

The Power Of The Press

— By Eugene V. Debs. —

The power of the press is sadly underestimated in the socialist movement. The ruling class make no such mistake. They are keenly alive to the power of the press in moulding public sentiment and in shaping affairs in accordance with their interests. The capitalist papers do not suffer for the want of support and never die of starvation. They are fed fat and ungrudgingly by the class in power and in return serve that class with all their power.

Not so with the press of the working class. With scarcely an exception the papers and periodicals published in the interest of labor eke out a precarious existence. Ninety-five per cent of them line the highway of the past with their skeletons. They lingered for a brief while and then gave up the ghost, falling victims to the chronic labor-paper malady, starvation.

Of course not all papers claiming to be labor papers are fit to exist. Many of them are fakes and run by political grafters. These often thrive in their blackmail and graft while an honest paper is allowed to die for the want of support.

Working men and women ought to have intelligence enough by this time to discriminate between an honest labor paper and a grafting sheet and they ought to be loyal enough to the working class to give their support to the paper that uses its influence to mould sentiment in favor of their cause and fights their industrial and political battles.

It is when the strike comes that the working class suffer most keenly the lack of a powerful press that reaches the people. They are always at a fearful disadvantage on this account. The capitalists get in a thousand licks to their one, not only because they can get their case before the people in its most favorable light and keep it there, but because they can put the case of the workers in the most unfavorable light and keep it there.

If the working people had a press the slugging methods of corporations in a strike and the activities of their murderous gunmen would not only be impossible but unthinkable.

The working class can expect nothing from the press of the capitalist class but misrepresentation and injustice in the struggle for its rights. The working class must build up a powerful press of its own and this vital fact it cannot realize too soon.

Thousands of workers subscribe to capitalist papers without contributing a penny to their own and this is one of the reasons why the working class is still in slavery and will remain so until it rises in its might and asserts and develops its power to achieve its emancipation.

Soviet System will Free Woman

By The Federated Press.

PARIS — Socialization of housekeeping is the only thing that will really emancipate woman, declares Nicolai Lenin, head of the Russian soviet government, in a pamphlet on The Great Initiative written for the study of the Russian workers.

"In one year, Russia did more for the freedom of women than had been even attempted in 10 years in other countries," he said. "All the humiliating laws prejudicial to the rights of women have been abolished; for example, those placing obstacles in the way of divorce, or the repugnant formalities in the search for the paternity of 'illegitimate' children. These laws are in force in all civilized states, to the shame of the bourgeoisie and of capitalism."

"We have a right to be proud of our accomplishments in this country. But in proportion as we realize the bases of capitalist laws and institutions we will arrive at a clear vision of the edifice we are to construct."

"We haven't begun building yet. Woman is still, in spite of everything, a domestic slave. The emancipating laws have done nothing, for there still remain all the little household tasks which chain her to the kitchen, to the nursery, and make of her unproductive thankless activity a chain of miniature torments both oppressive and stupefying."

"A real emancipation of women, a real Communism, will exist only when the proletariat takes the reins and organizes a war against domestic slavery. In other words, when society shall be entirely reconstructed, with a view to a general socialization of housekeeping."

"The practical realization of this program has already begun. The result is hardly felt as yet. But one must not underestimate these first attempts. Community restaurants, kindergartens, are in a measure, new forces still far from mature, but holding the potentiality of woman's emancipation, since they tend to equalize woman with man in the field of social production and life."

"These methods are not new. Like all forerunners of Socialism, they have been, for the most part, organized by capitalism. But under the capitalist regime they have constituted only the exception. They still offer the most dreary examples of speculation, cupidity and fraud. Or else they are transformed into hateful philanthropy."

"We have taken over most of these institutions and they are beginning to lose their old characteristics."

"We're not shouting in the street, like the capitalist press over exploits: our papers aren't wasting their time praising our community kitchens."

"But it is nevertheless true that they are founded on these principles: Economy of labor; good management of provisions; improvement of sanitation and the freeing of woman from domestic slavery."

LENINE, THE MAN
AND HIS WORK
by Albert Rhys Williams
— \$1.50 —
Address — The Toller.

DEBS: HIS LIFE
AND LETTERS
by David Karshner
— \$1.50 —
Address — The Toller.

RUSSIA IN 1919
by Arthur Ransome
— \$1.50 —
Address — The Toller.



You say the Ballot is sacred? Then why is not that seat occupied? Answer me!

Foreman Fumes - Would Make America American.

The following typical tirade fratched from the lips of a leader of the American Legion lately, according to the Chicago Daily News:

Col. Milton J. Foreman, state commander of the American Legion, who led the 122nd field artillery (old 1st Illinois cavalry) in the Argonne, was in a fighting frame of mind today. He had just finished reading in a morning newspaper that a delegate of the Painters' Union, Local No. 275, at a meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor, announced that steps have been taken to weed out from the union all members of the American Legion.

"Such legion members are tools of the capitalist system," the unionist is reported to have said. "I urge all you union delegates to weed them out." There was applause, but no action was taken.

"The American Legion," said Col. Foreman, "has just two purposes for existence. We men who saw service are joined together for brotherhood. Second, we are organized to serve America. The American Legion is pro-American, nothing else, sir. It is not an agent of propaganda for the 'capitalists,' or for the unions. The business of the American Legion is to hammer home the philosophy and practice of Americanism, to Americanize this country from coast to coast, and to make every dweller within this land a 100 per cent American. That's the job of the American Legion."

A sane, honest-minded man would naturally suppose that the manner in which the masses of people in America supported the government during our foreign war by toil, tears and blood proves that America is pretty well "Americanized" already! This rant about making the American people American is either idiocy or hypocrisy. They are "American." They believe the gospel of freedom which was preached before and during the war. The main difference between them and some over-boasting "patriots" is that they believe it yet. Their profession of loyalty to liberty was put on as a camouflage to cover a plan of plutocratic plunder and military tyranny at home. And these real people of America will decide what true "Americanism" is without asking the advice or consent of bigoted, bitter, self-appointed guardians of public opinion.

"Miserable creatures who are yipping and snapping at the heels of Uncle Sam have either got to become Americans — 100 per cent, too! — or they've got to pack up and get out. We don't want them in this country. They're not satisfied, apparently, with America; we are not satisfied to have them stop here. The best thing is for them to get out — quick."

Any one who is real "satisfied" with conditions in America today is self-evidently a grifter or an ignoramus. Col. Foreman appears to be as unfamiliar with the conditions from which the American people suffer now as a man with the cannon which "his men" of the 122nd used in France.

"Sonny, the American Legion is going to make this republic American, all wool and a yard wide or we'll die fighting. We learned, we legionaries, how to fight fairly well over there. You can't make that too strong. We men who went overseas found out what a blessed place America is. We love this land more than ever, now that we are back; it's worth fighting for. If we must, we'll fight."

If the dear old Col. would take time to meditate a little upon the spirit manifested on many occasions by Americans he might wisely conclude that they are not the kind of people that can be bluffed by kaisers, colonels, ambitious cub officers, or their little tinsel capitalist gods. And if Col. Foreman did not see enough fighting in France, and insists upon war at home in the manner of supreme insolence, arrogance and ignorance revealed in the unhappy outbreak here quoted from, we are very much afraid — and we say it with deep sorrow — that he and his kind are likely to see fighting enough to satisfy them all! He must not forget that the "World War Veterans" and their allied organizations are more numerous than the reactionary Legion and that they have millions of sympathizers. They stand for real democracy.

By the way, does the Col. intend to delay his threatened "fight" until those he opposes organize an army and then go out to meet them on the field of battle, does he mean merely to "fight" with hot air, or is he encouraging his Legion to use the outlaw methods of mob murder? His talk is dangerously inflammatory. The mob method might be imitated by a larger mob of outraged common

people. No sane "American" will encourage mob action. He who does is an anarchist of the first grade.

SHALL "TERROR" RULE AMERICA?

"I have no fight, mark you, with the American Federation of Labor. I am confident that 99 per cent of the federation's personnel is just as heartily pro-American as any other group of patriots. There were many thousands, you know, who left their jobs to serve the country in the army and navy. But the American Legion will not tolerate the few malcontents — they are just natural born trouble makers — who refuse to march to the tune of Yankee Doodle. The Legion's going to make those few malcontents become Americans — or they'll be kicked out of the country."

What a brave(!) chivalrous(!) generous(!) American(!) spirit is here manifested in the name of "patriotism"! Our factory magnates and money lords enticed millions of people from foreign lands on the promise of large wages, happy conditions, and a haven of rest from political and military tyranny — every one of these alluring features being greatly exaggerated in the lying circulars distributed by big business in every country now, after they are here, and have become dissatisfied because they have been deceived, are we to curse them and forcibly deport them? If they do not like the mad rule of profiteers and grafters, if they criticize the government and demand the America make good her far-flung professions of justice and liberty, they must not be argued with, educated and convinced (of they might get the better of the argument!) but they must be "kicked out of the country"!

This is the cheapest and most cowardly mock heroism and false patriotism that could possibly be staged. And the pity of it, it is that such folly is more dangerous to the peace of the country than all the "reds" that might be found. Such talk is not indulged in by time-serving politicians and their supporters because they fear any harm to America from the "reds"; it is for the purpose of intimidating the reformers and misleading the masses; but the present day reformers can no more be intimidated than could Washington, Jefferson, or Lincoln, and the people are looking for new leaders with social vision, not

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Stand Up And Be Counted!

So many comrades are stepping forward to the front ranks of literature distributors and Toller subscription hustlers that we are daily astonished at the growing number and the vim with which they attack the work of educating the workers. Truly it is a sight to make every social revolutionist rejoice, for don't you know, the "reds" are supposed to be buried deep, deep, deep beneath the heel of reactionary capitalism — but they are not — not by a, well by whole lot!

If you would read the many, many letters, we receive from every part of this big country telling us that whatever others were doing, THEY were on the job and would stay on till the worker's rule is established, and then to see the proof in checks and money orders for literature and Toller subscription cards — well, you'd sure believe that a lot of "reds" hadn't turned pink yet. You sure would.

And we have decided that if there are so many live wires distributed so widely over the country, there must be many more who have not yet taken a hand in the greatest work that any one can do, the work of educating the worker in his own economic interests. So we extend an invitation to every one of you to join Now this big campaign for subscriptions for The Toller and a distribution of the literature we advertise. You cannot do more nor better work in the Movement than these two things. Therefore, we urge you to give them your best efforts. If you are so situated, that these are impossible for you, then there is still a way for you to help. The dimes and dollars which you can give will aid greatly in carrying on the work. If you can't work in the Movement, then let your dollars work for you.

We ask every reader to resolve to do a real comrade's share in this work. Take a stand now. Stand up on your feet and be counted!

America and what America Needs

SOME OF AMERICA'S NEEDS ARE DISCUSSED BY PROMINENT MEN IN ADDRESSES IN TWO CITIES.

MORE EDUCATION LESS DEPORTATION IS AMERICA'S PRIMAL NEED, SAYS FORMER JUVENILE COURT JUDGE.

Charging that America is neglecting the most vital and fundamental problem of reconstruction, Peter J. Bale, former juvenile court judge of Columbus Feb. 11th, at Cleveland, related personal experiences with boy and girl victims "of a wrong conception of the privileges and obligations of society."

Orphanages he characterized as "monuments to the selfishness of America," and "fashionable and faddish social service work," he said was in keeping with a "governmental conception of American needs that appropriated \$7,500,000 in one year for cattle, hogs and crops and \$29,000 for the welfare of our boys and girls, the manhood and womanhood of the next generation."

"But then," said Mr. Bale, "hogs, cattle and crops can be sold for dollars. Last year this country spent five times as much on automobiles as for all and every kind of education. Are we placing the best things first?"

"Do we realize that we are damning the hearts, souls and ideals of the next generation by measuring the success of today by the dollars a man can accumulate? The only test of a man's success is the service he has rendered his fellow men."

"How many of our churches do you think would shut their doors in the face of Christ if he returned today and associated with the same types of people he consorted with in his day? Until we remove the fences of preference for creed, race or color we do not know the A B C of Christianity or that democracy we mouth so much about."

"The 800,000 boys and girls in America who never go to school are potential dynamite for from them we shall draw the future anarchists and criminals."

"It is time we laid more stress on education and less on deportation. Eighty per cent of the people brought before the criminal courts are under 18. The number of defectives last year outnumbered the defectives of ten years ago by 25 per cent."

Mr. Bale warned against "camouflaged interests," which he said were lobbying for compulsory universal military training.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DICTATORSHIP OF THE WORKERS WILL SOLVE AMERICA'S PROBLEMS, SAYS RABBI MAGNES.

A large crowd attended a meeting called at the Coliseum at Chicago Feb. 11th, at a point at which the restrictions on free speech in America.

On the speaker's platform were the leaders of every radical organization in the city. Prominent among the speakers was Rabbi Judah Magnes of New York, a son in law of a prominent banker.

"Old America Gone."

"The old and glorious America made its first utterance to the world in the Declaration of Independence," declared Rabbi Magnes. "It maintained the right of the people to alter or abolish existing governments and to institute new ones."

"But it has become treasonable to give utterance to such thoughts in the America of today. We are told that America has had its revolution, and that further fundamental changes are not necessary and not to be permitted."

"We answer that fundamental changes are needed in the world today fully as much as when the Declaration of Independence was written. For example, political dictatorship must be taken out of the hands of the minority of the privileged few, and the political power must be placed in the hands of the great masses of the people."

"End Economic Oligarchy."

"Further, economic dictatorship must be taken out of the hands of the small oligarchy of big business men and their satellites, lawyers, teachers and clergymen and the power put in the hands of those to whom rightfully it belongs — the masses who work with hand and brain."

"But it is being made a crime to mention these things. We wish to discuss this question, but they say we may not. We wish the American workers to understand, as the British and Italian and German and Russian workers now understand, that economic power can and must be used to achieve political ends. But they make this sedition and treason."

"There are, doubtless, individuals who believe in force and violence, and a few have committed bomb outrages. Why does not the department of justice employ its time to better advantage and hunt these down?"

"Let 'Em Talk It Out."

"But where is the evidence implicating organized groups in open advocacy of or secret plotting for the use of force and violence? Were there such evidence, it would have become public long since."

"Let us grant that this or that group openly advocates in speech or writing the overthrow of the government by force or violence. Let them advocate it—as long as no overt acts are committed."

Skygac's Column.

"Labor Party Labors Death, Says Gompers"—Headline. More likely it would be, Labor Party Gompers (Political) Death.

The Gentlemen's Home Journal, alias The SatEvePost is full to overflowing with bourgeois propaganda. There is even an article explaining how the war taught the art of governing the people thru propaganda.

According to the S. E. P. red propaganda is all wrong—Bourgeois Propaganda is O. K.

Honest I never expected to live to see the day when a journal of over two million circulation would publish Joe Hill's "Long Haired Preachers" but the S. E. Post published it in its issue dated Feb. 7th as a part of an impossible yarn called The Possiblist.

But they carefully omitted the verse about the Starvation Army, which reads as follows:
And the Starvation Army comes out
They sing and they pray and they shout
Till they get all your coin on the drum
Then they'll tell you when you're on the bum.

Chorus:
You will Eat, Bye and Bye
In that glorious land above the sky
Work and pray, Live on hay,
You'll get pie, in the sky, bye and Bye.

"Asserts Ignorance Perils the Nation" Dr Robert McNutt McElroy has discovered that the war did not make America "safe for Democracy". Noted educator declares people too ignorant for true democracy until they free the educators and the educational systems from the yoke of economic dependence upon the upper class. Economic democracy will give educational democracy.

They arrested a man in Savannah for being a Socialist.—Well we HAVE stopped burning witches.

PEN PICTURES OF BIG TRIAL AT MONTESANO

Montesano, Feb. 6. — Out of the grind of ceaseless questionings regarding the fitness of some man or woman to sit as a juror in the trial of the 11 men accused of murder at Centralia on Armistice Day. November 11, there also comes the other questions as to whether these men are to have a fair and impartial trial.

Labor throughout the world has an eagle eye focused on the little courtroom here and wants to know the manner of men who are to hold in their hands the fate of these other men who are recognized as members of an unpopular organization.

Also, labor is asking what manner of man is sitting as judge in this trial and what of the prosecution and the defense attorneys.

All these things can be answered only by being on the ground, studying the conditions surrounding the trial, then weighing all the accumulated ideas, sifting out the unlikely ones and arriving at a decision which may or may not be the one that any other man would have reached under the same circumstances.

Sentiment in Grays Harbor county, as indicated by a large percentage of those examined for jury service, is radically opposed to the Industrial Workers of the World as an organization. This has been sworn to repeatedly by these jurors under oath. It has been made the ground for the excusing of many of them from jury service during this trial.

Nor is this prejudice extended merely to the organization. Time after time jurors have stated under oath that this prejudice would preclude any possibility of their giving the defendants a fair trial, no matter what the evidence might be.

There are yet on the jury men who have said they did not approve of the Industrial Workers of the World, and while it is fully acknowledged this is their right, there remains the fact that the membership of the accused was concerned in many of the questions asked of every juror.

So complicated have been the questions along this line that the court has had to ask for rereading of questions so that the record might be kept clear. Also court records will show what to a layman appears as a decided difference in ruling unsatisfactory jurors for entertaining prejudice as to the merits of the case and there are yet other jurors who have been permitted to remain on the jury when they gave almost identical answers to almost identical questions.

Feeling with reference to the case on trial is not hard to ascertain. Universally when speaking to a juror on any subject they fight shy of approaching the matter of the trial. This of course, is according to the instructions of the court and should be as it is. But men who were here before the jury was summoned say many of these men had no such hes-

"We have buncoed immigrants" says a newspaper headline. Glad to see them admit it. The immigrants have long known it.

When an underpaid teacher teaches an underfed child — what will the teaching be?

Genius often crops out in unexpected localities

Down our way a local editor proposes to squelch the reds remedying conditions so the reds will have nothing to kick about.

Oh well, A rose by any other name, we say.

The Mayflower bringeth and the Bufford take that away even as straws show the direction the wind blow.

The Declaration of Independence manifested the right of the people to alter or abolish existing governments and to institute new ones. Slip this information to the next 100 per center who is "seeing red."

The Proletarian after quoting figures given out by Sec. Bacon to the effect that 24 per cent of the drafted boys were illiterate and another ten per cent of less than normal intelligence, rises to ask whether the American Legion was recruited from the 10 per cent or the 24 per cent or both?

From which we infer that the proletarian suspects the A. L. of Bourgeoisie tendencies.

A friend writes me that the Bolsheviks will never reach their goal but he expects them to sweep the world in less than five years.

Now I'm wondering what he thinks the goal of the Bolsheviks may be? The world for the workers.

A classless world
Democracy triumphant.
So may it be.



ONE ISSUE OF SOVIET RUSSIA POSTAGE STAMP.

Here it is, one of the first Soviet postage stamps to reach America. Among the many new stamp designs of the new European governments, none show more beauty and strength of design than this.

The distinctive feature of this design which sets it aside from the ones we are used to seeing is the revolutionary significance of the hand and sword severing the chain.

Asquith. Their reply invariably was "Trust Asquith."

The cause of labor is safe in the hands of Vanderveer.

JURY AT MONTESANO.

Jurors who will try the Centralia Armistice day cases:

P. H. McMurray, teamster, Aberdeen.

Harry Sellers, laborer, Elma.

Andrew T. Fisher, real estate dealer, Aberdeen.

Samuel Johnson, fisherman, Montesano.

Edward Parr, logging engineer, Hoquiam.

E. E. Torpen, retired farmer, Montesano.

Carl O. Sulten, farmer, Lake Quinalt.

W. E. Einmon, ex-deputy sheriff, Elma.

E. E. Sweetzer, farmer, Oakville.

P. V. Johnson, laborer, Aberdeen.

E. G. Robinson, carpenter, Aberdeen.

Frank Glenn, farmer, Brady.

PEN PICTURES OF BIG TRIAL AT MONTESANO

Correspondent Unmasks Real Conditions Faced by Workers of the World.
By Frank Walklin

THE WAR OF THE CLASSES

by Jack London
— 85c. —

Address — The Toller.

THE BULLITT REPORT
by Wm. C. Bullitt
— 50c. —

Address — The Toller.

News of the Labor Struggle

Federated Press News Service

SCOTCH COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY JOINS LENINE GROUP.

PAISLEY, Scotland — By a vote of 158 to 28 the Independent Labor Party of Scotland at its annual convention here severed its connection with the Second International and affiliated with the Moscow International, declaring that "Lenine is now the leader of the movement which will destroy world capitalism."

The party also decided to retain its connection with the Labor Party, on the ground that it was the only mass proletarian organization which held the potentiality of the new social order.

Other resolutions were passed condemning the "peace of violence," and demanding freedom for Ireland and restoration of real peace with all nations.

These decisions have been forwarded to the Independent Labor Party of England, and will be taken up at the national convention at Easter.

IRISH SOCIALISTS PROTEST ARRESTS HERE.

DUBLIN — A vigorous protest against the arrest of Jim Larkin, Ben Glavin and Jack Carney, Irish radicals in America, was voted unanimously at the congress of the Socialist party of Ireland.

Denouncing the arrest of the first two men "by the heresy-hunting Lusk committee" the resolution urges Irishmen in the United States to take steps for the release of Larkin, "the man whose personality, courage and devotion to the working class ideals raised the Irish workers from the abyss into which alien and domestic capitalism had plunged them."

After similar praise of the high ideals of Jack Carney, the resolution concludes:
"We, living under the heel of a foreign military dictatorship, send our fraternal greetings to the I. W. W., the Communist Labor party and all our working class comrades in America who are being oppressed by the industrial oligarchy of America."

PEOPLE ARE BEHIND SOVIETS

CHICAGO — That the majority of

A NEW SET OF HEROES

By Anise

"It's TIME

For a brand new set

Of HEROES."

Announces a Movie Magazine.

"Put the SPOT-LIGHT

On the WORKER;

Get a press-agent

For the man who toils

With his HANDS!

Give LABOR

The Star Dressing-room!

It isn't wages and hours

That causes the trouble

In our work-a-day world;

Sure, we know it!

We've seen it

Right here in the movies;

We know human nature!

EVERYONE wants his turn

To be SOMEROODY;

Everyone wants RECOGNITION;

Everyone gets tired

Of being a SUPE

In the BACKGROUND;

Everyone wants his chance

At being a STAR

Always the world

Needs HEROES!

Once we had them

In KINGS;

And then we revered

MONEY-MONARCHS;

And recently we glorified

SOLDIERS;

Who should be next in line

But the MASTER LABORER?

What about Tom Jones?

In South End of switching tower

For twenty years;

Remember the winter night

In 1902,

When he saved the passengers

Of Number 26!

How about Slavonian John

Handling alope at midnight

A tilting Bessemer converter

That seething HELL!

How about the woman

Who makes the best BREAD

In the village?

Give us a personality story

About HER!

Bring out the prize tire-maker

And locomotive driver,

The skillfullest crane-man

MASTER of MACHINERY!

These are the men

Who are MAKING

The world of TODAY

They are HUMAN;

They refuse to stand any longer

In the background;

We don't blame them!

It's TIME, anyway,

For a brand new set

Of HEROES!

It's time to give LABOR

A Star Dressing-room!"

persons confined in the cage at any time might have been 150. He was "quite satisfied about the accommodation," he declared.

MEXICO CITY — The latest extension of the power of Postmaster General Burleson is seen in a refusal to allow international postoffice orders to be forwarded to Gale's Magazine, radical publication in English. All postoffice orders are now halted at the border.

ATTITUDE OF MEXICAN WORKERS

MEXICO CITY — The Communist party of Mexico has made a detailed report to the Third International at Moscow of its activities. Describing the attitude of the Mexican worker, the report says:

"Like the American negro, the Mexican Indian detests capitalism and all its works, having acquired that detestation in the hard school of exploitation and suffering, but like the negro also, his efforts to secure emancipation have so far been spasmodic, unreasoning and futile in their childish impetuosity."

WELLINGTON, New Zealand — The women of New Zealand have formed One Big union in order to deal actively with such questions as the cost of living, the housing shortage, state medical service, education and universal military training.

BRITISH SOLDIERS USED AGAINST INDIAN STRIKERS

BOMBAY, India — British troops in India called into service to break the strike of 200,000 Indian cotton workers in Bombay, have fired upon peaceful gatherings of workers, causing many casualties.

The strike started the first of January and has continued unabated. All the mills in the city are closed. The strikers demand an increase in wages. The average wage of skilled workers in the cotton mills of Bombay range from \$4.40 a month. Unskilled workers receive still less.

In cotton mills the workers are often employed as many as 17 and 18 hours a day. In Bombay the workers work for 14 hours or more.

The factories in which the millhands work are without any sanitary or health provisions. There is no ventilation.

The present Bombay strike is a re-

The Black Sheep.

— By Long and Lanky —

Chart. XVIII.
The shepherd of the Flock.

From the Editor's office she made her way directly to the Rev. Goodman's residence. She found him busily engaged sweeping the snow from his walks. He greeted her with that peculiar professional courtesy which persons generally display toward the fair sex. When she told him that she would like to consult with him on a rather important matter he invited her into his study.

His study was a small room lined on lignous nature, with some works on two sides with books mostly of a religious nature, with some works on Mythology and History. Books dealing with subjects of science and synthetic philosophy were conspicuous only by their absence. An enormous Bible, a small bust of Christ upon the mantel piece which was above a small fire place. A small library table containing the Big Book and a little writing desk constituted the arsenal with which the Rev. Goodman assailed the Devil.

Personally, he was well passed middle age, with a "Give us this day our daily bread" look in his face. He was slightly bald, had long slim fingers and was rather tall. He was good — in fact his goodness was akin to cowardice. He feared God and loved his contributors hence he never mingled in political affairs unless he first had ascertained upon what side of the fence his substantial parishioners were to be found. When he was sure of that then the parson had no trouble in getting God's consent in championing their cause among the lesser members of his flock. He might have been described by paraphrasing a certain text of scripture. Streth your conscience a little for your stomach's sake. He prayed to God for guidance and kept a weather eye for financial storms.

Olive had never seen these qualities in the man until now. Jack from his cell, her father, teacher, judge and editor had unconsciously worked together to bring them out in bold relief. Even before the interview she felt certain that Mr. Goodman would talk as the others had talked, and that he would justify the people of Anamoose ultimately for the same reason by which the people justified themselves—money.

When they were seated in the study Olive wasted no time on preliminaries. She felt that there was no time to waste when human beings were suffering so she plunged into the subject at once by saying Mr. Goodman I'm in trouble—real spiritual trouble and I want you to help me. I need help as never before.

"You shall have it. If I can be of any assistance to you in a spiritual way, I shall count it a pleasure," said the preacher unctuously.

"Is there really such a thing as morality," Olive asked bluntly.

"Yes, most certainly."

"Is it a law?"

"It is more, it is the foundation of all social relation; it's the manifestation of God in man. The moral law is the highest of all laws."

"Is the observance of the moral law obligatory upon christians?"

"Why of course," affirmed the parson. "Faith without works is dead," say the scriptures. But Miss Anderson, why these questions? They show a dangerous state of mind."

She ignored his professional interrogation and asked that he give her a concrete definition of morality. To which the parson replied that it was consistent practice of the golden rule.

"Then they who do not practice the golden rule are immoral and therefore cannot be good christians in the highest sense of the word!" Olive persisted.

"No, not in the highest sense—that is if they are willfully immoral, but remember christianity teaches that our sins will be forgiven if we confess them and repent," the parson explained.

"If we sin wilfully?"

"The our sins be as scarlet they shall be made whiter than snow."

"You do not mean that this promise is to be as a license for violating the golden rule, do you?"

"No it is placed in the Bible as a beacon of hope on the shores of eternity, guiding us poor mortals thru the seas of temptation."

"You would not encourage the wilful violation of the golden rule then?"

"Why of course not."

"And if you knew that we were violating it wilfully, would you rebuke us?"

"Most certainly, such is my duty to my God."

"But if you also knew that we would get angry at the rebuke, and stop coming to church, and stop giving contribution, would you still rebuke us?"

"I most certainly would. Of course, I would have to be very sure that you had actually violated God's law in the spiritual sense before I would feel called upon to act. Remember we pray 'forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors.' Jesus tells us to forgive

us not seven times but seventy seven times. So you see I would have to be gentle lest the rebuke would do more harm than good."

"If Mr. Jones your Deacon hired a man to help harvest his crop and agreed to pay that man two dollars a day, when that man received that money is it his?"

"Certainly."

"And to take it from him except for value received is stealing?"

"Yes."

"And stealing is considered immoral?"

"Centrally."

"Now if you knew that a majority of your Church Members hire men and pay them wages, then vote for other men who run illegal saloons thru which these men become intoxicated, in fact where they encouraged to become intoxicated, for no other reason than to furnish an excuse for arresting and fining them for all they have earned so that the money may be applied on our legitimate tax bills, would you call that a sin worthy of rebuke?"

"Your case is an impossible one. No christian community does such things. The law would not permit it."

"But it happens right here," she said emphatically. "And Mr. Kranston and papa defend it. Mr. Hutton even does not attack it. They openly say that we may as well take the money for taxes and city improvements as to let the saloon keepers in other states take it."

"Put Miss Anderson," the Parson continued a little excitedly, "you see if what you say were true, and I'm afraid you're exaggerating a little, it would be, not a spiritual but a civil matter and you know the church should not take part in worldly affairs. You must also not forget that those floating men are—well—er—not christians. Personally I do not think that Mr. Duffy would fine them, unless they deserved it. But grant that he does fine them contrary to the civil law, it is outside of the province of the church. As a servant of God I must keep myself unspotted of the world. But tell me Miss Anderson, what brought these things to your attention? To say the least it is a trifle bold for a young girl like yourself to meddle with such things."

"I visited the jail Sunday with the Endeavor committee," Olive explained. "Ahem! well, well so you met that strange young man they have there. Miss Eaglebeak was telling me something about his ranting and blaspemy; she told me, that he refused to let the services go on. Such a character! I think Judge Duffy was entirely too lenient with him. Think of it Miss Anderson. A youth—a mere boy, without respect for the word of God or the laws of man."

This little speech angered the girl beyond words. For a full minute she sat and looked at the preacher with eyes more powerfully eloquent than ever her tongue could be. She literally burned her scorn into the preacher's soul. At last she said with a dignity far beyond her years, "Mr. Goodman, it seems to me that your conclusions are quite unfair. This young man did not refuse to let the services go on. He spoke to us, he asked us questions in a civil manner. We could not answer his questions, and neither could you have answered them. He pleaded with us to be true to the best that was in us, yet told us at the same time that we would not live honestly so long as it were more profitable to live dishonestly. I thought that what he said were words engendered by bitterness. I was mistaken. What sounded harsh was but the brilliance of the light that his words caused us to see. He showed us the chain that binds us all to the rock of evil; that causes us to tolerate blind pigs, that fixes you so that you dare not raise your voice against it; that fixes my father so that he too supports the crime because men come to this town in search of the drink, we dare not banish. The heavy fines which amount to robbery fill the town treasury and make taxes lighter. That is why we maintain the officers who wink at the law of the land. It is an offense and your tongue is tied by your salary and your family."

By this time the preacher with both hands upraised was gesticulating wildly. He was completely off his course.

"Miss Anderson, Miss Anderson," he shouted, "that young man must be a Devil; he has put into your head terrible ideas. They are most vicious, most sinful! He has changed you child—your sweet innocent view of life is gone—he is full of worldly wisdom which is necessary to men of the world, but not to you. I must advise you to pray, Miss Anderson—to pray most earnestly that these thoughts be taken from your mind, that you may be restored to your former innocence. Don't speak any more of it. Try and forget it. You are a woman. You should be a tender flower, growing in loveliness in the seclusion of your home and not mingle with common characters. I shall advise that you be taken

(Continued on page 3.)

The Toiler

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Putting One Over

"Bolshevism cannot be crushed by force of arms. We failed to restore Russia to sanity by force. I believe we can save her by trade."

Thus spoke Lloyd George in the House of Commons on Feb. 10th. In explanation, it may be said the Premier has received considerable opposition from the pro-militarists on his bid to open trade relations with Soviet Russia. To justify his stand he makes the claim that where military force failed the soothing hand of trade will win. He is acting on the theory that since Bolshevism has arisen from oppression and starvation, that it will pass away with the filling of stomachs, and a period of plenty. Also, it seems that it is not Russia alone which the Premier has in mind. Here is his statement regarding conditions in England.

"The dangers are not all in Russia; they are here at home. I speak with knowledge, with apprehension and responsibility, and I warn the house that in the face of things which may happen we must use every legitimate weapon. We must fight anarchy with abundance."

We can't quite fathom the little Welshman. It looks to us like he was putting one over on the anti-Bolsheviks. He has been noted for lighting change of attitudes and this seems to be another to his record. We doubt if he really believes that Bolshevism will die a natural death when given a chance for its life. He may be merely appeasing the wrath of the opposition in order to put across his trade plans.

It is true that Russia has been cemented together as never before by the military actions of foes from without, and by the common needs of the people. But to assume that the principles for which they have suffered every variety of torture will be cast aside in a period of better conditions is to read human nature wrongly. If Lloyd George is serious in this matter, then he fails to sense the principle underlying all the suffering which Russia has undergone.

The Soviets have been offering peace to the allies for two years. They have yearned for an opportunity to develop their plan of social economics unhampered. But in order to gain these ends they had to organize an army of 3,000,000 men under extremely trying conditions. Now they have won. Is it likely that the principles for which they have suffered and died will now be cast aside when the opportunity for putting them in practice presents itself?

Conserving American Ideals.

As an instance of the perversion of the childhood of the nation for the purposes of its own future enslavement, nothing more calculated to accomplish it has come to our attention than a copy of a song which is being sung by the pupils of Bryant High school of Long Island City.

The song is purported to have been written by a returned hero by the name of Geoffrey Hara, who recently recited it before the school and later with the assistance of the music director, set it to music, it is now numbered among the school's song numbers.

The first verse and chorus of this piece of drivel are as follows.

"GET UP AND GET OUT."

Don't you think some people in our land
have talked enough?
Don't you think the time has come to call
their little bluff?
Ask them what's the matter, make them
can the chatter.
Then proceed to make the party rough.
Tell them they're a menace to our land.
Tell them in a way they'll understand.

CHORUS.

Get up and get out
If you have any doubt
About this U. S. A.
If you don't like it here
Why the ocean is clear:
There's a boat sailing home every day.
There is only one flag.
Not a dirty red rag.
The flag that will never fall.
Lay your life down for that,
If you won't, here's your hat:
Just get up and get out, that's all.

We desire to call attention to the large degree of tolerance expressed in the first line. In a country whose fundamental law is supposed to be the free utterance of opinion, it is going pretty far to express the antithesis of this principle in a school song. It naturally follows that the intolerance expressed in the first line should be followed by the appeal to direct action and violence which the rest of the verse makes.

EDITORIAL & PARTY NEWS PAGE.

SPARKS.

Among many literature orders this past week, we note a very substantial one from the Alaska Labor Union No. 11. Boys up there seem to be spending the winter very profitably to themselves judging by the literature orders they have sent us the past few months.

Comrade Christ Ries of Niles, O., remits \$5.00 for defense and organization work.

Coming — watch for these: Four new ten cent pamphlets will be advertised in these pages very soon. They are: "The Structure of Soviet Russia, Political and Economic", by Wilfred Humphries; "The Open Shop", by Clarence Darrow; "The Right to Strike", by Mary Marcey and "Two Minute Talks", by Elmer T. Allison. Each will be worthy a wide distribution and the price is right.

Comrade John Foelster of Davenport, mails \$5.00 worth of subscriptions this week.

Comrade Fosse Evans, the champion subscription hustler, remits another \$5.00 for subs. this week and \$2.00 for literature. He writes, "some more subs. next pay day". And we know they will come too.

Fifty Mr. Blocks go forward to Elmer Greathouse of Akron.

A generous remittance of \$5.00 arrived this week from comrade M. Gillin of Davenport. This sum is for general Party work.

Comrade W. E. Reynolds of Muskegon, remits \$10.00 for subscriptions and for the Cartoon Department. All of which compels us to remark, that if the Toiler cartoons look good to the readers of Muskegon, they ought to be worth your backing. How about it brother?

Thirty Trial of Debs are ordered by comrade J. Congleton of Dover, O. We assume that some folks who ought to know are going to learn something about the Debs case.

We note that Robert Butts of Toledo is in the field after Toiler subs again. He's putting the town of Sylva on the map.

Another hurry order for literature arrives from Comanche Tex. It's our old comrade, T. E. Pendergrass, who is doing this tall hustling.

Debs photos, there's worth twice as much, not only because they are a wonderful likeness of Debs, but also on account of excellent materials used. Order one or more — 25c each. They're 12x18 in size.

Tom Lewis' date in Akron was postponed until the 29th. He spoke at Cincinnati Sunday the 15th.

Local Guernsey Co. has a series of meetings scheduled for the immediate future.

A nice order for literature was filled a few days ago for both Locals Toledo and Cincinnati.

Clarence E. Hoover of Toledo sends in 4 new subs. No hooverizing here.

From Wyatt, W. Va., comes a healthy list of five yearlies. M. A. Teti is the guilty party.

NEWS OF THE LABOR STRUGGLE

Continued from page 2.

petition of a strike which occurred six months ago, the characteristic of which was passive resistance. It was only when British troops fired upon the meetings, killing and wounding large numbers, that any disturbances occurred.

THE BLACK SHEEP.

(Cont. from page 2-nd.)

Local Sandusky has placed the names of 50 new readers upon the Toiler list. These workers will receive The Toiler gratis for a while and will then be invited to subscribe on their own account. Other Locals take notice — follow this example.

But if the words and the sentiment they express are offensive to the principles which the human race have for thousands of years been struggling to establish, and which have been the beacon lights of all progress, no less offensive is the attempt to render them into a song. The greatest musical genius who ever lived could not make a song fit to pass the lips of children out of such trash. And as for the elegant English embodied in it — possibly it corresponds favorably with that which is taught nowadays. If teachings such as this pervert the principles of human liberty, they will also degrade music and grammar.

One would be very foolish to seek in our public schools any remnant of the teachings which make for the continuation of those principles in the Constitution which guarantee to the people an expression of their opinions. The tenacles of capitalism reach into ever school-room in the nation and those things which do not make for the continuation of capitalism are prohibited there, whether they be a teaching of the principles of free and popular government or any thing else. Capitalism is seeking to create in the public school system an unflinching army of future slaves. Such songs as the above help to prepare the children's minds to tolerate the chains which are being forged for them.

The Boston Tea Party

The Boston Tea Party in 1773 was one of the most successful examples of direct action in all history. A half hundred American Revolutionists dumped \$100,000 worth of British tea into Boston Harbor in order to prevent mad King George III, from collecting an unjust tax upon it. The destruction of the tea was not legal. In fact it was in direct violation of the laws protecting property. Yet it is generally agreed today that the revolutionists were justified in thus guarding their right of self-taxation, even though they did trespass a bit on the technical process of law and order. Revolutionists who ignored the law in order to defend their rights and preserve American liberties are now landed in history as immortal heroes, and acclaimed by a grateful posterity as matchless patriots. Poets and story tellers vie with each other in singling the praises of these determined men who, in a great cause, took the law into their own hands, destroyed the tea, and saved the Revolution.

The trouble started in this way. King George the Third was, like the master class everywhere, possessed of an overbearing "Will to Rule". He wished to rule with an iron hand. But the American Colonists had always enjoyed local autonomy. They had their own legislatures and raised their own taxes. They denied the right of England to tax them. "No taxation without representation" was the cry that appealed to every American.

The first tax that caused much resistance was the Stamp Tax in 1765 on deeds, wills and other legal documents. When some of the stamps arrived in New York the revolutionary leaders seized them and made a public bonfire of them. King George got no revenue from those stamps.

When the British ministry, which at this time had become conciliatory, learned the strength of the feeling in America against foreign taxation, they had the Stamp Tax repealed. But King George soon insisted that another tax be levied. He would show his subjects in America who was master. So a "Revenue Act" was passed placing a tax on paints, paper, tea and other articles. The Colonists refused to touch any of the taxed merchandise. They went without tea, paper and paint, and King George got no tax.

This successful resistance to this authority put the King in a hot temper. He now resorted to a cure to trick the Americans into paying him a tax. The revenue Act was repealed, the tax on tea only being retained. A bargain was made with the East India Company allowing it rebates so that it could send tea to America which could be sold for less than if it paid a tax. But this trick, which became known to the Americans, seemed to them an insult, and they became more determined than ever that the tax should not be paid. In Boston, however, several loyalists, to whom the tea had been consigned, were ready to take the tea and pay the tax when it was landed. If that occurred the principle of "no taxation without representation" would be defeated. King George would get his tax. A committee of Boston citizens first tried every legal means to prevent the landing of the tea. But the Governor, appointed by the King in those days refused a pass to allow the tea ships to return to England without unloading. For 20 days Boston and the whole country around was on edge for fear the tax would be paid. On the next day the tea would surely be landed. A few of the revolutionary leaders held a consultation and it was decided that nothing but direct action could now save the people of Massachusetts from this invasion of their rights. A score or two of determined patriots disguised themselves in Indian attire and secured tomahawks. They proceeded to the wharf, backed by a mass of citizens, boarded the ships, broke open the 350 chests and poured the tea into the waters of Boston Harbor. Some of the tea was landed by the wind and waves on the beach at Dorchester; but King George never got his tax on that tea.

Not only had the principle "no taxation without representation" been saved. But of far more consequence was the enthusiasm which the Tea Party aroused thruout all the Colonies from New Hampshire to Georgia. Up till then many had said "Ah, what's the use bucking against the government." But this act of the revolutionary leaders in thwarting the tyrannical acts of their government was an inspiration to every liberty loving American. They thrilled with pride for these heroes who had put their lives in the balance to save American ideals of freedom. A new determination to resist government

(Continued on page 4.)

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.
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The Dream Of Debs, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
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Manifesto of the Communist International, 10c each, 10 or more 6c each.
The Class Struggle, Kautsky, 25c each, 10 or more 18 each.
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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 Biogenesis, 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.

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On Behalf of the Friendly Bourgeoisie in Soviet Russia

— by Louise Bryant —

By an astonishing mental perverseness, conservative American papers have for the last two years designated those upper class Russians who joined with the British or the Japanese or the pro-German Mannerheim forces against their own countrymen as "loyal" Russians. As for that large percentage of the old aristocracy and the middle class, either not interested in politics and therefore accepting any regime without a struggle, and who certainly could never be induced to take up arms against Russia, under any circumstances, they are not taken into consideration at all or they are simply called "adventurers". And yet the middle class played a most important part in the victories of Soviet Russia. From their ranks are drawn most of the technical experts and many of the officers of the Red Army, as well as the teachers, doctors, and other professional people.

Unfortunately, most of us learn only by experience, and many Russians, after the Revolution, who were opposed to the New Order, had to live for a time outside of Russia before they came to realize how much they loved Russia. I remember several such cases even in the early months following the overturn of the Tsar. At the Astoria Hotel, where I was living in Petrograd, there were several officers and their wives, with whom I became acquainted. They were ridiculously scornful of every attempt of the revolutionists to build up a new nation. Two months after the Bolsheviks came in to power, they fled to Stockholm. I met them there half a year later, in the lobby of a fashionable hotel. They were frantic to go back. Their explanation is more easily understood by Slavs than by Anglo-Saxons. Begging eagerly for every scrap of news, they claimed that it was impossible for them to go on living in Sweden. "We do not fit here, the people are too cold. We weep and weep. Never mind, we can get used to the Soviets, perhaps they will not be so bad, and at least they are Russians. But to be exiled... that is a living death!"

The clerk in the same hotel gave me his version. "They are all crazy," he said. "I wonder why they came here in the first place, for no sooner do they get settled in their apartments than they ruin the peace of the whole establishment. Why, last week there was a countess here and she had hysterics every night and beat on the walls of her room. One day she disappeared, leaving a note that said she gone home to her 'dear, suffering country.' Her trunks and her jewels were forgotten, and we have no address. Russians here claim that she meant to walk on foot from the border, disguised as a peasant. And she was nearly sixty!" If this dear old "adventurer" ever reached Moscow, she probably became head of a hospital or took an important post in a People's University.

A few weeks ago, Mr. Isaac McBride, turning directly from Petrograd, brought the story of a rather touching incident which occurred during the last drive on Petrograd. At that time, 167 of the old regime officers who were in the starving and besieged city wrote a petition and sent it to the Russian officers fighting with the interventionists. They begged them not to continue any longer the war against the Soviets. They claimed that this form of government is the will of the Russian people and "we must bow to that will." Mr. McBride claimed that 75 per cent of the Tsar's officers are now with Red Army.

The most interesting and dramatic case of a Russian who had willfully exiled himself and his subsequent suffering was the case of a young captain of aviation I met recently in Seattle.

Early the second morning after my arrival, the telephone rang and a musical but agitated voice inquired: "Are you Madame who speaks on the Russian Revolution?" And almost before I could answer he hurried on, "Please don't say you cannot see me, it is deeply important... very pressing and important."

Still half-awake, I inquired, "Important to whom?" And without hesitation he replied, "Important to me!"

I told the captain to meet me at dinner and he will never forget him as he stood in the doorway of the rather garish, too-new splendor of the Hotel Washington dining-room, in a ragged Russian uniform, and cast inquiring eyes over the diners. I rose and motioned him and he came forward, blushed a little. "It does not take much," he said, bowed and kissed my hand with all the elaborate politeness of the old order.

We had scarcely seated ourselves when he burst out excitedly. "I have killed two men!"

I confess I was absolutely astonished and could only stare at my companion. There was a moment of silence, then he said, "Shall I continue?" I nodded. Another silence, then: "They were Bolsheviks. Do you still want me to go on?"

With a good deal of relief I realized that I was not listening to an account of a tragedy which had occurred that afternoon, and I resented the captain's questions, so I replied icily, "Please remember I'm an American reporter and I can take no part in your civil war."

His eyes searched my face. "But you defend the revolution?"

"Why should I make myself ridiculous by defending a revolution against one of the worst tyrannies that ever existed? No," I said, "my purpose in lecturing is to beg of my countrymen to lift this inhuman Allied food blockade. I ask it as much for the good of America as for Russia. We cannot destroy women and children without destroying ourselves."

He beamed with understanding. "Yes, yes, you have the right idea, now I will confess everything!"

In true Russian fashion he began an introspective narrative, going back almost to his infancy. His father had been a judge under the Tsar, and faithful to his institutions. As a boy he was aware that thousands were sent to Siberia for their opinions and he had seen peasants flogged in the public squares. When he was fourteen years old he read "Uncle Tom's Cabin" (Harriet Beecher Stowe's story is very popular in Russia) and it gave him an idea. If slavery was wrong, it was also wrong to be cruel to the peasants. One day he said to his father, "Why don't we change our government so that all the poor will be happy and we will not have to beat the peasants any more?" He was too young to comprehend his father's resulting untrollable fit of anger. For the first and only time in his life, his father struck him. After that a strict watch was kept on his reading and on his associates. So carefully did they guard him that up to the time of the March revolution he had never come into personal contact with any of the revolutionists.

He attended an aristocratic school, and when the war broke out he became an aviator. The news of the overthrow of the Tsar seemed as unreal as a dream. But in his heart he was happy; instinctively he felt that there would be less misery. At that time he was on the Riga front and for nearly half a year his life went on unchanged. He worked for the "Soldiers' Committees" with the same earnestness and honesty that he had worked for the Tsar. But all the officers did not take so kindly to the new authority. Some of his best and oldest friends began planning a counter-revolution. He was not in their confidence, but he heard whispers of their plots. A terrible night came when they were arrested and he himself was included. As they were marched away, the soldiers murmured among themselves. The evidence was so obvious that the soldiers were in favor of shooting the officers at once. But the Committee decided to send them to Kiev for trial.

Kiev was the home and the birthplace of the captain. Sad and awful was his homecoming. Strange thoughts ran through his mind as he walked those familiar streets, under guard. As the procession came to one of the tunnel-like entrances from certain streets which lead to the war, the idea of escape first entered his head. "To use his own words: 'I felt I had no chance in the Tribunal because my companions were certainly guilty. At the thought of such a disgraceful death, a panic seized me. You know how it is with Russians. We get our lives. I remembered that my revolver was still on my hip. I drew it and suddenly shot my two guards. At the moment the rest of the procession had just disappeared in the tunnel and before they realized what had happened I had fled.'"

except the old nobility would be benefited by a bolshevik administration. Sergeant Planert's report confirms the reports brought to America by Louise Bryant and Raymond Robins and others, whose reports have found space in our columns; — and these believed in government circles.

How long are the people going to believe the private press of privilege? "I once was the tool of Oppression And as green as a sucker could be; While monopolists banded together To beat a poor hayseed like me."

The corporations and old party Bosses, Together did sweetly agree, They thought there'd be little trouble In working a hayseed like me.

"For days and days I fled. After all sorts of hardships and months of tortured thoughts I arrived in Semenov's territory. What I saw there will be branded on my heart forever. Oh, my poor Russia, that such a monster should live to torment her! Semenov offered me a place in his army, higher salary and rank. I pleaded illness and I was indeed ill. I was sent to America to recuperate."

"For several months after my arrival I suffered a severe nervous collapse. I remained in my room, never seeing anyone, never going anywhere. I read and read. Everything about the revolution I read, the lives of the martyrs, the whole long struggle. At last I knew where I stood. I was with the people. I was against my father, against the Tsar. I was most bitter against the traitors who had bargained for foreign bayonets."

"As soon as I was strong again I went to the Russian Consul. I told him my story. I said I must go back now and atone for my crime. He nearly threw me out of his office. He said he would have me arrested. That was over a year ago. You can imagine my agony, my suspense. If I could only return I could be of some service to Russia. I am an educated man. I could be a teacher. I am a good aviator; they need eyes for the Red Army. I am always reading and studying. That is how I managed not to go mad. I say to myself: 'All this knowledge I will lay at the feet of New Russia. I will take it and take my life.'"

"Often I find it hard to discipline myself. You see I cannot bear your screaming, cruel press. Every time the White forces gain a small victory I am beside myself. I walk up and down and cannot find rest or peace. I who have killed my brothers, I who murdered men fighting for liberty!"

"How do you live?" I asked him. He looked down at his shabby clothes and said "I had a ring of considerable value which had belonged to my dead mother. I felt sure she would want me to do that if she could have known. No, it does not take much. I live in the shadow. I study and wait."

When I left Seattle, the captain came to see me off. On the way he seemed quite cheerful, and even joked me, because I told him how much I loved Moscow for its color and beauty. Not in the same way that I love New York, I explained, because New York is my home, it is part of me.

"America is your mother," he said laughing, "and Russia is your sweetheart. It is a pleasant way to feel about a foreign country. For me there is only my mother."

Just as the conductor called, "All aboard!" the captain burst into sudden hysterical weeping. He clung to me like a little boy. "You see how it is with me," he sobbed, "you see how it is — my home is here and my soul is in Russia!"

About Russia.

By Arthur Copping.

Here is another slender scrap of testimony, telling against the side supported by all available witnesses. No thinking me I should have occasion to use Russian money, I asked a refugee family if they had brought any with them.

"Yes," came the answer. "I have a few thousand Kerensky and Bolshevik rubles, but I am not parting with them. We want money for our maid who came away when we did, but now wishes to return."

"Is her family there?" I asked. "No," came the reply, "she is all alone in the world, but on second thought she does not like leaving Russia."

Here, then, at any rate, was one person for whom Bolshevik rule posed attraction.

Then I heard Yudenitch's officers mention as an obligation resting on patriotic Russians that they would have to shoot all the Bolshevik commissars, and that every Communist should be executed. Talking with Nicholas Kishko, the Bolshevik Secretary at the Peace Congress at Dorpat. I asked how many commissars held authority in Russia today. He answered that there were approximately 100,000 and as to the number of Communists he believed the strength of the party was not far short of 1,000,000.

This representative of Bolshevik Russia confirmed the reported good treatment of children, but as to the overfeeding of children he shook his head.

"No child goes without food. No child's food has to be paid for. But children do not get as much to eat as they ought to, and other persons go definitely short."

With his hands he indicated the dimensions of the daily bread ration. "Just one jolly big slice," I suggested.

"Yes," replied Kishko, who has a knowledge of idiomatic English, "and not so jolly big either."

He said assurance had been given many times that provided she left in peace to develop her internal affairs, Soviet Russia would honor the financial obligations incurred by the former Russian Government.

PLAN TRADE WITH RUSSIA

New York. — There is a great demand, on the part of American business men to do business with Russia, and not to be crowded out of the field by Europeans, is evidenced, according to Emerson P. Jennings, Chairman of the Executive Committee of temporary organization, of The American Commercial Association which has been organized to promote trade with Russia, by nearly a hundred letters which he has received within the last few days urging that everything possible be done to bring about a resumption of trade.

The Executive Committee will report this morning on the attitude which Secretary of State Lansing has taken toward the movement.

Commenting upon these letters, Mr. Jennings said last night that many of these firms already have in hand orders from the Soviet Government, and that he had had confidential information yesterday from London that English firms are now receiving gold from Russia, that it is being deposited in London banks, and that shipments are being made against it. Moreover, he said, the Soviet Government is now advertising in London papers for bids on contracts for the development of slate mines along the Volga from which oil and tar are to be extracted. These developments, he insisted, made it incumbent upon the American business man to protect his own interests and see that others do not preempt the field.

The letters are all from thoroughly American firms which are not interested, according to Mr. Jennings in the politics of Russia, but simply feel that where there is trade to be obtained, Americans should be among the first.

FOREMAN FUMES...

Continued from page 1.

to the blind and doddering dotards of a system that mankind the world over has condemned and whose destruction is certain within a few decades.

Here is a toast we propose for Col. Foreman and the Legion to drink at their next meeting — dare they do it?

"Down with all tyrants, profiteers, grafters and political self-seekers! America for the American People, not for the falsefactors of wealth!" Isn't that a patriotic toast, Col. Foreman?

Oh, yes; but that toast would not please the blood-fattened plutocrats who finance the American Legion. Real Democracy.

Ruminations of a Rebel

The plaintive appeals of the farmers for aid in solving their peculiar problem—the securing of help—produces a broad smile on the face of those given to subjecting present day conditions to analysis. They all sing the same song of inability to cultivate their acres by their own labor, and all join in a chorus of criticism against the agricultural worker who prefers to sell his labor power to the industrial bosses because of higher wages and greater opportunity for social enjoyment. It does not occur to the agricultural employer that the long hours which still prevail on the farm may possibly be one of the reasons for the loss of this much desired help. Time was when the "hired man" contentedly accepted the fourteen hour day without question. He now prefers to work eight or nine hours in the factory. His former employer has no just cause for complaint. His erstwhile wage slave, in transferring himself from the farm to the shop, is merely following a very natural inclination to improve his economic and social condition. Age-old "economic determinism" runs rampant throughout capitalist society. The employer hires labor with the view to exploit it. The wage slave cannot be blamed for availing himself of every opportunity to minimize his exploitation. Wonder if any farmer ever thought of solving the problem of help by limiting the area of his farm to the number of acres he could cultivate by his lonesome! Nope. That would eliminate all prospect of profit, which is unthinkable to the bourgeoisie.

I am not a prophet endowed with the gift of foretelling future events, but I am willing to gamble on the certainty that after the election next November there won't be enough of the Democratic Party left to merit recognition. It does not require extraordinary powers of discernment to correctly diagnose the present state of the public mind. Even the most conservative—those who have hitherto accepted without question, the lying stories in the daily papers and even sanctioned the unlawful acts of terrorism for which the Democratic administration is responsible—are becoming alarmed about their own safety if the present saturnalia of persecution is permitted to continue. It is just dawning on their minds that unless a halt on lawlessness is called they may come down to breakfast some morning and discover that their prized political rights have been abolished by governmental decree. These are they who are going to see to it that the Democratic administration gets it where the chicken got the ax. More power to their elbows.

By the way, indications are not wanting to presage the greatest political melee this year that ever happened in this or any other country. There will be so many candidates for president that the mentality of the voting sovereigns of our democracy will be taxed to the limit to make a choice.

There are at present about an even dozen political parties in the field and others are being organized at the rate of one a month. Some scrimmage, eh! Most of the candidates will represent capitalism with divergent views respecting its administrative policies. But one will hold aloft the torch of economic enlightenment and voice a demand for a new order of society. Millions of workers will respond to that demand even though it be expressed through the personality of a prison inmate. Gene Debs within prison walls will speak and the multitude will hearken to the voice crying the wilderness of capitalist oppression. The signs of the times augur ill for the bourgeoisie and their political benchmen.

When the American Legion in Detroit, at the behest of the "best citizens" of that city, broke up the meeting of Bill Haywood, there was an expectation of remonstrance from the Detroit Federation of Labor. Was not Haywood at the head of a rival industrial organization, and what was more reasonable than to expect the Federation to applaud this wallow administered to a common enemy? Much to the surprise of the Chamber of Commerce, however, that aggregation of promoters of lawlessness were notified that a recurrence of suppression of free speech and public assemblage would be met, if necessary, by armed force by the Federation—that if the city administration cannot prevent hoodlums from terrorizing the people the Federation would assume the job. It will be interesting to note the result of the next "shiverer" pulled off by the Legion. Will the Federation make good its threat or content itself with passing another "we deplore"? There is a possibility that the Federation perceives in the Legion a menace to its own interests, in which event drastic action may be expected. The fact that a notice was sent to the Chamber of Commerce is a recognition of its culpability. Even this degree of enlightenment evokes congratulation and inspires hope of eventual labor solidarity.

Even the capitalist daily papers are commenting on the stupendous profligacy of the government. Congress is lavishly appropriating millions for this, that or the other purpose, but doubtless with a view to distributing the "pork" which will be returned in campaign contributions. The petit bourgeoisie are loudly denouncing this extravagance, and predict bankruptcy for the nation. You are needlessly alarmed, gentlemen. Isn't the Department of Internal Revenue working overtime collecting taxes? And if they fall short, can't Congress pass a supplemental bill to increase the governmental income? Besides, are not the resources of our great country unlimited? And are there not millions of patient, plodding, industrious working mules to wrest from nature unlimited products? Some people would kick if they were being escorted to the electric chair.

The Boston Tea Party.

Continued from page 3.

oppression welled in the hearts of the people. Every school boy yearned for a chance to imitate these defenders of liberty and strike a blow against the usurpations of King George.

Of course some British historians have condemned the Boston Tea Party as an act of lawlessness; and occasionally we find some American, of English parentage or sympathies, taking the English view. Even Woodrow Wilson in his History of the American People (Vol. II, pages 163 and 185) speaks of the Tea Party as a "mob led by a South End tough." The respectable John Adams, however, another President of the United States, whose son also became President, and whose family record of public service is unsurpassed in American history, exclaimed when he heard of the direct action taken by the Tea Party; "This is the most magnificent movement of all. There is a dignity, a majesty, a sublimity in this last effort of the patriots, that I greatly admire. This destruction of the tea must have so important consequences and so lasting, that I cannot but consider in an epoch in history."

Professor John Fiske of Harvard College, the most brilliant, the most profound, and the most accurate of American historians, ends his essay in

the Boston Tea Party with the following words: "If there is anything in human life that is dignified and grand, it is the self-restraint of masses of men under extreme persecution; and from this point of view the Boston Tea Party will always remain a typical instance of what is majestic and sublime."

One cannot but recall the words of William Pitt in the British House of Commons when he replied to George Grenville on the Stamp Act: "The gentleman tells us America is obstinate. America is almost in open rebellion. Sir, I rejoice that America has resisted! Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest."

No list of the members of the Boston Tea Party has come down to us. But there is evidence to show that among those "lawless" Indians were John Hancock, signer of the Declaration of Independence, Joseph Warren, killed in command of his troops at Bunker Hill, and the immortal Paul Revere. Such were the men who in 1773 met the aggressions of their government with direct action and set an example of determined resistance to tyranny which for 150 years has been an inspiration to rebels and revolutionist the world over.

PERLEY DOE.

WEEKLY MEETINGS

50 So. Howard St.
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FEB. 29th TOM LEWIS OF CLEVELAND.

ATTEND THESE MEETINGS.

YOU ARE CORDIALLY INVITED.

BACK FROM SIBERIA

The truth about Siberia is slowly coming out.

It is very interesting to us, because the most of it is favorable to democracy, and it confirms also the news that has been printed in the Union Record for the past year — news, the opposite of that carried in the private press.

Here is William H. Planert, who reached his home 5431 Adams street, Chicago, January 24, 1920, — after serving fourteen months in Siberia. He was a sergeant in the 27th Infantry and spent most of his time 2,000 miles west of Vladivostok. He considers the Siberian expedition a failure from every point of view and particularly so in that it played a part in helping a gang of "bloodthirsty cutthroats" — Kolchak, Semenov and Kolmokoff. He says:

The best of them, Kolchak, was

just the czar over again; the worst of them were simply cruel murderers. Kolmokoff shot eleven people in our town because somebody said they were Bolsheviks. We tried to prevent the murders, but they took the poor people away and killed them.

It was American money, British ammunition, American ammunition and guns, Japanese soldiers and French and Italian forces that kept up the bloody war for nearly two years by helping Kolchak, Semenov and Kolmokoff. Semenov was the pet of Japan.

When Sergeant Planert was asked about the Bolsheviks, he said:

So far as I could learn they are very good people. Those fighting the Bolsheviks are just the old czar over again. The Bolsheviks come in and take over all property and administer it for the benefit of all the people. From what I heard the people in Siberia are convinced that everybody

THE CARTOON ACCOUNT STARTS GROWING

No sooner said than done, seems to be the motto of The Toiler readers. When they learned that we had opened an account for the continuance of the Cartoon Department, the fund immediately sprouted and now we are sure will flourish each week. If you like the cartoon in this week's Toiler, just cut out the blank below and mail to us with whatever amount you wish to send. It will guarantee future cartoons as good as this one.

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