In the wars to come silent wheels and whirl of rods not yet dreamed out in the heads of men.

In the old wars clutches of short swords and jabs into faces with spears.

In the new wars long range guns and smashed walls guns running a spit of metal and men falling in tens and twenties. In the wars to come new silent deaths, new silent hurlers, not yet dreamed out in the heads of men.

In the old wars kings quarreling and thousands of men following.

In the new wars kings quarreling and millions of men following. In the wars to come kings kicked under the dust and the millions of men following great causes not yet dreamed out in the heads of men.

—Carl Sandburg

NOTE.—These figures are official, being published in the companies' own annual reports.

	Pre-war Average	War
JULIUS ROSENWALD, Advisory Commission		
Sears, Roebuck & Co.	\$ 8,111,739	\$ 16,488,622
E. J. BERWIND, Committee on Coal Production		
Republic Iron & Steel	2,426,106	14,789,163
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe	21,061,681	32,579,735
J. J. STORROW, Committee on Coal Production		
General Motors Corporation	4,890,672	28,789,560
U. S. Smelting, Refining & Mining	3,552,959	8,898,464
S. M. VAUGLAIN, Munitions Standard Board		
Baldwin Locomotive Works	4,405,167	5,982,517
Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Co.	3,222,311	18,079,889
F. C. PRATT, Munitions Standards Board		
General Electric Co.	12,066,474	18,589,528
THEO. N. VAL, Committee on Telegraphs and Telephones		
American Telephone & Telegraph Co.	30,905,433	38,013,278
United States Rubber	5,731,677	11,226,208
W. D. SIMMONS, Commercial Economy Board		
Assoc. Simmons Hardware	440,907	2,171,550
N. C. KINGSBURY, Committee on Telegraphs and Telephones		
American Sugar Refining	6,181,641	11,455,107
J. P. McELWAIN, Committee on Shoe and Leather Industries		
W. H. McElwain Co.	704,815	2,068,475
A. B. THIELENS, Subcommittee on Army Vehicles		
Studebaker Corporation	1,913,100	8,611,245
ANDREW FLETCHER, Committee on Railroad Transportation		
American Locomotive Co.	3,376,329	7,201,680
Wm. Cramp & Sons Ship & engine Building Co.	454,087	1,280,800
W. G. GARRITT, Committee on Shoe and Leather Industries		
Central Leather Co.	3,472,804	15,489,201
CHAS. P. HALL, Committee on Shoe and Leather Industries		
American Hide & Leather Co.	334,198	1,643,260
JULIUS KESSLER, Committee on Alcohol		
Distillers Securities Corporation	614,791	3,327,095
U. S. Ind. Alcohol Co.	858,951	4,884,587
WM. H. NICHOLS, Committee on Chemicals		
General Chemical Co.	2,593,301	12,286,826
Miami Copper Co.	1,296,602	7,759,784
Pittsburg Steel Co.	1,191,855	4,564,068
Granby Consolidated Mining, Smelting & Power Co.	466,337	3,819,295
HORACE BOWKER, Committee on Fertilizers		
American Agricultural Chemical Co.	2,608,943	5,445,527
WILLIAM HAMLIN CHILDS, Subcom. on Coal Tar By-Products		
Barrett Co.	1,366,233	4,247,858
JOHN D. RYAN, Cooperative Committee on Copper		
Anaconda Copper Mining	11,741,185	57,941,834
Greene Cananea Copper	2,104,603	7,673,184
JAMES McLEAN, Cooperative Committee on Copper		
Phelps, Dodge & Co.	7,442,399	21,974,263
American Can Co.	4,476,101	7,962,982
Old Dominion Co.	1,051,792	3,532,126
CHAS. M. MacNEILL, Cooperative Committee on Copper		
Utah Copper Co.	7,733,435	39,738,675
Ray Consolidated Copper Co.	1,634,365	12,084,166
Chino Copper Co.	1,772,421	12,527,948
Nevada Consolidated Copper	3,647,351	15,002,051
ELBERT H. GARY, Committee on Steel and Steel Products		
U. S. Steel Corporation	63,585,777	271,531,730
E. A. S. CLARKE, Committee on Steel and Steel Products		
Lackawanna Steel Co.	1,282,499	12,218,234
AMBROSE MONELL, Cooperative Committee on Nickel		
International Nickel	4,354,668	13,557,970
MURRY GUGGENHEIM, Cooperative Committee on Copper		
American Smelting & Refining	10,994,166	23,252,248
THOS. P. MANVILLE, Comm. on Asbestos, Magnesia and Roofing		
H. W. Johns-Manville Co.	916,239	2,629,221
CHAS. M. SCHWAB, Committee on Steel and Steel Products		
Bethlehem Steel Corporation	3,075,108	43,593,968
CHAS. W. BAKER, Cooperative Committee on Zinc		
American Zinc, Lead & Smelting	87,591	7,301,968
N. BRUCE MacKELVIE, Cooperative Committee on Zinc		
Nova Scotia Steel & Coal	542,590	2,104,478
CHAS. F. BROOKER, Cooperative Committee on Brass		
American Brass Co.	2,096,172	10,991,670
R. L. AGASSIZ, Cooperative Committee on Copper		
Almbeck Mining Co.	847,697	3,449,710
E. C. LUFKIN, Cooperative Committee on Oil		
Texas Company	3,858,667	13,898,861
P. A. S. FRANKLIN, Committee on Shipping		
International Mercantile Marine Co.	971,165	21,777,162
MOESL. SHUTTLEWORTH, Committee on Woolen Manufactures		
American Woolen Co.	1,754,793	5,863,819
	\$280,777,927	\$900,301,596

(Continued on Page 2)

JURY AGAIN DISAGREES IN
MASSES' TRIAL

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

with no other arms than dynamite stick, going forward to capture a town defended by artillery. They were going forward against these guns for the sake of something they believed. The next day, riding out of the town with the cavalry, I saw the roads choked with the bodies of the people I had seen alive the day before.

"In a hacienda I got acquainted with a group of men, women and children, was taken into their homes, went through a ceremony with them that made me what they called a 'blood brother,' so that I really came to feel that the old people were my parents and the young people my brothers and sisters.

"I saw a regiment of federal soldiers ride into the hacienda and kill them all." His voice broke into what was almost a sob. He continued: "I saw a man ride up in great haste with a message which he was eager to deliver. Just as he was about to speak his whole jaw was shot away, the message was never delivered, the colonel was killed.

"I saw a boy 13 years old who was a soldier in the Mexican revolution try to run away. I saw the cavalrymen chase him, run him down and trample upon him with their horses. The fact that they stopped for him made it possible for me to get away, and I hid in the bushes till they had passed.

"I have seen men in the trenches on every battle front, except those of Austria and Italy. I have watched men lying exhausted and asleep in the mud of the trenches and by the dull candle light seen the rats running over their faces. As they slept they were slowly sinking down into the mud.

Great Pile of Wounded.

"One night when I was with the German soldiers the French trenches were only 80 yards away. There had been incessant artillery fire from both sides. Midway between the two trenches we could see a great pile of dead and wounded French soldiers who had been making a charge. No one could go out to rescue the wounded, and we could hear their screams as they were sinking into the mud. Some had disappeared so that only an arm or a leg could be seen.

"One morning I watched reserves coming in to relieve the men I had been with. They had been ordered to keep absolute silence. Suddenly a man had gone mad, and this was happening frequently.

"In Berlin I went through a hospital where 600 insane soldiers were being cared for. In Paris I have seen returned officers and soldiers with vacant faces being led about by their wives or friends, who tried to awaken a look of recognition in their eyes. The streets of Paris were full of men like this.

"Then I came back to America. We had not yet entered into the war. And I found rich women uptown in fashions, homes and hotels who were knitting socks for soldiers. They were not then knitting comforts for their own sons as they are now. They were knitting because it was the fashionable thing to do; knitting while Caruso sang to them.

"And I found business urging that America go into the war. I felt that our preparations for war were going on under false pretenses; that these women were being deceived—and it was in this mood and with these memories that I wrote that caption, 'Knit a Straightjacket for Your Soldier Boy.'

Young Explains Cartoons.
Art Young, on the witness

stand, passed with lightning change from jester to philosopher. Again and again the courtroom rang with unrestrained laughter as the genial humorist, in wholly unconscious fashion, gave a comical twist to his explanation of the meaning he had in mind as he drew the various cartoons about which he was asked.

The judge took a hand frequently in Young's examination.

Aske to explain what he meant by picturing Satan and a chorus of devils singing while four figures, representing big business, politics, the press and the church, were dancing a waltz, Young said:

"Well, Sherman said war was hell, and I thought the devil must be somewhere about."

Asked to explain what he as to social conditions, Young said that he believed the people had more intelligence than their rulers, and that the people ought to have been consulted before the nation went to war. He said that Senators Owen and La Follette had introduced a resolution in the Senate before war was declared asking that the question of America's entrance into the war be referred to the people, and that nothing was done with the resolution, and that no mention of it whatever had been made in the press of America.

Burleson Was Silent.

Eastman told of his efforts to get from Postmaster General Burleson a statement of the lines he would be allowed to follow in conducting the magazine so he would not violate the espionage law, and stated that he had never been able to get such a statement.

He told of a visit he made to the postmaster general in company with E. W. Scripps, the head of the United Press. At first, he said Burleson was courteous and promised to give the directions Eastman asked. Later in the conversation Scripps addressed Burleson sharply, accusing him of needlessly hampering the work of the Masses. He said: "You can't tell a poet from a traitor."

Further words from Scripps made Burleson angry, and the conference closed without any definite agreement.

Eastman said that repeatedly after that he wrote and wired to Burleson, but never received a reply.

How They Do in England.

Calling attention to the difference between the British and American methods of handling the censorship, Eastman stated that in England the editors of the sects and movements opposed to the war brought their periodicals to the censor and were told what article might appear and what must be eliminated. He said he believed some such method ought to have been followed in this country.

During this testimony Stedman referred to the hearings he had had before the third assistant postmaster general, mentioning a number of Socialist and radical publications, among them the Call, mailing privileges had been taken away. He said that according to the interpretation of the postoffice department if a paper failed for any cause, even a fire, automatically it lost its mailing privilege.

Wilson Wanted Ruling.

Eastman read a letter, signed by Amos Pinchot, John Reed and himself, to President Wilson, asking that he take some action to get a ruling from the postoffice department as to what sort of articles might appear and what must be excluded. He read the reply of the president to this letter in which the president said that he appreciated the necessity of having some such ruling and would try to have it made.

Referring to an article in which

he had spoken appreciatively of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, Eastman stated that he had no sympathy with the anarchist philosophy, and had repeatedly written earnestly against it, but that he was a personal friend of Miss Goldman; that she had assured him that she was innocent of the acts with which she was charged; that he admired her courage and devotion, and had written the article to plead that respect be shown to all who had the courage of their convictions, even though those convictions be mistaken.

Plea for Objectors.

Explaining another article appearing in the Masses, Eastman said he was merely pleading that the young men who declared themselves to be conscientious objectors to war should be taken to jail with "mournful dignity," and not subjected to ridicule and indignities by the public and the press. He said that, owing to President Wilson's proclamation extending the classifications of conscientious objectors, precisely this change had come about in their treatment.

Dr. Thomas was called to the stand to corroborate a statement a statement made by Eastman, that, in a telephone talk with the clergyman, he had allowed the use of his name as urging all conscientious objectors to register as required by law.

Louise Bryant testified as to the portions she herself had written of an article signed by herself and her husband jointly.

Edited Big Paper.

Telling of his work in Russia, in connection with the bureau of information, under the ministry of foreign relations, Reed said he had edited a daily paper which was printed in Russian, German, Danish, Turkish, and a number of other languages, 500,000 copies of which were sent daily for distribution to soldiers on the various fronts.

He said he left Russia in response to a telegram from Morris Hillquit telling of his indictment in this country.

Eastman at one point in his testimony summed up his economic principles by saying he believed that true democracy would be achieved only when industrial democracy had taken the place of political democracy.

"I am not afraid to spend the better part of my life in the penitentiary for the sake of my principles. I am afraid to betray my principles."

With these words, Max Eastman, facing the 12 men who have in their hands the fate of himself and his four colleagues on trial before Federal Judge Manton for conspiracy, closed a two-hour address.

In his address to the jury Eastman stated that, after a period of doubt, he had come back to the conclusion that:

"The Socialists were right in judging this war to be a war about which their general principles of condemnation for all international war properly applied. 'I venture to predict,' he said, 'that the St. Louis resolution will live and will occupy a place in the soberly written history of these times not without tranquil honor.'

Again as on the day previous, the Russian situation figured prominently in the proceedings. Eastman, reminding the jury that the judge had decided not to allow the facts about Russia to be brought into the trial, said that he had allowed as evidence the statements of the opinions of the defendants about these facts.

Creation of Brotherhood.

"We do believe," he said, "that what is taking place in Russia is the creation of a human brotherhood and not a reign of terror."

"We believe that there is no pro-German intrigue on the part of the present government of Russia; we believe that there is no reign of terror there; we believe that there has been a continuous resistance to Germany; we know there was an offer made by Lenin to four of the allied nations to cooperate against Germany, and that John Reed saw this written offer in the hands of Raymond Robbins at Petrograd."

Continuing, Eastman said: "The district attorney has had

IT'S EASY TO BE HAPPY.

"The universal desire to be happy is driving the masses to Socialism."—Exchange.

Are you sure of it? Maybe your thought is merely the expression of a vision showing something that is going to happen in the future. At the present time either the desire of the people of happiness is not very strong or its driving power has become extremely weak, for it does not appear as if the masses were in great haste to identify themselves with the Socialist movement. Socialism is still a slow-growing movement, for more is required than merely the desire for happiness to make a man a Socialist.

People usually desire happiness in the present, today and tomorrow. They do not like to wait for years and decades, and, though they also wish to see their children happy in years to come, they are not joining political parties for the sake of future generations.

The desire for happiness which is alive in every human heart, leads men to do all kinds of things, but as a rule things that promise immediate results. For they know that time is flying, and time is a very important element of happiness. All the happiness that you may be capable of at the age of 40 is not the happiness that you are craving for at 20, and things that make you happy at 40 will leave you cold at the age of 60.

What makes men and women join the Socialist movement is their idealism, their sense of justice, and their desire to become active forces in a movement that points towards the future. Such activity may be, and in most cases is, a source of intellectual and moral happiness, but this happiness is not the aim and object of the activity from which it results. And he who is active in the Socialist movement soon realizes that the happiness found there has to be paid for, and that the price is self-sacrifice.

If you want to be happy in the ordinary sense of the word, you must not trouble yourself about social problems and public affairs. You must think as little as possible, believe what you are told to believe, do what you are ordered to do, live after the patterns provided by society, worship material success, and do not allow new and untried and unauthorized thoughts to disturb your peace of mind.

Take the sheep for your model, and you may be sure that you will be relieved of your wool at the proper time, and nobody ever will mistakenly take you for a naughty, rebellious, dangerous wolf. It's easy to be happy if one has the talent for it.—St. Louis Labor.

Worcester, Mass.—"I want another questionnaire; my sister's baby ate it up," said Rufus W. Bailey, 19, who appeared before the board of registration recently. Bailey declared he had left the questionnaire on the dining room table, and the child had seized the tablecloth, ragged off silverware, china, and then seized the pamphlet, chewing up the first page. The youth received a duplicate blank and went away content.

thousands of men at his disposal, secret service men, sailors and others, to help him gather evidence, but he has never produced one little bit of evidence showing that we ever met together; not one secret service man has come to this court to show that we ever got together.

"If the editors of this magazine had one principle, it was that we would not conspire, that we would not agree."

The jury failed to agree on a verdict. Eight stood for an acquittal and four for a verdict of guilty. The Government must now re-try the Masses' editors or quash the whole proceedings. The trial has increased the popularity of Eastman and his associates and has been the means of educating many people. If there are many more trials like the above, the Federal juries will all be converted.

GEORGE CREEL AND THE EVENING POST

SEDITION AGAINST CREEL.

(From the Evening Post, Oct. 2.)

On the opposite page we print a letter from Mr. George Creel protesting against the conduct of the Evening Post in publishing within the last fortnight certain editorial and news comment in connection with the Bolshevik documents. In so doing, he tells us, we have been guilty "of the most extraordinary disservice" to the government of the United States and the nation's cause; we have impugned the good faith of the government; we have exposed ourselves to "the charge of having given aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States in an hour of national crisis"; and, though Mr. Creel is not sure that we have taken German money, he does say that "the service it has rendered to the enemies of the United States would have been purchased gladly by those enemies." The reader will trace out for himself, in Mr. Creel's letter, the ramifications of the hideous conspiracy formed in the office of the Evening Post against the safety and welfare of the United States.

But the communication which we print on the opposite page is not the only one which Mr. Creel has recently written on the subject of the Bolshevik documents. On September 20 he wrote to an individual in New York city with whose permission we quote: "This is a very specific answer to your letter of recent date. You say that 'it was with the deepest horror that I picked up the paper a day or so ago and saw that you were publishing the Lenin-Trotsky documents. I believe with my whole soul that they are fakes. I would stake my life on it.'

"These documents were issued by the full approval of the government after a very careful investigation by the government and the government stands squarely behind their authenticity. Aside from the circulars that declared Germany's war plans prior to August, 1914, which might easily have been forged, every other document carries proof on its face, for no human being could have 'faked' so enormous a mass of matter, dovetailing at every point by a mass of inconsequential detail and borne out at every point by things that have happened since."

Thus we learn that the "government" stands "squarely" behind the authenticity of documents of which some "might easily have been forged," but which were characterized in the Creel disclosures to the press as "these damning proofs of German conspiracy against the nations of Europe, in June 1914." We do not wish to say that the enemies of the United States would have gladly purchased such a confession from the chairman of the committee on public information.

O. T. ROSAAS

PHOTOGRAPHER.
Lincoln 599-x Melrose 9219
2030 West Superior Street.

James Brawn

FANCY SHOE WORKS

21 N. 20th Ave. West
Phone Lincoln 808-x
DULUTH MINN.

THAT'S ALL WE DO

EXAMINE EYES AND FIT GLASSES
BUT WE DO IT RIGHT
Drs. Larson & Larson
BEMIDJI MINNESOTA

SAVE MONEY

JEWELRY and WATCHES
SOLD and REPAIRED
BY
M. GOLD & COMPANY,
1619 North 5th Street, WIS.
New Phone, Ogden 1069.

The editors of this newspaper are not the only ones who have offered aid and comfort to the enemy. Prof. Samuel Corwin, of the chair of politics at Princeton—that notorious hotbed of sedition—author of numerous works on international politics and joint editor of "The War Dictionary," published last year by the committee on public information, writes to the Evening Post under date of September 21:

"Many of Mr. Sisson's documents are doubtless authentic, and I believe that in the main the revelations they make will sustain investigation. So much the more it is to be hoped that every effort will be speedily made to clear up the difficulties that today cloud their title to credibility."

Prof. Arthur Lovejoy, of the chair of philosophy at Johns Hopkins, has stated to the representatives of the Evening Post his belief that the Sisson documents are of doubtful value, and that the question of their authenticity should be submitted to the historical board at Washington. Finally, there is that notorious disloyalist, Edward Sanford Martin, editor of the well-known Pro-German "sheet, Life, who who has written in that journal:

"The Sisson documents disclosing that Lenin and Trotsky were German agents are mighty interesting, but the Evening Post intimates that it is not safe to take all of them at their face value. That the Bolshevik revolution was made in Germany is very probable, and some of these documents that support that supposition must be genuine. But others seem doubtful at least, and the Post's call on Mr. Creel for facsimile reproductions of the original seemed timely. The crimes of the Bolsheviks and the crimes of the Germans abound in great sufficiency without any faking of bogus criminals. We can easily believe the worst of either of them, and that it is incredibly bad does not make it incredible, but one hates to be fooled with lies, even about liars."

A detailed restatement of the case against the authenticity of some of the Sisson documents is not necessary now. Mr. Creel argues that the Evening Post's "implied arraignment of the good faith of the government was based on no larger matter than a question as to whether dates in some of the documents were according to the German calendar." A fairly large matter, Mr. Creel. You have given us documents purporting to be written by Germans, referring to Russian events, which occurred after the writing of the letters. The famous Imperial bank circular is dated March 2, 1917, though the first Russian revolution broke out at least a week later. Letters addressed by the German general staff to the Bolshevik government are dated October, 1917, though there was no Bolshevik government until November 7. For a Russian, on the contrary, using his own calendar, the first revolution would have occurred in February, 1917, and the Bolshevik revolution on October 25,

1917. So we are asked for the facsimiles of the documents, in order to ascertain, if possible, why German were using the Russian calendar. Either it was that or else a Russian forger slipped up and found himself thinking in terms of his own calendar instead of the German.

When the Evening Post questioned the authenticity of some of the Bolshevik documents, on September 16, we were not primarily concerned with the Bolsheviks. We wrote:

In one important sense the Sisson documents now have only an academic meaning. The policy of our own government and of the allies was shaped by much more powerful data, namely, by the open and avowed acts of the Bolsheviks. Whether or not Lenin took money from Germany, the facts remain that Bolsheviks have destroyed Russia, have put her under the heel of Germany, have proclaimed civil war not only against the bourgeoisie, but against all revolutionary forces in Russia outside of themselves, have doomed Russian freedom unless it be rescued by the allies, and have impelled all that is sane in Russia to call upon the allies for such help. But it is of the utmost importance for this government to know the quality of the agents to whom it entrusts difficult and delicate missions. We are coming nearer to conditions with regard to the whole war in which the character of the government's information must inevitably influence its policy in a tremendous world crisis. The "facts" upon which the administration and the American people base their opinions and policies must be, indeed, facts.

Today, after Mr. Creel's letter, a new and important set of questions arises. Who is this "government" whose good faith and judgment the Evening Post has impugned? Is it Mr. Creel? Is it the state department? Is it the department of justice? Is it the whole executive department? Who passes on the authenticity of the documents before they were given to the public? Was it secretary Lansing, in a matter touching so intimately our international relations? Is it true that when Mr. Creel's disclosures were cabled to England the British government requested the newspapers not to print them on the ground of their doubtful authenticity? When the "government" stands behind these documents, does it really mean the fullest wisdom of our government, employing all available expert knowledge on Russian affairs? Or does "government" mean only that section of the government to whom popular report attributes the admission that "a year ago I thought the Ukraine was a musical instrument"?

* Life is Pro-Ally. This is a piece of sarcasm.



SHOES FOR ALL

A person should buy their shoes these days at a store where none but GOOD SHOES are sold—a store in which their confidence will not be abused. Our Shoes are selected from the best makers best efforts, and the man we shoe this year will come back next year. Once we serve you we are not afraid of losing you. We know from past experience that once a customer always a customer. — We are Union men selling and repairing Shoes.

The Model Shoe Store
JENS JACOBSON, Prop.
Note the address. 1621 W. Sup. St.

GARBER BROS.

CLEANERS AND DYERS

WE CALL FOR AND DELIVER YOUR WORK

1925 West Superior St.
Duluth, Minn.

Zenith Phone, Lincoln 3.
Bell Phone, Melrose 412.

Zenith Phone Lincoln 117-A.

FOR A GOOD PAIR OF SHOES GO TO

Bargain Shoe Store

MEN'S, LADIES' AND CHILDREN'S SHOES.

12 21st Avenue West, Duluth, Minn.
MODERN REPAIRING DEPARTMENT.

PACKERS FOOLED PUBLIC BY ADS, SAYS U. S. BOARD.

Washington.—Charges that the packers in their national advertising campaign had so distorted the statement of the federal trade commission relative to the industry, that the public had derived a wrong impression, were made today by William B. Colver, chairman of the board, testifying before the Senate agricultural committee.

"It was clever work," said Colver. "They have fixed in the public mind a distinct misrepresentation of the findings of the commission."

Senator Norris maintained that the advertising campaign, with its lavish expenditures, had very likely been responsible for much of the favorable editorial support of the packers.

Colver replied that, while in some instances editorial opinion might have been influenced by the advertising accounts, he did not believe the rule applied generally.

A letter signed by Louise F. Swift, of Swift & Co., dated June 28, 1915, and addressed to L. A. Carton, then treasurer of the company, was introduced by Colver to show the relationship between the packers and the national chamber of commerce.

Swift wrote of attending a luncheon when John Fahey, then president of the chamber of commerce, and other officers of the organization were present.

"Was considerably impressed with the program which they have laid out and if they make any requests for financial assistance, would like to know about it," the letter said.

"They maintain a bureau in Washington and evidently get a good hearing on all legislation," the letter continued.

Senator Gromma, North Dakota, agreed with Norris that the packers had even given obscure, country newspapers full-page advertising, within the last few weeks, since the report of the federal trade commission was made public.

Colver said he thought the packers had a perfect right to present their side of the case to the public, so long as they told the truth about the report. This, he said, had not always been done.

HIGHER! HIGHER! HIGHER! EVERYDAY!

Food Costs C... Skyward and
There's No Let-Up In Sight.

The retail price of food continues skyward, according to the United States Bureau of Labor statistics.

Between April 15 and May 15 of this year, prices jumped 3 per cent.

Between May 15 this year and May 15 last year prices increased 5 per cent.

Between May, 1913, and May 1918 prices advanced 63 per cent.

Between April 15 and May 15 of this year the price of round steak and plate boiling beef increased 10 per cent; sirloin steak, rib and chuck beef, 9 per cent; pork chops, 3 per cent, and ham and bacon and rice, 2 per cent.

The 63 per cent increase between 1913 and 1918 shows that every article advanced 38 per cent or over. Cornmeal advanced 133 per cent, lard 108, flour 100, milk, 50, butter 42, and potatoes 38. Ten other articles increased over 50 per cent.

Superior Scandinavian Local
Local No. 55
MEETS AT
HARMONY HALL.
1227 Banks Ave. every Sunday eve.
at 8 o'clock.
EVERYBODY WELCOME.

WEST END SHOE
WORKS
Fred Johnson, Prop.
"Class Shoe repair"
218 28th Avenue West.
Lincoln 35-D.
DULUTH, MINN.

1. Exemption of Farm Improvements from Taxation.
2. Tonnage Tax on Ore Production.
3. Rural Credit Banks operated at cost.
4. State Terminal Elevators, Warehouses, Flour Mills, Stock Yards, Packing Houses, Creameries and Cold Storage Plants.
5. State Hail Insurance.
6. A More Equitable System of State Inspection and Grading of Grain.
7. Equal taxation of property of Railroads, Mines, Telegraph, Telephone, Electric Light and Power Companies, and all Public Utility Corporations, as compared with that of other Property Owners.

THE NONPARTISAN LEAGUE PLATFORM.

The above is the program of the Nonpartisan League. The reason why we print the above platform is to show to our readers the foolishness of voting for any candidate nominated or endorsed by the League.

The question of taxes as we have stated time and time again, is not a question for the workers to waste their time over. It does not matter how high the taxes are, the fact still remains that the workers only receive sufficient to live upon. In the pre-Civil War days, the slaves were fed, housed and clothed by their masters. The difference between the chattel slaves of those days and the workers of today is purely one of form. The wage slave of today receives wages and out of those wages he obtains sufficient of the necessities of life to allow him to exist. Instead of the landlord figuring out the ways and means of keeping the slave, the employer delegates that inalienable right to the worker.

Daniel DeLeon in his lecture, "The warning of the Gracchi," relates the fable of the horse and the lion. If you have heard of the fable before, it will do you no harm to read it again. A horse was being harassed by

a lion. The horse found that his opportunities to graze were impaired by that roaring lion that lay low in the bushes and threatened to jump upon him, and frequently did jump upon him, and not infrequently scratched him to the point of bleeding; so that the horse, finding the area of his pasture narrowing, and his life threatened either way, entered into a compact with a man. According to the agreement, the man mounted the horse, and by their joint efforts the lion was laid low. But never again could the horse rid himself of the man on his back.

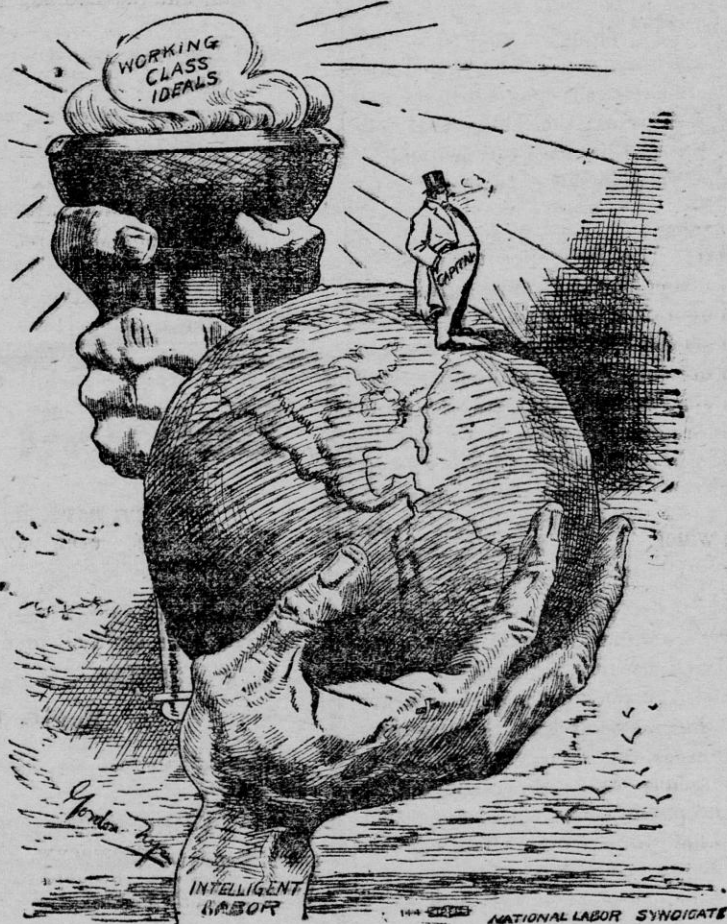
It is foolish to even expect that the Socialist Movement will make progress if it is prepared to make alliances, whether open or otherwise, with other political organizations. The failure of the Socialist party to win out in elections only proves that the party is not strong enough and that much more work must be done. If the party desires to remain in the political field, with the assistance of other organizations, then the party is doomed to failure. We must at all times rely upon our own efforts. Never for one moment must we expect to perform more work than we are capable of performing. Compromise if you will, but remember that compromise has killed all parties. In this state the Populist party compromised with the Democrats, and they compromised themselves out of existence.

If capitalism is wrong, we cannot compromise with it. We can never compromise with the wrongs of life, we can only fight to abolish them. Better by far to be cast off the ballot, than to go about knowing that it was not our own members that kept us on. Trade unionists today enter politics and socialists believe that we should bend down to the level of the trade-unionist. In other words, knowing that our position is the correct one, they want us to compromise with ignorance. Gompers or no Gompers, the rank and file of the American Federation of Labor are just as ignorant as Gompers is reactionary. The only way the rank and file will ever achieve their emancipation is by educating

themselves. How are they going to educate themselves, if those of us who do know the real solution to the social problems, are not men enough to stand up and propagate those ideas that we know to be true? The worker is robbed and exploited at the point of production, despite what half-baked economists may say. It is at the point of production he will stop the robbing and exploitation that is going on. Then why waste our time on tax questions?

BUT THINK OF WHAT BURNQUIST HAS DONE!
Sure we know what Burnquist has done. Why, in Arizona they have a Governor called Hunt, who is more radical than Meyer London. He stands for more than Evans would ever dream of standing for. But despite the goodness and the advanced thought of Governor Hunt, the mining corporations seized the workers and deported them. They took them from their homes and the Governor was powerless. Why? Simply because the mine-owners held economic power and they proved that the basis of all power is economic. If Evans is elected, do you think for one moment that the Steel Trust will allow him to interfere with their profits? Certainly not. They will use the courts against him and render his power ineffective. The only power that will defeat the Steel barons of Minnesota is the power of the man on the job. Get the workers organized and then elect your own men to political office. Then if the Steel Barons dare to prevent the will of the people from being carried out, then the workers can act on the job.

We strongly advise every Socialist to vote for the Socialist candidates and not be fooled with the idea that the election of one man against another means the millennium. Evans is a good Democrat and Burnquist is a good Republican. What did we always tell the workers about the two political parties? Whose interests did we say they represented? Did we say that they both reflected the economic interests of the capitalists? **JUST THINK IT OVER.**



I AM THE PEOPLE, THE MOB.

I am the people—the mob—the crowd—the mass. Do you know that all the great work of the world is done through me?

I am the workingman, the inventor, the maker of the world's food and clothes.

I am the audience that witnesses history. The Napoleons come from me and the Lincolns. They die. And then I send them forth more Napoleons and Lincolns.

I am the seed ground. I am the prairie that will stand for much plowing. Terrible storms pass over me. I forget. The best of me is sucked out and wasted. I forget. Everything but Death comes to me and makes me work and give up what I have. And I forget.

Sometimes I growl, shake myself and spatter a few red drops for history to remember. Then—I forget.

When I, the People, learn to remember, when I, the People, use the lessons of yesterday and no longer forget who robbed me last year, who played me for a fool—then there will be no speaker in all the world say the name: "The People," with any fleck of a sneer in his voice or any far-off smile of derision.

The mob—the crowd—the mass—will arrive then.

CARL SANDBURG.

STEPHENS AND WILSON WILL FAIL TO ACT IN MOONEY CASE, REPORT.

SAN FRANCISCO.—A man said to be high in the councils of Governor Stephens is reported to have made the statement that the governor will not grant Tom Mooney a new trial. Stephens, according to this man, will take the position that he has no reason to question the judgment of the California courts.

"They're going to hang Mooney," the man said.

"But how about the federal government?"

"W. has no right to interfere, and he'll do nothing more than protest. People are losing interest in the Mooney case. He'll be hanged according to the judgment of the court."

THE PRISONER'S BENCH.

By Arturo Giovannitti.

Through here all wrecks of the tempestuous mains
Of life have washed away the tides of time.
Tatters of flesh and souls, furies and pains,
Horror and passions awful and sublime,
All passed here to their doom.
Nothing remains.
Of all the tasteless dregs of sin and crime
But stains of tears, and stains of blood and stains
Of the inn's vomit and the brothel's grime.

And now we, too, must sit here,
Joe. Don't dust
These boards on which our wretched brothers fell,
For the fat millionaire's revolting stench
Is not here, nor the preacher's saintly smell;
And the judge never eat upon this bench.

(The above was written in Salem prison, when the author and Joe Ettor were on trial for their lives.)

MAMIE.

Mamie beat her head against the bars of a little Indiana town, and dreamed of romance and big things off somewhere the way the railroad trains all ran.

She could see the smoke of the engines get lost down where the streaks of steel flashed in the sun and when the newspapers came in on the morning mail, she knew there was a big Chicago far off, where all the train ran.

She got tired of the barber shop and the post office chatter and the church gossip and the old pieces the band played on the Fourth of July and Decoration Day.

And sobbed at her fate and beat her head against the bars and was going to kill herself.

When the thought came to her that if she was going to die she might as well die struggling for a clutch of romance among the streets of Chicago.

She has a job now at six dollars a week in the basement of the Boston Store.

And even now she beats her head against the bars in the same old way and wonders if there is a bigger place the railroads run to from Chicago where maybe there is

romance
and big things
and real dreams
that never go smash.

BOY! PAGE THE "KNIGHTS OF DEPRAVITY"

We wrote to a friend of ours regarding the lynching of our fellow-worker Kinkkonen, and this is his reply:

"God dam their foul-smelling, leprous souls! Already polluted when vomited from the womb that bore them, their atrocities know no bounds. Like the grave-robbing hyena they travel in gangs, not one of them having the moral, physical courage to meet a real man alone, unless it be to lie in ambush and shoot the unsuspecting victim in the back. Little do they dream that they are sowing the wind and like others before them will reap the whirlwind. There is no living, crawling creature, however vile and repulsive, that by comparison does not tower above these brutes in human form as a mountain peak does above a rat hole."

The above was written by one of best beloved comrades in the Socialist movement, and he knows what he is writing about.

DANCE
at **WOODMAN HALL**
Every Thursday and Saturday Night
Admission: Gents. 50 & Ladies 15c.

Terre Haute, Ind., September 30th, 1918.

My Dear Comrade Hall:—

A thousand thanks for your fine message just received. Each of its words touches my heart and warms it through and through.

I rejoice beyond words in your report of the reorganization of the English Branch at Duluth. This is good news to me indeed and compensates in full for the sentence. I can gladly go to prison if the comrades will but stand staunch and true on the outside, and I am sure they will.

Congratulations to the reorganized branch and a hearty handclasp to each comrade. There is every reason in the world why we should put every atom of our revolutionary energy into the struggle at this time. All the powers of capitalism are combining to crush us and we must combine all our powers to resist the assault not only but to wage the class war as it was never waged before, determined to overthrow capitalist despotism and emancipate the workers from the galling yoke of wage-slavery.

Earnestly hoping that all of you comrades up at Duluth of all nationalities may now get together and build up a greater, stronger and more revolutionary organization than ever before, and with love to you all, I am

Yours always,
ENGINEER V. DEBS.

You cannot catch fish unless
you buy good fishing tackle.

— at —

ERICKSON'S Hardware

2021 W. Superior St., Duluth.

Scandinavian LOCAL MEETS

EVERY TUESDAY EVENING
AT THE WOODMAN HALL
21st AVENUE WEST & 1st ST.
SWEDISH COMRADES ARE INVITED TO ATTEND.

WM. J. BIRD
BARBER
1922 W. Superior St.

JOHN GAJEWSKI

DEALER IN

MEAT and WOOD
4 WEST 8th STREET.

PHONES: Grand 2275, Melrose 6940
ZENITH WOOD YARD OFFICE
30 EAST 9th STREET.
NEW PHONE GRAND 1020.

A POWERFUL ANTISEPTIC
HAIR STIMULANT AND
DRESSING

ROYAL IBIS Hair Tonic

Nourishes the Roots, Prevents
Dandruff, Restores the Hair.

— THE —
Peoples Drug Store
2015 W. Superior Street.

Zenith Phone, Lin. 91
Bell Phone, Mel. 2349
B. M. HANSEN
Meat Market.
Headquarters for all imported
fish.
1909 West Superior St.

JENS NILSEN

1914 West 10th St.
Lincoln 479-D.

Can supply you with Pure Milk
if you live between 25th Ave. W.
and Piedmont.

BATHS AND SHOWER BATHS
Hotel Rex Barber Shop
R. P. JENTOFF, Prop.
10—CHAM SHOP—10
2001 W. Superior St., Basement
DULUTH, MINN.

Olson & Hoppenyan
Phone, Lin. 19 Phone, Mel. 7620
UNDERGARMENTS
2014 West Superior Street

LARSON BROS.
Fresh and Salt Meats, Oysters,
Fish and Poultry
Zenith phone Lincoln 162
Duluth phone Melrose 382
2728 West 3rd Street,
DULUTH, MINN.

Fred W. Erickson

— and 1893

**GROCERIES AT WHOLE-
SALE & RETAIL.**
2029—31 W. 3rd St.
LIN. 356; MEL. 421.

THE JOHNSON CLOTHING —STORE—

Andrew G. Johnson, Prop.
New Location, 2908 W. 3 St.
New Phone, Lincoln 656.
Clothing, Furnishings and
Shoes.
Shoes for the whole family.
Gordon Hats.
Wilson Bros. Shirts.

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE

1 Year \$1.50
Six Months 85c

EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TRUTH

(EDITOR RESPONSIBLE FOR ALL UNSIGNED ARTICLES)
EDITOR & BUSINESS MANAGER JACK CARNEY

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

WEST END LABOR ASSCN.

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— PHONE Mel 2517 —

AMBITION

We were discussing ambition with some of the salesmen of the last Liberty Loan Drive. One of them was very ambitious, in fact he was going to out-Morgan Morgan. The dollars, etc., that man was going to make in the next few years, well, this paper is not big enough to write of them. So it came to us to discuss this subject, ambition.

Ambition is the eagerness for honor or success, the dictionary tells us. What is success, is the next question. Success to the department store owner means a huge bank roll, no matter how many girl victims strew his path, in his search for the realization of his ambition. Ambition, with its success, means to Rockefeller more dollars, no matter how many men, women and children are killed in a strike. Ambition to a railway director or shareholder means dividends, no matter how many railway men are killed for the want of safety appliances. Ambition to the average business man implies the use of all the average methods of making money. It is the boycotting of your opponent, the scheming, the cunning, the chicanery and the trickery that is used in order that men might gain their ambition. Go to it, my good friends, but please, when you talk of ambitious men, kindly leave us out.

Men scoff at the idealist and the man who thinks that there is more in life than dollars. Wonder where some of the men of wealth would be today, if Watts, the inventor of steam, had not "wasted" his time watching the kettle and had instead gone out and made dollars? Wonder where the world would be today, if Caxton had not "fooled" his time away inventing the printing press? Wonder where the world would be today if all the great leaders of progress had been so immersed in the hunt for the dollar that they neglected to study and so failed to give us the scientific discoveries, with which their name is associated?

It is no use wondering, because these men were MEN in the real meaning of the word MEN. They would rather sit and spend hour after hour, day after day, month after month, and year after year, trying to discover something that would benefit the human race. They looked upon life as a time men should spend to assist their fellow men, rather than exploit them. Therefore we are not ambitious. We want to live in order that after living we can sit down and view the past and say that we endeavored to make the world better for having lived in it.

The big things of life are not contained in safe deposit boxes or banks. They are contained in the hearts of men and women. The respect of working men and women is worth more to us than all the dollars that can be made in business. We would rather have the smile of a little child of the slum, than the handclaps of a millionaire.

The other day a young woman comrade sent to our wife a bouquet, and we appreciate it. It is such acts that go to make life worth while. The love of working men and women inspire us on to keep on fighting. Better by far to rest behind the prison bars and know that there are outside men and women who love you for the work you have done, than to be on the outside and to know that men and women despise you. Comrades, the fight is a good one, the fighters are brave and soon the struggle will all be over. But as in a race, the last lap counts, so in our fight the last days count. At any hour we may, by neglect, turn victory into defeat. We want you all to get busy, we want one voice from Duluth to make itself heard down in St. Paul. Therefore we all should get behind John Essen. John Essen is a real comrade. In John you have all that a man needs. The love of home, the love of children and the ever-biding loyalty to his class. John never talks much and we don't suppose he can make much of a speech, but if he is elected and anyone attempts to pass any bill that will hurt our Cause, then like an aroused lion, John will be on the job. Honest, at times ridiculously honest. Never has there been a more honest or straighter man placed upon the political ticket, than John Essen. It is up to you to elect John Essen. It can be done and what is more, you can do it. We want to scatter throughout the 59th District, plenty of literature so that he people will know the real issues of the campaign. Are there enough conscientious workers, who read this paper, to come out and say that they are behind John Essen and the party? We can win this fight, by your help. Will you give it?

AS THE SUN IS SETTING.

If you mention materialism to a Christian, he will take fright and shout atheism. That is because he does not know any better. You can always test his ideas on materialism, especially when he is starving. Ask him which does he prefer when starving, a good meal or a sermon? There are very many of our readers who, if they had nothing to eat all day, would prefer a porter-house steak to a sermon on the mount. The reason of this is that our human nature presupposes our animal nature and that this animal nature must and will be dealt with first. The economic basis of society rests upon the fact—that our material wants must be satisfied before anything else. When a man is in need, the first thing and the only thing he thinks about is the satisfying of his needs. It is only when his material needs are satisfied, he cares to think about anything else. There-

fore the satisfaction of our material wants becomes the goal of our energies. We must eat, clothe and shelter ourselves. That is the basis of the Socialist philosophy, it is the basis of the activities of all mankind, despite the foolish assertions of the Christians. We have yet to meet the Christian who would sacrifice his material wants in order to reach heaven. If they did, there would be more of them committing suicide.

The Socialists tell you that once your means of living are secured, you will be at liberty to do many things that you do not do today. Guarantee to a prostitute the security of living and the necessity for selling her body disappears. If Levi Tarbell had possessed security of living, would he have gone out at midnight to rob? We should say not. Just the same as the want of the necessities of life obscures the desire of all else, so the fear of want, when not actually present, also affords a like stimulus, a like indifference to all else than to the removal of the possibility of want. If you have had three square meals today, and feel somewhat afraid that you will not get even "coffee and—" tomorrow, the chief end of your life will be to obtain that which will give you three meals tomorrow and the rest of your meals. Briefly, wherever the consciousness of any of our material wants possesses us, we can see nothing before us but the removal of these wants or the danger of those wants destroying us. Therefore, the first object we as workers have in view, is to remove the feeling of insecurity that holds us in its grip today. There is not one working class family out of every ten that can say that they do not fear the future. The people today in many instances are buying Liberty Bonds, our masters tell us so, in order to have something on hand in case of a rainy day. Another aspect of this problem is seen in the luxurious living of our masters. We see a fine limousine rolling by and after running three blocks to catch a car, we feel that we would like a limousine and immediately there is another want asserting itself. The non-enjoyment of a limousine is felt as a want to be relieved.

Now there are two ways of relieving these wants. You can either desert your class and sell yourself like the prostitute sells her body or you can organize with your class and free yourself from economic slavery. For an illustration of the first method, read the editorials put forward by capitalist editors and there you will see an example of mental prostitution. Because these men sell themselves they are given a fine living. But you all cannot become capitalist editors and hangers-on. What is more, you all would not like to be in their position! Many of you are full of a class-conscious feeling and are prepared to stand or fall by your class. For instance, Eugene V. Debs serves as a brilliant example of a worker who refused to sell himself. The aim of the man in the first case is to satisfy the wants of himself and his family, but the aim of the man in the second place is to satisfy the wants of his class. The men who belong to the second category go to make up the Socialist movement. It is the spirit of these men that renders the Socialist movement so impregnable. It is this form of unselfishness that is the lever of all progress. It was seen in the middle-class movements, when they wrested power from the feudal lords. The first man contributes absolutely nothing to history, the second man makes all progress. What in the lone man looks sordid and inexcusable, though sometimes excusable and natural, becomes purified and ennobled, when the individual sinks his individuality in his class and joins in with them and assist them to free themselves from slavery that grips them.

We see, therefore, that for a class to achieve its freedom, the motive power of its progress is governed by three facts:

- (1) A class in a position in which it is denied the necessities of life.
- (2) A class-consciousness of the fact that it is deprived of the necessities of life.
- (3) A belief that by action it can obtain the fulfillment of its wants and desires.

The above are the essential conditions for an economic movement that desires to make itself felt in history. Of course many of the workers deny that they are in fear of the future, but nevertheless it is true and furthermore whilst the evidence of the working class realizing their position as a class is very small, yet nevertheless it is so. All through history there have been classes and there is no period in history, where there has not been classes. History is explained by these classes. It is the development of these classes that has made history. The rise of the middle class from their inferior position brought us from feudalism into capitalism. Of course some will say that religion is the basis of life, but an examination of history proves the falsity of that argument. Is there a minister in Duluth who dares to tell the shipyard workers to rest upon the sabbath and make it holy? If any minister were to make such a statement, he would be arrested for interfering with war supplies. The Reformation in England proved that religion is governed by economic conditions. Another example is the money lending section of the community. Pierpont Morgan, the biggest money lender the world has ever seen, was always sure of being given an audience by the Pope. Yet at one time money lending was a crime against religion. The development of industry made money lending absolutely necessary, therefore religion had to conform with the new development.

To see the economic basis of society in a more plainer light, study the history for a while. Years ago we had

the reign of fine arts. Music, Painting, Literature, etc., were of the highest standard, but with the development of the machine and consequent scramble for wealth these arts were cast on one side and as a result we have seen the decline of art. Picture the so-called art of today what is it? Listen to the songs that are sung, witness the abortions that are hung in the art galleries, the smutty stories that are put forward as free (!) literature, witness the disgusting spectacle of money-mad millionaires dictating what shall be played on the stage and what shall not, yet these millionaires cannot tell you one single thing about art. Gone is the artist that would paint what his soul expressed. Witness the so-called Purity Leagues that pursue our writers and condemn the best of literature. Charles Rann Kennedy in his play "The Necessary Evil" puts the position very plainly when he causes Heron the artist to say: "Don't talk to me about art! I'm an artist. I know all about Art! Oh, I know I'm unsuccessful in these days you can share your pills with newspaper editors and politicians—and it's true, I've only published one trumpery bit of a song and am vain as a peacock about that; but I am an artist, all the same. God's flame burns in me, too; and the people I DO reach, just a few of them, here in this little tin-pot of a place—aye, and beyond it, too—they know it! Nay, I'll prophesy: they shall know it in all nations, down the ages, after today! . . . And I tell you now, we're going to alter all this modern cackle and moon-calf worship of the bawdy bestiality they call art! Yes, I—L—I, and the people like me! We are going to have the real Thing here presently. Don't you think these filth-mongers are going to have it all their own way. Not whilst we're here! The Real Thing is upon us! The Thing that Bach and Beethoven and Brahms stood for: the Thing that gave us Shakespeare and Euripides and Sophocles and mighty Aeschylus: the Thing that tells us the truth about . . . life and human destinies and all the imperishables in the kingdom of everlasting souls. And I'm part of it . . .

"Art! You call it Art! The dirty spewings, and indecencies, the greasy lusts, the back-stair adulteries, abortions, and the abominations of a pack of beastly decadents! It's going to be altered, I tell you; and soon. We're going to clean out this cesspool before long. And until then, let there be at least one artist to stand up in all this world of liars and flout it in the face!"

The same is true of music. Watch the pitiful attacks upon German music, just because we are at war with music. Men who do not appreciate the beautiful deprive us of the best that music can give, solely because their souls are full of hate. The theatre gives us rag-time, etc., and spoils the tastes of the people. That is why we want to see our Scandinavian Band grow. We love the Scandinavian Band because we know that the players are real artists. They play because their heart is in their work. They give us their best, because they play as they feel. Listen to the Band play the International and then try to keep down the feelings that are within you. When they play, the whole panorama of human history passes before your eyes. You can see the workers all coming together and it makes you want to rise up and forever remove capitalism from the earth. Give us more of your music, comrades, and as you play we will organize and some day when the workers are together we will dance and sing whilst you play. Dance, for the day will have arrived, THAT your music spurred us on to work for. Comrades, this is not a lecture, it is the editor pouring out to you the feelings of his soul. Philosophy and emotion mixed together are being given to you now. We are happy for the day is coming. No one can stop it, the future must be ours. As we go along we will educate ourselves and you, my comrades, strike up the Marseillaise and make us go on ahead. Comrades, do not go back, but keep on going. Keep on and let us march into the Industrial Commonwealth to the tunes of the Marseillaise and the International. Let us cast off its throne, the sordid system that enslaves us today. Let us strike off the fetters that bind us and let the best that is in us give expression to itself. Comrades, once more strike up the International. The war will soon be over. The ships will come back with new men. Different men to those that left. They will come back and listen to us. The boys that come back are your fellow-workers and my fellow-workers and we will all join together and in one glorious band of workers will march on ahead, leaving the past behind, gazing at the future. They are going to come with us, the war has opened up their eyes. They have faced death and they will face it again, if needs be. Strike up the International!

Arise, ye prisoners of starvation!
Arise, ye wretched of the earth,
For Justice thunders condemnation,
A better world's in birth
No more tradition's chains shall bind us,
Arise, ye slaves! No more in thrall!
The earth shall rise on new foundations,
We have been naught, we shall be all.

'Tis the final conflict,
Let each stand in his place,
The International Organization
Shall be the human race.



THE TRAITOR.

He hangs out a flag from his home and office,
He always stands up at "The Star Spangled Banner";
In talks and discussions he rails at the Prussians
And handles the kaiser in virulent manner,
He always is present at loyalty meetings,
And up on the platform he pays for a seat—
(The price doesn't matter, his profits are fatter
Since war gave him chances for cornering wheat.)

He talks with emotion of "brave soldier laddies"
Or "noble young jackies who sail on the foam."
Then shoots up the price on potatoes and rice
And other things needed abroad and at home;
He praises brave mothers, who give their sons freely,
Then soaks those same mothers for clothing and food.
But if you cry "traitor," this smooth speculator
Will think you are one of a lunatic brood.

Yet Benedict Arnold was only a piker
Compared to the man who amid all the strife
Will seize on the chances to force huge advances
In things that a nation depends on for life;
He did his foul work in the war of secession,
He poisoned our boys in the conflict with Spain—
High up on a gibbet we ought to exhibit
This traitor who holds up a nation for gain!
—Berton Braley in American Engineering Magazine.

English Members

Special Attention

At the meeting on Sunday next, the nomination for a State Secretary and members of the State Board will take place. This is the most important part of our work. Therefore we strongly urge upon all members to be present.

S. BLACKMAN will open up a discussion on,—
Russian Socialist Parties.

Also at this meeting, plans for the winter propaganda will be made.

ADDRESS 22 East First Street.

Entertainment

— At the —
WOODMAN HALL
SUNDAY EVENING,
OCTOBER 13

O. E. THOMPSON WILL SPEAK.

Miss Pennell Violin Selections, Miss Thompson Pianoforte Solo, Mrs. Erickson Recitation.

Admission 35c & 15c. Refreshments provided.

Do not forget the Swedish Dances at the SAMARITAN HALL every Saturday evening. Note address Samaritan Hall 2031 West Superior Street.

HAVE YOU READ THESE RECONSTRUCTION BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS?

Aims of Labor:—Henderson
Structure of Lasting Peace:—
Kallen
Approaches to Great Settlement:—
Balch
Nature of Peace:—Thorstein
Veblen
International Government:—
Woolf
Revolution Absolute:—Ferguson
Political Ideals:—Bert. Russell

War & the Coming Peace:—
Jastrow
Choice Before Us:—Dickinson
League of Nations:—Brailsford
Democracy After the War:—
Hobson
Internationalism:—I. St. J.
Tucker
Creative Impulse in Industry:—
Marot
"National Honor":—Peria

Political Conditions of Allied Success:—Norman Angel
HAVE YOU READ:—Open Letter to American Liberals:—Nuorteva. 5c.

RADICAL BOOK STORE,

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Scarcely a day passes that the Duluth News Tribune does not viciously and snappishly criticise some official act of President Wilson's and it is becoming more degraded and disgusting all the time. Eugene Debs, worth a whole hell full of News Tribunes, was sent to prison for having said less than the half that is uttered and implied by the News Tribune in every issue of the vile sheet.—Mesaba Ore.