

"Stand guard over your press as you would over your own lives! If you allow that to be destroyed your hope is gone. Give the Socialist press your support as never before, and do all in your power to build up and preserve that great moral power for the education and emancipation of the people."—Debs.

WORKERS OF THE  
WORLD UNITE

# THE TOLLER

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## Government Spies Wrote Planks in Communist Party Platform, also Laid Bombs, is Charge

Washington Stirred to Depths by Sensational Accusations  
Against Government Spies—Russian Republic  
Representative Demands Full Hearing  
Before Senate.

WASHINGTON.—Did the Department of Justice organize the Communist party of America and write into its platform the very planks upon which it now bases its prosecutions and deportation proceedings?

Charges that the Department of Justice did these things are contained in a statement given to all the press associations Jan. 6, by Santeri Nuorteva, secretary of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau.

Members of the United States Senate, who had received earlier information respecting the alleged "agent provocateur" activities of the Department of Justice, were excited and furious to hear that the most degrading practices of the old Russian Czars had been copied by an executive branch of the United States government.

### "Conspiracy to Suppress Truth."

Nuorteva's sensational statement to the press occurs in the course of his comment on the arrest of Gregory Weinstein, of the Soviet Bureau, in New York City.

After stating that the Soviet representatives "welcomed the opportunity given by the proposed hearings before the Senate committee to state the facts and refute the historical lies which are being spread about the Soviet government," Nuorteva charges that the contemplated deportation of himself and Martens is a conspiracy to prevent the Senate and the American people from learning the truth.

His statement then declares:

"We have conclusive evidence that agents of the Department of Justice have actively participated in the organization of the Communist Party of America, and that those very planks in the program of the party which now form the basis of the persecution of thousands of people have been drafted and inserted into that program by such government agents. We can prove that the chief figures in certain celebrated bomb plots were agents of a similar nature."

A member of the President's Cabinet who heard the charges against the Department of Justice exclaimed:

"I have felt for some time that private corporations were employing 'agents provocateur' to discredit labor, but it is almost incredible to learn that a department of the government has descended to that frightful practice."

### Wholesale Collusion Charged.

The attention of some senators was drawn today to the fact that a well-known character within the Communist Party ranks, who was most active in its creation and early agitation, is reported to have "slipped through" the Department of Justice net, and they are asking whether he was given official assistance to "escape".

Senators learned that the Soviet representatives are prepared to offer evidence of the most explicit sort showing that the Department of Justice was paying money to and receiving reports from the man who dictated the most radical planks of the Communist Party, in the weeks before, during and after the organization of that party.

On every side the opinion is expressed that the Senate will certainly demand the right to question the Soviet representatives and make them prove or confess the falsity of their astounding accusation. As one member of Congress declared tonight:

"If America has emerged from the world war a nest of spies and official plotters against exploited classes at

(Continued on page 4.)



The Wrecker at Work.

## I. W. W. DEMANDS SEARCHING INQUIRY INTO CENTRALIA HORROR.

CHICAGO. — Searching investigation into the facts behind the Centralia tragedy is demanded by the Industrial Workers of the World in an open letter which has been sent to the members of both houses of Congress. The letter bears the signature of Wm. D. Haywood, as secretary of the I. W. W. general defense committee.

"We want, and you want, the truth," the letter declares. "In this Centralia horror we haven't had the truth. Somebody has stopped it. There is something that somebody is hushing up. There are burning facts which guilty men are trying to conceal. Will you help us to uncover them?" "Out in the Northwest there has been a tragedy which has shaken the nation. At Centralia, Wash., a saturnalia of horror has been loosed which is beyond description. Throughout the state of Washington it has been a signal for mob ferocity and lawlessness which has made life a terror for thousands of victims.

### ails Packed With Innocents.

"It has packed jails with innocent men. It has enabled a gang of uniformed hoodlums to usurp every power of state. They have destroyed property, ravished civil rights, abolished every constitutional safeguard of citizenship.

"Under a cloak of patriotism they investigated the Centralia outrage, and

that in its next issue it would print the suppressed truth. But before this next issue could appear the paper was stopped and its editors thrown into jail.

"There are a few facts, however, which have escaped the censorship. They are eloquent of the true situation:

"First—The four men who were shot at Centralia were shot while breaking the law. At the coroner's inquest it was plainly brought out that they halted the parade in front of the I. W. W. headquarters and charged the door, thus bringing upon themselves the penalty which they suffered.

### Self-Defense Is Lawful Right.

"Second—This would mean that the men who fired the shots were unmistakably within the law, for even in capitalist courts a man is accorded the right to shoot in self-defense when an intruder breaks into his property.

"Third—But after this, other readers seized Wesley Everetts, an I. W. W. and an overseas victim, and murdered him by lynching. They desecrated his body, dragged it back to the jail where other I. W. W. were imprisoned, and threw it there. Then they forced their prisoners to dig a grave for Everetts on a vacant lot and bury him.

"Fourth—Every known I. W. W. in Centralia at that time was seized and without due process of law was thrown into jail. And 10 of our mem-

(Continued on page 4)

## WHO IS THE DESTROYER OF LIBERTY?

Our cartoonist has depicted the conditions of American political life in a striking and vivid manner in this week's Toller. The drawing tells the story far more completely than words can describe. A few months ago the words "liberty and freedom" were moving words. To-day they are dead—except in the minds of the world's oppressed. Then, the world was passing thru a saturnalia of blood. A rallying cry was necessary to lead on the peoples to more sacrifice and slaughter. An ideological aspect must be put upon the face of the struggle. What better catch-phrase than "liberty" could be sounded in the ears of the victims of capitalistic world imperialism?

But hypnotized labor to expect the practical application of the precepts of liberty to their every day lives and to industrial conditions. They accepted without question the promises of their leaders. They bled and sacrificed without end that the ideals which were held aloft by the sponsors of war might live afterward. How bitter is the disappointment! To-day, the workers of the world, with the exception of Russia, are ground to bits beneath the iron heel of despotism. Of all nations, the workers of the United States are ground down more pitilessly than any. Every single Constitutional liberty has been and is now being denied them. That "bulwark of our liberties", the Constitution, has been shattered to bits by the hand of capitalistic interests. Free speech, free assembly are dead. The workers are disfranchised. Berger has been denied the seat to which he was elected by a clear majority of 5,000 votes. Every citizen who voted for Berger was disfranchised by the acts of the representatives of capitalistic interests in congress. In New York, five socialists have been denied their seats in the state assembly. The constitutional right of the citizens to elect representatives of their choice have been violated by capitalistic interests. The destructionist is at work in every field and always it is the same influence that stands in the background.

Because of the work of this arch-enemy of liberty, nearly half a million steel workers have been forced back to their toil, underpaid, overworked, and denied even the right to form organizations for forcing concessions from their organized employers. The steel strike in an eloquent page in the history of the rise of American capitalist influence over the historic "rights" of American workers and citizens. In every steel center, the heavy hand of oppression came down upon the workers with violence. Every vestige of personal and constitutional liberty was ruthlessly stamped into the mire. Meetings of the steel workers were broken up by armed violence of uniformed thugs. Men and women were murdered outright and no bones made of it. The steel strike was lost because slavery was imposed upon the strikers by the armed power of the state at the behest of Gary and his associates in plunder.

The Constitution was an obstruction in the path of capitalistic imperialism, and because it was so, it has been wrecked to bits. It has been cast upon the scrap heap of history and now marks a milestone along the path which capitalism has passed. It can never be rebuilt. It will never again serve as a refuge of the working-class of America. It cannot be used as a weapon for their defense against the employing class. In the struggle of Labor for mastery of the world, it cannot be revived as an implement to further its rise to power. The Constitution is dead—it can no longer be said to exist.

Capitalism knows no law but the law of its own will. It will without a quiver wreck its own laws when they stand in its way. It acknowledges but one law—the law of force. The workers must forge new weapons if they would win against entrenched and powerful capital. We know now, that we can never win by merely "gaining 51 percent of the ballots". We know that capitalism has no more respect for majorities than it has for minorities. Labor must give all its activities for shorter hours and higher wages a revolutionary meaning. It must quit quibbling over these things merely as such. Labor must recognize that in order to live humanely, it must control the means by which it lives. It must take out of the hands of capital the power to control production. It must take out of the hands of capital its unearned possession of the machinery of production. To live, Labor must rule. And to rule, it must cease depending upon the "rights" given by dead constitutions. It must by force of its invincible numbers, write a Constitution in which only they, who labor shall share.



# NEWS NOTES OF LABOR STRUGGLE FROM ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD.

(Federated Press News Service.)

**Living costs still soar.**  
WASHINGTON.—Efforts of the government to lower the cost of living have been unsuccessful, it is shown by figures gathered by the Bureau of Labor Statistics from 50 principle cities.

It costs Mr. Householder more money today to feed, shelter and clothe his family than it did in mid-summer, when President Wilson asked railroad shophmen to defer a threatened strike until the government had an opportunity to bring down prices, figures show.

Up to November 15, which is the latest date for which exact figures are available, retail prices of 22 staple commodities had risen approximately 2 per cent since the president issued his letter to the railroad men. The index number stood at 192 for November, compared with 18 for October—prices in 1913 being figured at 100. Since November, unofficial data shows the rise has been continued.

## British Suppression in Ireland

DUBLIN.—An indication of the extent to which England is tightening her hold on Irish affairs may be gathered from a comparison of raids and other activities by the military and the police under orders of Dublin castle, during the last three years.

In 1917 and 1918 there was a total of 271 raids by the military and police on private houses; in the first nine months of 1919 the number was 5,588. In 1917 and 1918 there was a total of 99 armed assaults on unarmed civilians; nine months of the present year showed a total of 333.

In 1917 and 1918 proclamations and suppressions amounted to 35; in the period January to September, 1919, the figure was 258.

In 1917 and 1918 15 newspapers were suppressed; in the first nine months of 1919 23 suffered this fate.

In 1917 and 1918 there were 98 courts-martial; in nine months of the current year there were 227.

## Lenin warns of Premature Revolt.

MILAN.—A warning against a premature insurrection provoked by the capitalists has been sent by Nicolai Lenin to Serrati, editor of Avanti and leader of the Italian Communists.

Commending the Communist stand by the Italian Socialists in the congress of Bologna, Lenin declares that they are right in using political means to gain their platform, especially since the reaction in western Europe is only too anxious to stir up an insurrection, which would burn out the whole movement.

"Choose the moment for your action that is favorable from the international point of view," he said. "Then it will be permanent. The progress of Communism all over the world is surely for your victory."

## Feb. 20, date for decision of new tactics to force nationalization

LONDON.—A big step toward the nationalization of the mines of Great Britain was made at the special trades union congress held here Dec. 11 and 12, attended by representatives of more than 5,000,000 union members. It was agreed to defer until the next meeting, Feb. 20, the decision as to what action should be taken to force the government to adopt the majority report of the coal commission, and meantime to continue the campaign for nationalization with joint control by the state and the miners.

A comprehensive food policy was adopted, of which a large measure of control by the state and by municipalities was a feature.

In a session animated by the warmest feeling, a resolution demanding the end of the blockade and the war on Russia was adopted unanimously. The resolution included the demand that passports be granted to a trade union committee of inquiry to Russia.

A labor general staff was established for the purpose of co-ordinating the movement.

## A Bankrupt World

WASHINGTON.—That the world is practically bankrupt, is the interpretation put by economists upon the move of Secretary of the Treasury Carter H. Glass in urging that the short-time credits be extended to the allied countries to long-term notes.

Some \$475,000,000 are due annually to the United States government by allied countries on loans extended to them to finance themselves through the great war. "The collection in dollars of this interest," says Secretary Glass, "under present circumstances,

in answer to questions by a correspondent of The New Majority. The presence at a Socialist lecture of 75 special "constables" from the "state department of constabulary" headed by Stuart occasioned the inquiries.

## Socialization Law is Compromise

BERLIN, Germany.—After much quibbling and more compromise, a general socialization law, which is to serve as the basis for all subsequent socialization measures, has been passed by the German national assembly.

The act provides that every German shall be guaranteed the right to earn his living by his own efforts. It pledges the government to afford him this right in case it is denied him by private employers. It provides for the transfer to the community, upon adequate payments to the present owners, of such industries as are adapted to "management by the community," and stipulates that the national government may assign the work of socialization to the various states, communes, or specially created economic bodies.

The act has drawn fire from both capitalists and Socialists, and apparently satisfies nobody. It is assailed by the Socialists as a compromise with the capitalist system, and by the capitalists as too revolutionary.

## British Despotism in South Africa

KIMBERLY.—South Africa under British Rule is a country where the native must get a pass to live with his wife, another pass to visit his family down the street, and another to work for his tiny wage of a shilling and a half a week. There is a labor party to which no laborer can belong, a Socialist party which is smothered to death, and a church which has had a special law put through the English parliament to keep the natives out.

Natives pay the general tax, and a special tax in addition to punish them for being natives. With the proceeds of these native taxes the British build schools—for white children only.

The negro in South Africa cannot rise above the serf condition, since he is not allowed to buy land. And he cannot leave a job that pays him L2 a month for one that pays him L3, without the written consent of the first employer.

**Would Sabotage Parliament**  
LONDON.—Representatives of 300,000 union men have called upon the Parliamentary Labor party to block all business in the house of commons until the government has restored the unemployment dole. If the government fails to comply, direct action to enforce the demand is threatened. It is declared that a relentless fight will be carried on against the measure to abolish the dole, which leaves utterly without resources many thousands of unemployed workers.

These recommendations were included in resolutions adopted at a conference of the South Staffs and Westheshire federation of trades councils, which demanded that the government make some provision for its masses of unemployed until it has solved the problem of unemployment itself.

**Egypt demands Self-determination**  
PARIS.—"How can you vituperate Germany for having taken away Alsace and Lorraine without the consent of its people, when you are guilty of disposing of Egypt without a word to her?" was the question asked Clemenceau by the Egyptian delegation when delegates of the "lost provinces" returned to the French chamber.

"The Egyptian people cannot accept the clause in the treaty of Versailles which refers to them," continues the statement, which is signed by Saad Zagloul, head of the delegation. "As the people of Alsace-Lorraine protested against the treaty of Frankfurt in 1871, we will continue to demand that the right of self-determination be granted us."

**Deputies Shy at Worker's Declaration**  
PARIS.—The chamber of deputies refused to listen to a declaration of loyalty to France by the working people of Alsace-Lorraine because the word "Socialist" was connected with it. During the welcoming back to the chamber of the deputies after almost 50 years of separation, Albert Thomas, Right Socialist, attempted to read the declaration from 112,000 electors in the provinces. Immediately there was an uproar. Marshal Foch and Generals Pau and Magin left the room, and only with the greatest difficulty was order restored.

**American Legion Sponsors Constabulary**  
CHICAGO.—Despite the fact that the third Illinois legislature defeated the state constabulary bill last May, the department continues to function. Functions as the police force of the state society for the prevention of cruelty to animals. It operates under the old horse-thief act. Mayor Thompson is said to be an honorary officer, and the American legion is its guiding star.

All these facts were admitted reluctantly by Walter P. Stuart, whose office is listed in the telephone directory as one of the state departments,

**Damage Claims Against Mexico**  
MEXICO CITY.—In view of the present agitation regarding revolutionary damage claims by foreigners, especially Americans, for losses alleged to have been suffered in Mexico during the past few years, it should be recalled that of the nearly half a billion dollars of such claims presented on a previous occasion (in 1848), less than one per cent were found valid by the international commission to which they were submitted.

Following the ratification of the treaty of Guadalupe, in 1848, which brought to an end the war between the United States and Mexico, numerous and exorbitant claims arose by the nationals of both countries for alleged injuries to their persons and property. By agreement of the two nations, one representative each of Mexico and the United States was appointed to an arbitration commission, with the understanding that the two appointees would in turn agree upon the third arbitrator. That arbitrator was the British minister at Washington.

Out of 1,017 American claims examined by the commissioners, 831 were rejected, and out of 998 Mexican claims, 831 were thrown out.

A donation of \$2.00 received from comrade F. M. G. for Liberation Fund. Thanks comrade F. M. G.

# 110,000 ANTI-SOVIET FORCES SUR- RENDER TO RED ARMY.

## ENTIRE SOUTHERN FRONT COLLAPSES BEFORE INVINCIBLE REDS. GREAT STORES OF WAR MATERIALS FALL TO BOLSHEVIKI AS TRIUMPH MARKS ONWARD COURSE.

Late news dispatches from Siberia disclose yet greater successes of the Red Soviet army.

The town of Krasnoyarsk, eastern Siberia, has been captured by the Bolsheviks, according to a Moscow wireless dispatch.

The remnants of the First, Second and Third enemy armies have surrendered, and 60,000 prisoners already have been counted.

Another Moscow dispatch says the booty captured by the reds on the southern front in Russia in the present offensive includes 400 guns, 1,000 machine guns, 11,000 rifles, eighteen armored trains, 200 locomotives, 10,000 wagons and large stores of food and munitions together with 35,000 prisoners.

Krasnoyarsk is situated on the trans-Siberian railway, about 300 miles east of Tomsk. Lying on the plain, and open to the play of the bitter winds, traffic with the town by caravans is almost impossible in the winter. The town is situated on the left bank of the Yenisei river.

WASHINGTON.—A threatening spread of the Bolshevik forces in south Russia and Siberia was reported to the state department today in official advices received from Siberia and European Russia.

These show that the eastward advance of the Bolshevik forces through Siberia has reached the edge of Irkutsk, on the western shores of Lake Baikal, which the foreign representatives, including the American consul general, Mr. Harris, have now been forced to quit for safety.

Where is Admiral Kolchak?  
It had been the hope of the followers of Admiral Kolchak that he would be able to make a stand at Irkutsk, but there is no certainty now that he will be able to save himself, as he has been cut off and it is not even known where he is.

The aim of the Polish government is reported to be to stabilize the situation in that region in an effort to prevent bolshevism finding a foothold there.

The evacuated regions are reported infested with bands of robbers and plunderers.

The evacuated regions are reported infested with bands of robbers and plunderers.

# ITS ALL IN THE POINT OF VIEW, SAYS SKYGAC

AS IT SEEMS.	AS IT IS.
Shepherd:—One who tenderly cares for sheep.	Shepherd:—One who robs the sheep himself to clothe.
Capitalist:—One who furnishes employment to wage-slaves.	Capitalist:—One who robs the slaves himself to keep.
Judge:—A dignified person who dispenses justice.	Judge:—An servant of the dominant class.
Courts:—The dwelling house of justice.	Courts:—An important asset of capitalism.
Ballot:—The weapon of Democracy.	Ballot:—A scrap of paper. (see election).
Election:—The casting of ballots by the electorate to determine the will of the majority.	Election:—The place where the chicken tells whether it would rather be boiled or fried. See electorate.
Electorate:—The citizens of a country who determine their self-government.	Electorate:—People who are born in a country as distinguished from those born in other countries who came to that country from choice.
Congressional district:—A political subdivision of the country whose electorate choose a citizen to represent them in Congress.	Congressional district:—A political fiction when not under control of the dominant class. Read account of Berger's election from 5th Wisconsin district.

# OLD SAWS RESET BY CURRENT PEOPLE.

Reported by SKYGAC.

Peace on earth, Good will towards men. According to the press reports of Attorney General Palmer, this in no wise refers to reds radicals, bolsheviks, or any persons having an idea of later vintage than the Lutheran Reformation.

"Congress shall pass no law abridging the freedom of speech press and assemblage." Congress DID pass such a law, and is now busy considering the passage of other laws of like nature.

"Millions for defense but not one cent for tribute" was the cry in 1810. Two hundred millions for charity and a two cent raise in gasoline, in 1920.

America the land of the free and the asylum for the world's religious and politically oppressed. This was in the days of Jeffersonian Democracy. In the days of Wilsonian Demo-

cracy, pictures are still selling. They ought to be 25c each. Buy one for you home.

Five seventy five is contained in a letter from comrade A. B. Asenat, of Charleroi, Pa. This amount is for subs cards and literature.

# The Black Sheep

## CHAPT. XIII. Prison visitors.

It was several days after Jack had been locked up in a cell with Collins for a mate, and with Rudolph occupying an opposite cage that their conversation drifted upon the subject of religion. It may be that it was the sound of church bells calling the populace of the village to devotion, that suggested the subject to their minds.

Jack was fully aware of the inadequacies and contradictions of his parents' creed. He had looked upon it as a natural plaything for illiterate folk, and therefore not worthy of serious consideration. Like the subject of economics prior to the time he had met George, it did not occur to him that religion had any influence for evil on the masses of mankind. He was a naturalist with a strong leaning toward the biological phenomena. He was more interested in the philogenetic history of man than in his sociological relations. But his eyes were to be opened, and Collins was a thoro, if at times, rough teacher.

"There are churches at Anamoose, here as elsewhere, they may be called the gages by which, the concentration of wealth may be measured; they advertise the fact that there are vested property rights in the community. The fiercer the exploiters the bigger their Bibles. You will notice that the emblem of the church is the cross, that is, because she is a stranger to the Christ. If Christ ever existed he died like Parsons and Spies, because he defended the rights of the poor. He was a member of one of the ancient brotherhoods of Labor—a quinquennial, or Lord and Master, if I read history rightly. Just read your Bible carefully and you will find much revolutionary terminology in the passages reputed to be the words of Christ. But in order to understand it according to the materialist conception you have to have some idea of the scope and extent of ancient labor organizations. We might call them the pre-Christian unions. They were organized in all the ancient empires. Empires rise and fall as a result of the concentration and re-distribution of wealth. It was organized labor existing under the ancient military despotism, that kept the germ of liberty alive and carried within it the promise of the ultimate redemption of the masses from the economic tyranny of the rich.

You may ask how it was that the military over lords of ancient times permitted such organizations. The answer is that complete slavery not only dwarfs the body but degenerates the mind. A man whose highest incentive in life is an effort to keep a lash from his back has no incentive to mingle his brain with his labor, with the result that where the working class has no such incentive to create, civilization does not advance. Man must be sustained by production. The tendency is for population to increase geometrically, while the resources from which they must be fed do not increase unless the tools of production are improved, and the knowledge of agriculture advanced. Slaves do not improve tools, neither do they advance the sciences.

In those days the masters did no work productively, hence accumulated no experience of a useful nature. They were unable even if they had been willing to improve the methods of production and distribution. The masters of the world have never produced anything but misery to the masses and ultimate destruction for themselves. As early as eleven hundred years B. C. labor had begun to organize. The exodus of the Jews from Egypt, is the earliest recorded labor walk out. Three hundred years later, and we may suppose that during that time progressive organization had taken place, the brotherhoods of the slaves were legalized by three of the foremost statesmen of the world, Amasis of Egypt, Solon of Greece, and Numa Pompilius of Rome.

These men saw that a nation enslaved is a nation dying. They realized that when the population became more numerous, and lived in cities, that production in shop and field had to keep pace; they realized, that the struggle for existence had been taken from the masters and transferred to the backs of slaves; that leisure would develop new tastes and habits of culture that would have to be gratified with commodities which the stultified brains of chattles could not supply. They were forced to realize that labor needed a nobler incentive to work than the whip in the hand of a master; that they needed an ideal which they might hope to attain thru the perfection of their arts and crafts. There was still another and perhaps more potent need for the formation of the Solonic trade unions. It may be found in the constant danger of invasion from the barbarian hordes beyond the frontier. The masters

knew that they would succumb to these marauders, unless their hands were strengthened with arms and supplies furnished by industrious slaves. That is perhaps the basic reason for turning a portion of the slaves into freed men. But the word freedman like the modern term wage worker did not mean that these people possessed true liberty. What the masters did was to change the form and status of their slavery. They gave them a delusion: which they called liberty.

This delusion made civilization permanent. It became the mother of industrial progress. The slave believing himself to be free, and knowing that his liberty depended upon his ability to furnish military equipment to his military masters now worked with all the energy of his arms and brain. That is why civilization blossomed under the Solonic dispensation. With the products of the freed man's genius, his masters conquered the world.

"There is a legend to the effect that the first Roman aristocrats were suckled by a she wolf and their descendants have ever been true to their mother's milk. They have always had, and as long as mankind will tolerate their existence will have, all the rapacity of a hungry beast. These aristocrats no sooner had subdued their enemies, than they turned upon the freedmen whose labor and genius had made their victories possible. Aristocracy is alien to all sentiment. They are as dead to kindness and gratitude as was their legendary foster mother from whose dugs they drained the gall mixed milk of rapacity. If you want to know them, then read your Bible's description of Jehovah. He is the Super Aristocrat. Labor is the source of their power and they thanked her with the "Iron Heel". And what was the result? Rome fell and with her fell civilization down into the pit of the dark ages, to rise no more for a thousand years. Wolf like they destroyed the flock on which they preyed,—and starved.

But I am off my theme. These ancient brotherhoods were organized upon Rudolph's favorite principle, "Mutual Aid". They preached thrift and loyalty to one another. They were strong for industrial efficiency. They were ruled by their own chief, who was responsible for their conduct to the military cast in society. He was their president, and often their master workman or the teacher of the trade. He was also their attorney at the ports of their masters, from which the christians get their idea that Christ is our advocate, the chief patrician called God.

"It sometimes happened that these unions incurred the displeasure of their master; putting themselves in danger of re-enslavement or death. History records in a more or less vague form several of the massacres of inoffensive working people. There were instances in which their lord and master would offer his life as an atonement for the guilt of his people. It is perhaps from this that the saying, "Greater love hath no man than he who layeth down his life for his brethren," originated. Christ was not the first of whom this was said. It was said of many Saviors before his day. They called them Soters. Nearly every union worshipped the memory of one of these generous souls. The habit of giving ones self for his fellow men is a direct result of the teaching of collectivism. It is an act that inspires awe, veneration and gratitude; it is an act which translates man to God. Christ appealed to the sense of solidarity of all nations and was therefore considered the Lord and Master of the world wide union who gave his life as an atonement for his people to the wolf bred masters of Rome.

"The church today still bears the name of the ancient union. The Greek word KURIOS sometimes written KURIKOS and the Latin word CURIA are direct roots of the German word KIRCHE the Scotch word KIRK, and the English word church. There was also a Greek name designating a confederation of these unions—synodi from which the presbyterians and other denominations get their term synods. The Pope of Rome is called Pontifex Maximus or chief bridge builder; in fact the whole terminology of modern spook artistry is shot thru with the language of these primitive unions. The church is the evil ghost of labor's assassinated father.

Rome assassinated the ancient labor unions; not by fire and sword and wild beast of prey; she tried that and only succeeded in bribing them into the catacombs. Principle is immortal, persecution can only advertise but never destroy it. Yet Rome killed the Solonic dispensation not by force but

(Continued on page 4.)



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## The Coal Settlement.

The news comes from the Columbus convention that the Coal strike is "settled", that is, it is if the operators will accept the recommendations which the president's commission of three award the miners. The operators are not compelled to accept the award, tho the miners are. The strike settlement may be characterized as a victory for a capitalistic imperialism aligned with traitors within the miner's union.

How reactionary and behind the present times are the officials of the miner's union is seen in this "victory" for "business unionism". How lacking in moral courage were the statements of President Lewis. "We were compelled", was the keynote of his speech before the convention in defense of the officials' ignominious surrender to the government's injunction. They had not the vision to look thru the bars of a prison cell and see a new day for the miners. They could only feel the taint of the prison clinging to them as they dallied with the bourgeoisie for the crumbs from their table. Such an example of moral bankruptcy has seldom been held up before a body of workers.

"When this (the union), becomes, anything else than an American institution, I shall leave it," Lewis is credited with telling the miners. Lewis probably is in blissful ignorance that the miner's union ceased utterly to be an "American" institution in the way that he means when the Government of the United States issued an injunction "ordering" its members back to the mines. When that injunction was issued, the United Mine Workers of America ceased to be an "American" institution and became an object of vengeance of capitalistic imperialism acting thru the government.

Lewis' statement that the officials, by acting as they did in compliance with the demands of the injunction, had "saved the organization to make such 'progress' as was possible in the future", must be accepted with a doubt as to its truth. The future will likely disclose that instead of being "saved" the organization has been wrecked.

The miners will have much to ponder over as they pick and blast their way beneath the surface these coming months. These days are charged with mighty forces which are driving the workers into closer affiliations with one another. The idea of One Big Union is a light in present darkness. This light, the miner must and will find in his darkness. It is a light that no group of platitudinous and visionless leaders can snuff out.

The miner's strike is UNSETTLED.

## DEMOCRACY RAPED.

Comming on the heels of the denial of a seat in Congress to Victor Berger, Socialist, because of alleged "disloyalty" is the refusal by the state legislature of New York to seat five socialists elected in regular manner by the voters in their political districts. The movement of plutocracy and capitalist imperialism toward complete domination of the life of the workers is growing by leaps and bounds. Congress, having set an example in the denial of the people's right to seat their chosen representatives in the national law-making body, we may with all justification expect all states to follow in a like manner whenever those whose opposition threatens the rule of capitalist imperialism are elected.

There is no dodging about the bush by the state legislature of New York in this matter. As soon as the assembly opened, a resolution was adopted declaring the seats of the five socialists vacant. No bones were made as to why. The fact that they were elected upon the platform of the Socialist Party was declared as the reason. The Assembly will now proceed to decide the "loyalty" of the five socialists. It will in this case be the plaintiff, judge and jury. Just what chance the socialists have of taking their seats in the face of such a combination may well be guessed.

A new era has been born in the political life of the United States. These two denials of duly elected representatives of voters marks the beginning of political despotism in America. Capital sees its domination of the law making bodies of the maton threatened by the increasing number of worker's representatives. It is to thwart this that they are denied their seats. It is a step of desperation. But capitalism must perforce take it. No method, however, subversive of the principles upon which the government is supposedly erected, must be left untried. It is to this stage that the social revolution in America has arrived—that duly elected representatives of the workers are denied their constitutional rights at the hands and by the orders or Capitalist Dictatorship. A lesson in tactics is being driven home to the workers that must be learned—that the ballot is a "scrap of paper" unless backed up by economic force—Revolutionary Unionism. The answer to capitalism's rape of democracy is mass action of the workers.



## DEBS: HIS AUTHORIZED Life & Letters

by  
DAVID KARSNER

"I give to you as the author, and to Boni and Liveright as the publishers my word of approval and hearty endorsement of your book. You will write just the kind of a book that Time and History will require, and in every line, on every page, you will be speaking for me with my authority, given to you without reservations or qualifications."—Eugene V. Debs to David Karsner. Address: COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY OF OHIO, 3207 Clark Ave. — Cleveland, Ohio.

Comrade Roy Hall of Coshocton, O., sends a dollar bill for a sub for another comrade. Yearly subs are in the ascendancy these past few weeks. Looks as tho the workers had decided that a dollar is little enough to spend at one time for what they want, while they often have to spend much more for something they do not want. And then, isn't it just as easy to sell a dollar sub as the other kind?

# EDITORIAL & PARTY NEWS PAGE.

## SPARKS.

Comrade Marguerite Prevey is scheduled to address a Prisoners' Defense meeting at Bellaire, Jan 18th. Other Locals are contemplating meetings in the near future. Every Local which can arrange a meeting should do so at once. Meetings provide great propaganda opportunities and every comrade should realize their value to the Movement.

That the Toiler Cartoon Department is turning out most satisfactory work is the opinion of many comrades who have written commendatory letters to the State Office. And while appreciation is being given, let us announce that the cartoon service is donated to you. It is a free gift to the Movement by a comrade who desires no return for his labor except to see the Movement for working-class emancipation grow. Every reader should lend his heartiest assistance by getting subscriptions for The Toiler. Show your appreciation by lending a hand. Actions talk.

Bullitt's Report is one of the best sellers that the State Office has ever handled. The price is right too—50c a volume. This report of the Bullitt Mission to Russia and the testimony before the Senate Investigating Committee, contains much astonishing information about the tangled Russian policy of the Allies. Most of it has never appeared in print before. Order it, read it and pass it on to others.

Comrade Phalen of Columbus forwards three subs this week.

A thousand notices of subscription expirations were mailed out last week. Did YOU get one. If so, send your renewal at once. Don't delay. And while you are renewing, add 25c and write another worker's name on the BOOST slip. Boost a bit.

Comrade Harry Carter of Wakemen O. writes for membership application cards. Looks like he was out for members, doesn't it? Sure does. He also sends names to receive sample copies of The Toiler. Some comrades find many ways to help the work along. Introducing The Toiler to the unacquainted is one of the best.

Literature committees to work in the shops are being organized by Local Cinti. Union meetings and shops are good places to sell literature. Try it. Order a bunch of our pamphlets.

An instance of what can be accomplished by a slight effort given to the work of getting subscriptions is furnished by comrade Jas Albert of New-castle, Ind. He sends us four new subs and his letter states that he thinks a six month's treatment of The Toiler will induce renewals when the time is up. And we believe he is right.

Comrade H. M. Kohr is on the job at Urichville, O., this week. Two subscriptions from him indicates what a little activity will accomplish.

Guernsey County Locals seem to be especially well favored in regard to halls and possibilities of holding meetings. At Derwent, a permanent headquarters is being established. Beysville, the County headquarters, has permanent quarters. Local Robins meets in the hall owned by the miner's union. This Local has also rented a picnic ground for use the coming summer. Present indications in Guernsey County lead to the assertion that live activities will be carried on there in future.

Considering that bundle of literature which was sent, you comrades, literature agents and Local secretaries,—have you ordered more like it? Don't neglect the literature end of the Movement. Better order a package from those samples—RIGHT-A-WAY.

Comrade L. L. Lowery, of Fir, Ark., sends us two subs. Every little sub helps make a big revolution. Get the subs.

Comrade T. H. Cave of Holy Hill, Fla., orders a quantity of literature for distribution and for self education. The man who desires to be informed is to be commended for independent thinking.

"Let us make this a "Happy New Year" by getting 10,000 members in Ohio", is the way M. A. Toohey of Toledo, greets 1920. His wish finds an echo in the minds of thousands of comrades. But it requires activity to produce these results. Get in action, comrades.

## Dollars Needed FOR Baker's Defense!

Charles Baker, organizer for the Communist Labor Party, has been arrested, and is charged with violation of the Lever Act, by interfering with the operation of the coal mines in the state of Kansas.

Baker defended the miners in the recent coal strike. For this, he is now indicted and out on bonds approximating nearly \$70,000. He will be tried in the Kansas courts in February.

Money is needed NOW for his defense. Baker has always stood by the workers. Now the workers must stand by him. Let your dollars work for freedom for Chas. Baker.

Send all remittances to

The Communist Labor Party of Ohio,  
3207 Clark Ave. Cleveland, O.



## DEFEND

those who have stood by you

## TWO PRISON POEMS.

By RALPH CHAPLIN

### PRISON SHADOWS.

Like grey-winged phantoms out of sullen skies  
They flood my cell and seem to fashion there  
I know not what dim landscapes of despair;  
All day I felt them lurking in my eyes.  
And now they fall like crosses, sombre-wise,  
Upon the shameful uniform I wear,  
Upon my brow, my face, my hand, my hair;  
And on my heart their shadow always lies.

O heart of mine, why throb with futile rage  
And beat and beat against these hopeless bars?  
For, though you break in life's last deadly swoon,  
You cannot pierce beyond this iron cage.  
To see the pulsing splendor of the stars  
Or feel the blue-green magic of the moon!

### OUR LIVING DEAD.

Mourn not the dead that in the cool earth lie,  
Dust unto dust;  
The calm, sweet earth that mothers all who die  
As all men must.

But rather mourn the living souls who dwell,  
Too strong to strive,  
Within each steel-bound coffin of a cell —  
Buried alive!

## AS BAD AS THE LUSITANIA.

PARIS.—A sin equal to that of the German admiralty in ordering that the Lusitania be torpedoed is the blockade of Russia, according to Armand Charpentier, writing in "Le Populaire." Says M. Charpentier:

"Mr. Wilson and all of the heads of the Entente governments declared that this war had for its purpose the liberation of all of the peoples from all imperialist and militarist servitudes, and that these peoples, once liberated, were free to choose their governments.

"The ministers of the Entente, betraying the unanimous sentiment of their peoples, have sinned equally with the German admiralty which ordered the torpedoing of the Lusitania. Sending women, children and sick people to death is a crime.

"These same ministers of the Entente are today committing a crime a hundred, a thousand times more abominable, in which, besides, reactionary Germany is participating. These ministers, thanks to the indifference of their parliaments, and to the inconceivable ignorance of the peoples, are busy condemning to a gradual death, by hunger, by cold, by disease, a population of a hundred and twenty millions of inhabitants, whose sole crime is that they took seriously the Wilsonian principles and the promises of the ministers, in guaranteeing them the government of their choice."

Local Tiffin comrades recognize the truth of the above statement, and have proceeded to organize two squads of "go-getters" whose purposes will be to compete for new members and Toiler subs. Indications are that there will be some lively skirmishes thereabouts.

Do you realize the value of a pamphlet with a "kick" in it to hand to Henry and his brother? Then order a package of Mr. Block and the Profiteers. Any worker who reads it will never again look at himself the same. The price is 10 for 60c or 10c for one. Let Mr. Block do your agitating.

## Italy may be first to recognize Soviet Russia.

LONDON, Jan. 9.—If Russia wants the Soviet form of government she should be allowed to have it and the allies should recognize her present government Foreign Minister Scialoja of Italy said today.

The Italian statesman, here for discussions with Premier Lloyd George, declared the two outstanding diplomatic problems of Europe were: The course to be pursued in Russia and the disposition of the Turkish empire.

### EDUCATION OBJECT OF CAPITALIST VENGEANCE.

BUDAPEST.—A systematic reign of error against culture and education is being carried on by the counter-revolution in Hungary with the purpose of crushing all opposition to the present regime.

Many priests have been hanged outright for alleged Communist views, and hundreds of teachers have lost their positions. In one locality, according to a well-authorized statement, 40 school teachers were mobbed and killed by White guards.

Boys and girls of 14 and 16 who are suspected of Socialist or Communist sympathies have been denied admittance to any school in the country. Professors in universities and technical schools, some of them noted scholars, have been persecuted for suggesting the most moderate reforms in the present regime.

Police are authorized by a special order to examine private libraries and confiscate all books dealing with revolutionary as well as revolutionary social theories. On the counter-revolutionary "Index" are included Marx, Froudon, Ferrer, Engels, Kautsky, andervelde, Bebel and Sorel, as well as Lenin and Trotsky.

Since the hunt for forbidden books is carried on by uneducated White Guards, every book with the word "social" in the title is confiscated. The great majority of people have preferred to burn their libraries rather than be subjected to the inquisition.

The municipal library of Budapest, noted for its comprehensive list of

## WAR ON IGNORANCE.

We have declared WAR ON IGNORANCE. Will you enlist in the ranks of the ENLIGHTENERS? We intend to establish in the State Office of the Communist Labor Party of Ohio a Book and Pamphlet Department second to none in the nation. We will handle only the best of the Revolutionary literature of the past and present. We will also publish new literature of our own. We have since Jan. 1st gotten one pamphlet off the press, another will be ready for sale in a few days. Others are contemplated.

The co-operation of all readers of The TOILER and of all Locals and literature agents is earnestly hoped for. The demand for new and good revolutionary literature is greater than can be supplied. We want YOU to help us supply this demand of the workers for ENLIGHTENMENT. Every worker can sell pamphlets every week to shopmates and other workers. Every Local must carry a full line of the best there is.

Every Class-conscious Worker must help Strike Down the Monster, Ignorance, that Enslaves the Workers.

HERE IS OUR LATEST LIST. READ IT EVERY WEEK FOR  
ADDITIONAL TITLES.

Crimes of the Bolsheviks 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.  
Russian Socialist Constitution 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.  
Soviet Russia ..... 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.  
Russia, Articles by Tchicherin, Eastman, Lenin, 15c each, 10 or more 11c each.  
Debs Goes To Prison, 15c each, 10 or more 11c each.  
The Dream Of Debs, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.  
The Trial of Debs, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.  
Mr. Block and The Profiteers, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.  
Manifesto of the Communist International, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.  
The Class Struggle, Kautsky, 25c each, 10 or more 18c each.  
Communist Manifesto, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.  
Evolution and Revolution, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.  
How the Farmer can get His, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.  
Scientific Socialism Study Course, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.  
Industrial Autocracy, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.  
Marxism and Darwinism, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.  
Slander of the Toilers 5c each, 10 or more 3c each.  
Socialism Utopian and Scientific, 15c each, 10 or more 11c each.  
Shop Talks on Economics, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.  
Think or Surrender, 15c each, 10 or more 10c each.  
Violence or Solidarity, 5c each, 10 or more 3c each.  
Bullitt Mission to Russia, 50c each, 10 or more 40c each.  
Communist Manifesto (cloth), 60c each, 5 or more 40c each.  
Evolution Social and Organic, 60c each, 5 or more 40c each.  
Law of Boigenesis, 60c each, 5 or more 40c each.  
Jack London's Works, 60c each, 5 or more 45c each.  
Debs Authorized Life and Letters—Karsner, \$1.50, 5 or more \$1.25.  
Russia in 1919, Ransome, \$1.50, 5 or more, \$1.25.  
Lenin, the Man and His Work, Williams, \$1.50, 5 or more \$1.25.  
Pelle the Conqueror, \$4.00 (2 volumes).  
Philosophical Essays, Dietzgen, \$1.25, 5 or more \$1.00 each.  
Savage Survivals, \$1.25 each, 5 or more \$1.00 each.  
Socialism for Students, 60c each, 5 or more 40c each.  
Socialism and Modern Science, \$1.25 each, 5 or more \$1.00 each.  
Stories of the Cave People, \$1.25 each, 5 or more \$1.00 each.  
Socialism and War, \$1.00 each.  
Ten Days That Shook The World, \$2.00 each.  
The World's Revolutions, 60c each, 5 or more 45c each.  
Universal Kinship, Moore, \$1.25 each, 5 or more \$1.00 each.  
Value Price and Profit, Marx, 60c each, 5 or more 45c each.

PLACE YOUR ORDER TODAY—ADDRESS:

COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY OF OHIO.

3207 Clark Ave.—Cleveland, Ohio.

### WORKERS PERCENTAGE.

A public speaker recently pointed out that while the United States has only six per cent of the population of the world and only seven per cent of the land, it produces:

Sixty per cent of the world's supply of copper.

Forty per cent of the world's supply of lead.

Fifty per cent of the world's supply of zinc.

Sixty per cent of the world's supply of aluminum.

Sixty per cent of the world's supply of oil.

Seventy-five per cent of the world's supply of corn.

Sixty per cent of the world's supply of cotton.

Forty per cent of the world's supply of silver.

Fifty-two per cent of the world's supply of coal.

Forty per cent of the world's supply of iron and steel.

Twenty per cent of the world's supply of gold.

Eighty-five per cent of the world's supply of automobiles.

Twenty-five per cent of the world's supply of wheat, and refines 80 per cent of the copper and operates 40 per cent of the world's railroads.

While paying its wage workers less than 20 per cent of the wealth they create.—The New Majority.

Comrade P. R. Davis of Chesapeake O., remits for one copy Bullitt's Report and \$1.50 as a donation. We have placed this amount in the press fund. Comrade Davis is also after subs for The Toiler. He pays a compliment to the Cartoon Dept.

ooks on social problems, and a world enter of culture and social research, has been demolished. More than 15,000 books, many of them irreplaceable, were burned.

### REJS TO BE DRIVEN OUT OF A. F. of L.

SYRACUSE, N. Y.—If James P. Holland, president of the New York State Federation of Labor, can help it, the next two months will see the weeding out of all radicals now within the Federation. This involves the job of getting rid of some 5 to 6,000 "reds" now identified with A. F. of L. movement within this State; but Holland insisted before the Annual State Industrial Congress, in session here, that it is essential for the prosperity of organized labor that they be eliminated.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—There is to be no "boring from within" by radicals in the organization of Machinists, according to action of the principal officers and the field agents of the Machinists' Union. The heads of the union adopted a policy that no member shall retain membership in the union who is affiliated with the I. W. W., the One Big Union, or any other ultra-radical organization.

### THE NEW INQUISITION

Concerning the recent repressive governmental raids against radicals a correspondent writes us: "I note by the press that the cossacks are busy again—that the cohorts of Caligula and the bailiffs of the grand Inquisition are making merry. Great God! To think such asinine idiocy could be perpetrated in this supposedly enlightened age. I recall the astonishment expressed by one of the historians, that the great and almost God-like emperor—philosopher, Marcus Aurelius, could have tolerated for a moment the persecution of the Christians under his reign—knowing as he must have known, with his broad and deep understanding that persecution is the most fruitful nourishment that can be given ANY cause."



# UNLIVED LIVES.

By THOMAS MUFSON

I saw her in the subway, sitting opposite to me in a fairly well filled car. She was reading a paper-covered book and was, apparently, utterly oblivious of her surroundings.

She attracted considerable attention because of the striking incongruity between her general appearance and the type of book she was reading.

She seemed to be a woman of about 40 years of age. She wore a heavy-looking, black plush sailor hat, a large, shabby black jacket with extraordinarily large buttons, the top one of which was missing, leaving her coat partly open; a dark skirt, which matched her coat in shabbiness, and shoes which once were black. In one hand she held her book, in which she was intently absorbed. In the other hand, which rested on her lap, she tightly clutched a not very clean handkerchief.

The name of the book that she was reading, which glared out at us in large red letters, was "Tempted by Love."

The girl sitting next to her looked at the woman, then at the name of the book, and smiled. A man opposite glanced at the woman and the smiling girl, and both made evident efforts to keep from laughing outright. Everybody was smiling. Mirth pervaded the atmosphere.

She paid no heed to the pleasantly diverting commotion she was causing, this shabby looking woman of 40, engrossed in her novel, "Tempted by Love." One could see on her face, rather long and pallid and masklike in its utter unresponsiveness to the surrounding agitation, that, mentally, she did not sit in a crowded subway car on her way home from a day's dull work. It was manifest that, for the time being, she was in another world, a world of youth, of leisure and of love. She was enjoying the shadows of emotions and passions which life, evidently, had not given her to enjoy in the substance. In the thrilling ages of "Tempted by Love" she was vicariously living her unlived life.

\* \* \*

I worked alongside of him in a large printing establishment. We were press feeders. All day long we stood in front of our rattling presses. All day the black jaws of the devouring machines opened and shut, opened and shut, and as they yawned open our hand shot in with paper food, and as they closed the hand came out empty, and then went in again, and out again, feeding the iron beast all day long, while the belts whirled and the machines clattered and the hours dragged on their heavy way.

The incessant noise penetrated the brain and made it numb. Hands became black with the black saliva of the ever-hungry presses. Minds and bodies sagged with the monotony of identically similar mechanical motions, repeated over and over again. The voracious iron monsters seemed bent upon crunching between their metallic jaws the soft human hands which flitted in and out, ministering to their insatiable appetite.

He said hardly a word, my companion who worked on the press next to mine. He attended to his work with a dull, dead steadiness, paying no heed to all that went on about him. Occasionally, however, I saw him cast an involuntary glance of hatred at our sleek wellfed foreman, the "driver," as the men called him, meaning the slave driver.

I finally struck up a talking acquaintance with my moody fellow pressman. Soon we were quite friendly, and I was enabled to get vivid glimpses into his inner life.

I got to know that he was an anarchist. He was, however, the type of anarchist who becomes such not through philosophy or through sympathy with human suffering, but through personal bitterness. For the whole time during which we worked together I do not recollect having seen him laugh once. His whole personality seemed impregnated with gall and wormwood. He was filled with a malignant hatred for God (or, rather, the idea of God), for society, for all of life. He was widely and deeply read, with a keen intellect and a spiritual makeup that, I inferred, might have been once responsive to the best and highest in human existence. But the rancor which corroded his soul had coarsened a nature which had once been deeply sensitive. Heine seemed his favorite author, and he interspersed in his talk most biting quotations from that poet. On one occasion, in a communicative mood, he flashed his whole life before me in a few sentences.

"I have never lived," he said to me. "I have been denied everything my spirit ever craved. I never had youth. Can you realize what that means? I stepped from childhood into middle age. In between was a stretch of struggle with poverty, illness, loneliness and ever broken hopes. That period, youth—the period when life is to be most beautiful and most joyous—was an ugly nightmare to me. I awoke from my nightmare to find my youth, with all its possibilities, no longer before me—gone. Can you know what that means?"

"When I think of what my life could have been, and what it was and is," he said, while a brooding light burned in his brown eyes.

There were times when the light in his eyes was not that of a sane man. I was convinced that he was not entirely sane.

## The Black Sheep.

(Continued from page 2.)

by cunning. They defied Christ. They changed him from a saviour of labor to a God of Rome. Thus the masters entered the brotherhood and changed their membership from honest handicraft into an army of fanatics, campaigning for the supremacy of the Roman aristocrats.

"Christ or who ever it was that led the masses at the time of Caesar Augustus found that Rome claimed possession of the entire earth. This in saying workers of Rome you must love one another, he simply ante-dated Karl Marx, who said 'Workers of the World Unite'. But Rome, jealous of the power of her proletariat, said to the workers, 'We too have seen the light. Come and let us worship your Lord together. We shall give you the temples and the priests of the gods of Rome, and raise your religion out the narrow confines of the brotherhoods and make it the imperial creed of the empire, wholly spiritual—unspotted of the world.'"

"The slaves fell for it. The masters entered the union. They said 'The Nazarine has conquered.' In reality they had conquered the Nazarine. They turned the productive laborer into a religious fanatic, and Civilization lay dead for a millennium.

"The aristocrat did not create the church, he is incapable of creating anything but hell. He stole it, as he has every-thing he calls his own. He stole it from the ancient freedmen by cunning and knavery, when he failed

to get it by his favorite method of brutality and force. Cunning is an other lupine characteristic.

"When ever I hear their damned bells ringing, the whole history of their perfidity flashes thru my brain and I feel as tho it is my duty to wipe them off the earth."

This little speech was made by Ed. Collins to his solitary auditor in his cell and for the benefit of Rudolph across the way. When he had concluded, Jack remarked that he did not need to get excited over it, seeing that these ancient unions were not productive of true liberty but rather of a delusion.

"Yes that is so. They were given what they were taught was liberty. It made them happy. It gave them hope. They had a goal to steer to that made life worth living. It built up civilization and laid the foundation for later development. What if it was a delusion inculcated in their brain for the benefits of their Masters? The Masters destroyed them, but have warned us with their example. The class conscious worker will not trust the words of the masters again."

"Are we free now?" Jack asked.

"Looks like it. Now, doesn't it." Collins replied as he kicked against the cell door.

"My Country, tis of thee, Sweet land of liberty, Of thee I sing.

Droned Rudolph from the opposite cell.

"I will tell you, that the brains of mankind are still under the same delusions that blinded the people of

"Look at my hair," he once said to me. I observed his massive head, thinly covered with weak looking, prickly, closely cropped hair.

"Can you believe," he asked "that when I was a child golden curls used to hang down my shoulders? See what has become of me. Some day, when I look into the glass and think of those curls, I will go mad."

\* \* \*

She is a working girl. All the hours of the day she works busily in a shop. She has been doing that since her fourteenth year. She is not vigorous physically, so that the day's labor tires her out. It is the night that she is looking forward to—the night, when the life of her mind and spirit begins.

She has an irresponsible craving for education, for knowledge, for music, for literature, for art. Her soul's passion glows in her eyes. A deep melancholy of her harrowed spirit, the sad pessimism of her unattainable desires. Her Socialism is the Socialism of a sensitive soul which dreams of a better world, a world of freedom and of full-orbed life, and she spends devoted hours working for the cause. She flocks to radical schools. She takes numerous courses to be able more adequately to express the things that are knocking at her soul; to be able more fully to grasp the significance and sense the beauty of the great masterpieces of art. She eagerly attends classes in sociology, in philosophy and in science, worshipping at the feet of admired intellect. She goes to the theater when a cherished play is to be seen. She is found in the topmost gallery of Carnegie Hall and the Metropolitan Opera House to have her spirit unfold, for a moment, in the fairy land of music and of dreams.

But those tastes of life's beauty, her yearning periods of the soul's expansion, are hurried, feverish and disturbed; precarious snatchings, stolen from the precious hours of sleep, for the night is short and the long day soon sounds its inescapable call of the factory, while the eyes are heavy for the sleep that has been denied them, and the body weary for the rest of which it has been deprived. However, for two whole weeks she casts from her soul all the burdens that oppress it and goes off for her "vacation". There she attempts to concentrate 12 months full-orbed life in a fortnight. She succeeds only in casting upon the rest of the year a darker shadow of depression and restlessness and discontent. The years fly; with them youth and youth's strength and buoyant hope. As dreams recede and ambitions disintegrate, more vigorous natures grow embittered and cynical; her spirit withdraws more and more into its inner being and consumes itself.

\* \* \*

The narrow, twisted and broken paths of unlived lives criss-cross and zig-zag across the face of this amazingly mismanaged world. Vast is the countless host of those who have manifestly died before their time through the occasional casualties of war or the unremitting casualties of peace, by industrial disease or industrial accident. But aster still and as lamentable is the innumerable multitude of those whose death is not apparent to the physical senses, of those who died mentally and spiritually before they ever lived. Between these two armies of the quiet dead, restlessly grope they who ever feel the proddings and the stirrings of eager, craving life's forces, whose thirsting lips the tantalizing waters of life touch, only to recede, who have been permitted but to taste of the fruit of the tree of knowledge by which the eyes of their soul have been opened to the beauty of the diviner fruits hanging upon the tree of life, but which dangle far beyond the reach of their shackled limbs.

We live in a world of unlived lives. How many children of the working class, of the millions who reach manhood and womanhood, receive the nourishment, the care, the training, the education the recreation that nurse to maturity the latent powers which slumber in the heart and mind of every child? What undoubted glimpses of precious, natural gifts in the children of the workers awaken trembling hop in the heart of the parent, to end only in forced neglect and ginal atrophy?

"But knowledge to their eyes her ample page,  
Rich with the spoils of time, did ne'er unroll:  
Chill Penury repressed their noble rage,  
And froze the genial current of their soul."

How many men and women feel that they have lived the full physical, mental and spiritual life which they were capable of living? How many can say that they have received that complete and harmonious development, that ample and abundant nourishment by bread and books and schooling, by peace of mind and leisure, by the joys of social life and comradeship and love, by the inspiring beauties of nature and the passion-refining beauty of art which by all the laws of impartial nature and by the dictates of unperturbed justice are the due inheritance of all?

The superman and the superwoman of our soaring imagination are but the man and the woman at our side—disinherited long before birth; the crippled culmination of the sins of a mismanaged world, the stunted product of generations of unlived lives.

ancient times. People imagine they are free because they are told so on the fourth of July. But we have an advantage that our ancestors lacked. We have the printing press. We can reach the slaves with a message that will put things before them in a new light. We will teach them what we conceive true liberty to be, and when they once see it, then it is good by Masters."

"According to your idea all that is needed to teach the workers what you want them to know is a sufficiently large printing plant. It resolves itself to a battle of printing presses. If that is so, then what becomes of your theory of machine developments and the passing of worlds markets as factors in the downfall of capitalism, and the liberation of the proletariat," Jack asked smilingly.

"Remember," Collins cautioned, "the down fall of capitalism does not necessarily mean the liberation of the proletariat, it may mean the establishment of an industrial oligarchy that will ruthlessly tear away the last shreds of our delusion of liberty and subject us to a naked and horrible slavery. Remember that with modern facilities of transportation and communication; with modern improved methods of spying a tyranny may be established more hideous in its aspect and more damnable in its consequences than any the world has yet known. Capitalism will indeed fall of its own rottenness. Labor must rise by virtue of its intelligence."

HOW TO MAKE A SUCCESS IN LIFE.  
(With acknowledgment but no apology to the American Magazine.)  
Dear Editor:  
Until a couple of years ago I was a lazy girl and I used to get tired in the canning plant after working ten or eleven hours a day. Then one night I saw your magazine with all those success stories. The one about the stenographer who studied manicuring at night and gets to be the wife of a railroad president opened my eyes and showed me that I could advance myself too.  
I got a night position as a rubber in a Turkish bath, and on Sundays, after I delivered papers for the news company I stood outside a cigar store the rest of the day and asked the gentlemen for their coupons when they came out. The first six months I saved enough to buy cod liver oil and iron tonic to last for the winter and collected enough coupons to get examined by a big specialist, and in this second year I have worked so hard and done so well (I was usher in a movie on holidays too) that I can now pay my fare to the consumption sanitarium.  
I am so happy and I hope I will win your prize, because they tell me that I will have to pay the railroad in advance to send my body back home. Yours for Success,  
JENNIE NULL.  
(From "Success Story Contest" in Good Morning.)

(Continued next week)

## The Trend of the Race.

How strange it is that those who strive, And try to join one's friendly host; Will wear smiles their Maker gave, and Desert us when we need them most. This friendship in this world of ours, So seldom stands Time's truest test; But like the beauty of the flow'rs, A thing of moments, at its best.

The White Race in it's false pride state, Beset with Greed and Greed's Desire; Still wears the false mask in an age, And casts plain Justice in the mire. The feet of millions tread about A world beset in Greed and Sin; And under it's false mask we find, Humanity's veneer is thin.

There's many a flow'r that's with'ring in the slums by poverty fed; There many weary feet press on, Without a ray of hope ahead, A world in Greed hears not the voice Of those who dwell in hovels poor; And those on whom fair fortune smiles, Know not the heartaches they endure.

This old world for so many years, Has been steadily slipping back. Like individuals, sometimes, It too, gets on the downward track. When Ideals are but passing thoughts, And Greed becomes the Races' curse; How can this old world better grow When man's desires are growing worse?

—JOHN V. DAGANHARDT, Piqua, Ohio.

## I. W. W. Demands

(Continued from 1st page.)

ers now lie in jail charged with murder and about to be tried.

"Fifth—Those who held sway in Centralia showed their love for justice by seizing the I. W. W. attorney and hawking him into jail also, in order that the I. W. W. might have no defender and that these crimes might be covered up. And when Attorney Ralph Pierce was sent from Seattle to defend our boys he was escorted back to the train and driven out of Centralia.

"Sixth—Working hand-in-hand with the anti-union elements throughout the state, hoodlums have made this an occasion to spread similar terrorism all over Washington. The result is that liberty lies broken and ravished throughout the lumber country, and democracy has been replaced by the rule of the mob and the gunman.

Lumber Trust Behind Terror.

"These few facts we do know. And we know that behind them lie a multitude more—a red scroll of horror which is filled with the names of our fellow-workers. But a lying, prostituted press has concealed it all and has to kindle mob passion all over the country by wild, screaming lies.

"The I. W. W. knows the hand that is striking us in the Northwest. We know who is the power that can close to us the pages of the nation's press. We know the secret evil force which is risking even civil war in order to destroy the I. W. W. in the Northwest. It is our old enemy, the lumber trust.

"We make this charge. And we put it up to you, the American Congress. Yours is the duty to uphold the Constitution of this country. Out in Washington it has been trampled under murderous feet. Will you join with the newspapers and whitewash them?

Impartial Inquiry Is Demanded.

"We of the I. W. W. demand that the government make a sweeping, impartial inquiry into the Centralia case. We demand that it send investigators there to sift out the responsibility.

"You must act, he government has been put into contempt in Centralia. Already one innocent man there has died a ghastly death. And 11 others are to be tried for their lives. The hoodlums are attempting to provoke the union men into revolt. Will the overnment stand idle?

Our Own Hands Are Clean.

"Our own hands are clean. It is not we who have censored the truth. In 4 years of existence the I. W. W. has ever needed to conceal anything. We don't need to now. We know our members and we know that they are innocent.

"Innocent men may be railroaded. Clean, straightforward American men and women may be the victims of foul mobs. Under the darkness of censorship any crime may be perpetrated. We demand that you lift the veil. Let the government investigate; then the truth will be known—and we will know who is guilty!"

Why not try the same stunt in your Local? Emulate the example of Locals Niles and Tiffin.

## Government Spies Wrote Platform.

(Continued from page 1)

home and against new experiments in government abroad, the American people ought to be informed of it immediately."

### Welcomed Chance to Testify.

Nuorteva's statement follows:

"We have been informed that Mr. Gregory Weinstein, of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau, has been arrested and held for deportation, and that similar action is threatened against Mr. Martens and other members of his staff as a last desperate effort to prevent the truth about the Russian situation, and about the real foreign policies of the Russian Soviet government, from being placed before the people of America.

"We welcomed the opportunity the proposed hearings before the Senate Committee would give us to state these facts and to refute the hysterical lies which are being spread about our government and about the Russian Soviet Bureau in New York.

"Soviet Russia, victorious over her internal enemies, has no desire to interfere with the internal affairs of other countries. It was, and it still is, our hope that now that the futility of intervention in and of the blockade of Russia has been proven with such disastrous results to our opponents we would be allowed to live in peace with other countries.

### Attempt to Prevent Peace.

liberate attempt to prevent the impending peace and un-

"I regard the mean persecution of our bureau and the frantic man-hunt of all friends of Soviet Russia as a derelicting with our country and to prevent a fair hearing before the Senate committee.

"I feel confident that the large masses of the American people, in spite of the manufactured prejudice against us, will now, at least understand that there are forces at work who are afraid of getting the truth about Russia before the American people.

"The Senate hearing would also have have opened wide—if we were permitted to testify—the Augean stables of the work of Russian reactionaries in this country, who have squandered on abominable plots and intrigues tens of millions of money lent by the American government to Russia.

"It seems that there are many people beside Mr. Boris Bakhmetiev and his crowd who would not like to have these matters made public.

### D. of J. men as Authors.

"There also appears to be another reason for the desire to deport us. We have conclusive evidence that agents of the Department of Justice have actively participated in the organization of the Communist party of America and that those very planks in the program of the party, which now form the basis of the persecution of thousands of people, have been drafted and inserted into that program by such government agents.

"We also are prepared to show before the Senate Committee that some other radical activities, the instigation of which has been charged to Russians, in reality were managed and inspired by secret service agents.

"We can prove that the chief figures in certain celebrated bomb-plots were agents of a similar nature.

"In other words, some officials have been establishing that sinister institution which is known in Europe as the system of "agent provocateur."

"We are ready to bring out all facts concerning this charge, the gravity of which I fully recognize. It is clear that some officials implicated in this matter are only too anxious to prevent us from disclosing these facts.

### Not Anxious to Stay in U. S.

"Neither Mr. Martens nor I are opposed to going back to Russia. In fact, it has been our fondest wish to go there and to participate in the splendid work of Russia's social reorganization. We have been staying here as a matter of duty, in the hope it would be possible to dispel existing prejudice and to establish friendly relations between the United States and Soviet Russia.

"I am sure that such relations will soon be established in spite of all the frantic efforts of reactionaries to discredit the people of Russia. The people of America in general are too sensible to support such policies as have been pursued by some officials here in respect to Soviet Russia.

"I shall take the liberty of reminding our persecutors of the words of one of their own national heroes: 'You can fool some of the people all of the time; you can fool all of the people all of the time, but you can't fool all of the people all of the time.'"