

THE TOILER

GET a New Member
a Subscriber
PAY DUES

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Address all mail to
3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O.

\$1.50 A YEAR

A DOLLAR FROM YOU NOW WILL SAVE US!

A dollar from you will make it possible for The Toiler continue its mission.

A dollar from you will, in fact, save The Toiler from sharing the fate of dozens of Socialist papers, which had to suspend publication because of the increased cost of production.

A dollar from you RIGHT AWAY, will give The Toiler many months of continued life.

WITHOLD THE DOLLAR AND THE TOILER MUST CEASE PUBLICATION WITHIN A FEW WEEKS.

We place the matter squarely before every one of our 10,000 readers. Give immediately your answer.

HERE'S THE TROUBLE. We have an editor who edits the Toiler among other things. We have an office force and many who volunteer in the work of getting The Toiler into your hands. We have a printer who takes able charge of the work of printing The Toiler. We have an army of boosters who faithfully labor week in and week out getting subscribers and thereby supply the money with which to print.

BUT WE HAVE NOTHING TO PRINT THE TOILER ON.

YOU'VE GUESSED IT! We have no paper and the printer has no paper. The paper wholesalers have no paper. AND WE MUST HAVE PAPER IF WE ARE TO HAVE THE TOILER AS A STEADY MENTAL DIET.

The print paper situation is a most serious one. Most weekly papers have spoken their minds about it and called for help long ago. Knowing what was ahead, we had prepared as best we could to weather the storm for many weeks. But now the supply we obtained is exhausted. Only enough of our stock remains for one more issue.

THIS MEANS THAT YOUR DOLLAR WILL HAVE TO REACH US BY RETURN MAIL.

Paper production does not equal consumption. As you might know, the big capitalist dailies get first attention, are served first. Little, common, truth-telling folks like we, have to be satisfied with what is left. It is altogether probable that we'd never be allowed to buy even one pound of paper if those at the top of the paper combine knew what we used it for.

But when we buy paper, some one else buys for us. Enough said.

Some have claimed that the paper shortage has an artificial aspect, that one of the motives of the thought controllers is to silence the outspoken weekly papers which the awakened portion of the working class supports, by denying these workers' weeklies print paper. Shall we be victims of this plot if such plot exists?

Something you did not know is that attempts have been made to kill The Toiler. Yes, and very recently.

We have had plenty of troubles. Printers we have had have been threatened and we have had to go elsewhere. Our office has been besieged by gentlemen who come with authority from the government, that is, if Palmer represents part of it, and he does. But we managed to keep going, even managed for months to keep in paper when other periodicals had very difficult sailing.

Now a crisis is at hand. The paper situation has grown steadily worse. As we said, even some of the largest printers and paper wholesalers cannot get newsprint.

HOWEVER, WE KNOW A WAY OUT. We can extricate ourselves from the difficulty WITH YOUR HELP. We know just what to do to buy the paper we need. We know whom to approach to buy it for us.

ALL WE NEED IS THE CASH. WE MUST INVEST IN

TEN TONS OF PAPER. THIS AMOUNT WILL LAST US FORTY WEEKS. IT WILL COST US ABOUT \$2,500.

IN SHORT, WE CALL UPON OUR 10,000 SUBSCRIBERS TO DONATE TO THE TOILER THE SUM OF \$2,500 FOR TEN TONS OF PAPER.

And we cannot buy a pound unless we have cash. We don't intend to brag, but The Toiler must be fulfilling a need or it would not receive the support of so many workers. We take it for granted that you want The Toiler to live.

THE TOILER WILL LIVE IF YOU SEND IN YOUR DOLLAR TODAY.

We have made calls for The Toiler before. We have made calls upon our readers asking them to put forth extra effort to get new subscribers. Never have we asked for an outright donation to keep The Toiler alive and doing its duty. This we now do.

WE DO IT BECAUSE WE MUST.

We face without fear the trials of publishing a workers' paper in this age of reaction. We have so far beaten our enemies. Up to now we have overcome the many obstacles in our path. We have given you a paper for less than the cost of production for months, for the dollar a year subscription has not paid production costs. While we had a balance in the treasury, we felt it our duty to continue this popular price. After all, our purpose is not to make money but to educate the workers. We think we have done our duty.

Having done it, we now call upon you to do yours. It is very little we ask. ONLY ONE DOLLAR FROM EACH OF YOU. But the dollar must come in a hurry so we may begin negotiations for the ten tons of paper.

ARE YOU WITH US?

THEN SEND THE DOLLAR!

THE SOCIALIST PARTY CONVENTION

— By Ammon A. Hennacy. —

1. Killed a resolution which expressed sympathy for the imprisonment of Jim Larkin and Benjamin Gitlow.
2. Shut off debate and refused to answer questions brought by the Illinois delegation concerning the pussy-footing in the defense at Albany.
3. Refused to seriously consider the idea of unity as expressed by Debs.
4. Dropped the plank which called for expulsion of elected officials who voted for military appropriations.
5. Decided to try to form a New International composed of "all true Socialists of the world", although retaining affiliation with the Third International.
6. Refused to take a stand for the taxation of church property.
7. Inserted a plank providing for the registration of migratory workers in order that they might vote.
8. Election of members of the National Executive Committee by proportional representation killed.
9. Gag rule generously applied against the minority; especially by the lawyers in the delegation from New York.
10. "Its ULTIMATE AIM in politics is to secure a majority in Congress and in every state legislature, to win the principal executive and judicial offices, to become the dominant and controlling political party of the country", in order to accomplish Socialism."

The above results of the Socialist Party Convention recently held at New York City, in Finnish Hall at 5th Ave. and 127th St., establishes the Socialist Party as a Centrist factor among the Socialist parties of the World. Using the radical phrases of former times and seeking to create enthusiasm thru the name of Debs, they nominated him on a platform and declaration of principles which the capitalist press has greeted as sane and conservative.

LINEUP IN THE CONVENTION.
From the challenge by Kruse of Illinois that the Call had announced

session before he was elected by a vote of 91 to Engdahl's 29—until the close of the convention the proportion of radical votes continued about the same. The vote of 23 to 103 on the majority and minority platforms; the 106 votes for Steadman and the 36 votes for Kate O'Hare for candidate for vice-president, up to the vote of 40 for remaining in the Third International as contrasted with 90 for remaining in it but forming a New International of Centrists, shows that about one third of the convention was fairly radical.

Kruse, Engdahl, Glassberg, Tucker, Holland, Bircher and Walter Cook composed the Left Wing; Berger, London, King, Hoch, Cannon Solomon and Karlin and Block the Right Wing; while Panken, Hillquit, Lee, Berlyn, O'Neal, Henry and Saltis composing the Centre or more rational Right.

THE PLATFORM AND DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

The Platform and Declaration of Principles was supposed to have been presented to the membership for consideration two months previous to the convention. The statement made on the floor of the convention by delegate Glassberg of New York on May 10th, that copies of the platform were ready for distribution on the preceding Saturday was not answered by the Majority. In fact they were published in the capitalist press before the delegates had an opportunity to read them else where.

The Minority wanted to have the Platform and Declaration of Principles referred to a committee of 9 to be elected by the convention, as they did not want the ideas of the Majority to be railroaded through the convention before the Minority had an opportunity to consider it as a whole, and to propose a substitute. This motion was defeated by a vote of 53

to 51 and the matter was taken up in order to entitle any comrades wishing to leave these parties and accept the platform of the S. P. to regular membership in the party. The convention voted to only allow them in as new members. No attempt was made to modify the Socialist platform as a basis for unity with Communists as Debs wished. In fact some of the extreme Right wanted a platform that would appeal to the Labor Party and Non-Partisan League, and denounced the Minority platform as one which sought to placate the Communists.

When the Declaration of Principles was read not a ripple of applause greeted it, which would seem to justify the assertion made by Tucker that: "The platform was written by lawyers so that the Department of Justice could not find any Socialism in it, so how could the workers be expected to understand it." To which the Majority replied that if they would read it over several times they would understand it; which led the Minority to wonder how many times the average worker would have to read it over to understand it.

The Minority Declaration of Principles, while taking a better International and Class Conscious stand, was rather vague and was not as clearly expressed as the less radical stand taken by the Majority.

Kruse created applause when he opposed the insertion in the Declaration of Principles of that phrase from the Declaration of Independence which admits the right of revolution when the people want it, because such a revolutionary phrase had no place in the mild declaration of principles of the S. P.

The majority leaders made no attempt to answer the argument made by Glassberg that it was practically impossible to obtain Socialism by "orderly and constitutional method," by electing officials and amending the constitution of the U. S.

Dreyfus of Illinois said that Berger and Hillquit played to the galleries in public meetings in discussing the dictatorship of the proletariat an Russia, but oppose them in convention.

DISCUSSION OF UNITY.

When the Unity question came up the Minority wanted the Socialist Party to recognize the due stamps of those in the two Communist parties

ago. When asked by Tucker what the Socialists would do, if after depending upon politics to gain Socialism, they would be denied control, Panken of New York with a great splurge of oratory said that they would resort to war. Thus Berger, who claims to abhor the Bolsheviks because they believe in violence, upholds political Socialism which admittedly leads to violence. The Minority pointed out that because they depended practically alone upon the ballot was the main reason why the Socialists of Finland had to sacrifice 70,000 lives, and then were defeated.

MILITARY APPROPRIATIONS.

Block supported a motion allowing Socialists to vote for military appropriations where the State required an appropriation for the upkeep of a State Militia (albeit working for the repeal of this law), until Solomon of New York, after stating that he would vote for it under any condition and with waving arms declaring himself a 100% American, pointed out that the original motion did not specifically prohibit such voting, when the motion by Block was found to be unnecessary and was dropped. This new clause was put in in place of the plank formerly in the platform which provided for the expulsion of elected officials who voted for military appropriations.

PUSSYFOOTING AT ALBANY.

When confronted with six specific charges accusing the defense of the five Socialist Assemblymen in Albany of compromising the Socialist International position and of minimizing the class struggle, Hillquit only attempted to answer one of the charges, covering the remainder with a flow of oratory and sentiment. Hillquit admitted that one of the assemblymen started to make a patriotic defense, and that they had

to squelch him. He pointed out several instances where they could have compromised, inferring that they were not as bad as they might have been. Kruss was only allowed a short time to explain how the charges came to be made when Meyer London was recognized. He did not answer any specific charges, but sought to becloud the issue by more oratory. At the end of his speech he made a motion, which was recognized contrary to parliamentary law, by Davidow of Michigan, who as vice chairman had with Sharts of Ohio as chairman, been shutting off discussion frequently.

LARKIN AND GITLOW.

The resolution condemning the conviction of Larkin and Gitlow was a very mild one and was of the kind usually passed by the Committee of 48 and other Liberal organizations. The "lawyer delegation" from New York City were its chief opponents. The Call also did not mention that this matter was brought up at the convention.

THE WALLS AND PLATFORM.

The walls and platform were decorated in an unusual large number of American flags and bunting; the red banner of Socialism nowhere in evidence, which brings, to mind the assertion of Tucker on the floor of the convention that "by decorating our convention with the flag of Wall Street we cannot hide our Socialism."

MAY 19, 1920.

MAXIM GORKY ADDRESSES THE MONARCHISTS

I have received a number of letters from various persons. All of them have been written in a tone of mortal terror and dismal. I feel that those who wrote them have all experienced many dark hours, many dark days; that their hearts undergo torture; that their restless thoughts do not let them sleep.

"What has become of the good Russian people? Why did they suddenly turn into wild beasts, craving for blood?" a lady writes me on a perfumed sheet of paper. "Christ is forgotten, his ideas are desecrated," writes Count P. "Are you satisfied? What has become of the great doctrine of love of your neighbor? What has become of the sacredness of church and religion?" asks K. Bruydan, from Tambov.

Some scold and curse, others sigh and complain. All are excited, broken down, full of fear at the thought of this tragic and great epoch.

Not having the possibility of writing individual answers to these letters,

I am answering them all together. Dear Sirs and Dear Madames: The days of punishment for your criminal indifference to the life of the people have come to pass. All that you are experiencing now, all that which tortures you so, is fully deserved by you and I can only say and wish you one thing: Let those horrors of life, which you yourselves have created, take on still deeper and more intense forms. Let your hearts become still more restless!

Let tears drive sleep away from you! Let a storm of madness and cruelty rage over our Fatherland and burn you!

You deserve this. You will be exhausted, but it may happen that all that which is wholesome and honest in your souls, will be purged of the slime and the baseness which was implanted there, in your souls, to which you have paid so little attention. Your souls are full of villainess, lies, a thirst for domination and of all low instincts.

Dear Madames: You want to know



Maxim Gorky, famous Russian author who early in the revolution cast his lot with the Bolsheviks.

what has come over the people. They have simply lost patience. They were too long silent. They endured violence, without murmuring, for too long a period of time.

Their servile backs have carried the burden of the masters for too long a time. Now they can bear it no longer. Still they have not shaken off entirely the burden which was placed on their shoulders. You are getting frightened too soon, Madam! Between us, what else were the people to do but turn into wild beasts? What have you done for them to expect different results? Have you ever taught them anything good; have you sown in their souls seeds of virtue?

During their entire lives you utilized their labors, their last loaf of bread, without even understanding that you were committing a crime. You were living without asking what you were living on; without inquiring where lay the force that fed you. By the brilliancy of your attire you kindled the envy of the poor and the unfortunate. When you went to your country homes

and lived side by side with the peasants, you looked down upon them from above, as though they were an outcast race.

They, however, understood. They are goodnatured. But you made them wicked. You held your feasts, in which they, the outcasts, could not participate. And yet you want them to be grateful! Your songs, your music could not afford pleasure to the hungry people. Your frivolity, mixed with contempt for the peasant, could not awaken in his soul a respect for you. What have you done for him? Have you tried to enlighten him? No, you have rather tried to obscure his mind!

And you wanted him to be wise after all this? Oh, no, you did not even think of it. The peasant in your eyes was a sort of cattle. When you spoke to him you treated him as a savage. You did not even want to behold a human being in him. Is it a wonder then that he has now turned into a wild beast?

Madam! Your question expresses not only ignorance of life, but also the

hypocrisy of a criminal who feels his guilt, but does not want to confess his crimes publicly.

You knew, you could not help knowing, how the peasant lived. A human being who is being beaten must avenge himself sooner or later. A human being who is treated mercilessly has no pity for anybody. This is clear. Moreover: it must be so.

How can you look for mercy, for compassion, in the heart in which you sowed vengeance? Madam! In Kiev the good old Russian folk threw out of the window the celebrated manufacturer Brodsky. The governess was also thrown out. But the tiny canary, which was in its cage, was not harmed. Do reflect on this occurrence. This little bird awoke a feeling of pity for it at a moment when human beings were being thrown out of the window. Evidently, outraged hearts still have room for pity. But this pity is not for human beings, as the human beings

(Continued on page 4.)

Skygac's Column

Written especially for the Toiler.

Now that the Pope has officially made Joan of Arc a saint, the crime of the English who bought her from John of Luxembourg is settled. Being burned alive in one century and sainted in another is the way of the progress of world. But—who wants to be a saint?

“Britain aims to control U. S. oil fields,” headlines Hearst. Well U. S. aims to control Mexican oil fields. What is the difference? We are for proletarian control of the oil fields.

U. S. indicts Morris and Cudahy for profligating. Another slap on the wrist.

5,000 U. S. Marines suffering in Haiti, says the press. Well who sent them there and what business have they there?

Baptists assail movie as one of divorce causes. Baptists are always assailing non-essentials and side-stepping the real issue. The real cause of divorce is generally found to be wrangling over the limited family purse. Poverty and ignorance of matters pertaining to the relation of the sexes, are the two greatest causes of divorce. But divorce is no crime neither is it a disgrace. Better a divorce and a clean slate any old time than a lifetime of wrangling, quarrelling and conjugal misery. Home for too many of our people is only the battle-ground—covered over of course with the roses of conventionality, but a battle ground just the same. I don't need a divorce, but I am in favor of divorce for those who do. And divorce should be as easy to get as a marriage licence.

“Inevitable sums are being spent to defeat labor's cause,” says Gompers. Surest thing you know and most of it right in the A. F. of L. too. Samuel himself sits at the banquet of the mighty and knows where of he speaks.

Seventy five percent of the editors of the country are Roman Catholic, says the Baptists. Mebbe, mebbe so. But I would prefer it to be that way than 75% Baptist. Ninety nine percent of the editors of the country wear the blinds and bit of the master-class and crucify labor at their master's bidding.

The school boy who defined a vacuum as “a large empty space where the Pope lives” was not so far wrong at that.

“England to use force to quiet Erin”—Somebody is advocating violence. Mr. Palmer—quick, call out your reserves.

“Unhappy prediction increased prices”—Nuh—anybody can safely make that kind of a prediction. Everybody's doing it.

“We can offhand, recall nothing really funnier than the action of the socialists in naively applying for a pardon for No. 2253 their nominee for President” (Debs) editorializes the G. R. Press. Maybe the press can't think of anything funnier—but isn't it funny that in the land of the free and the home of the brave, a federal convict number 2253, should have to be pardoned for the terrible crime of exercising his constitutional privileges of free and open expression of his honest opinions?

SNOOPING UNPOPULAR NOW

One half million dollars' worth of spies now drawing salaries from the Department of Justice will lose their jobs on June 30. The House of Representatives cut that much off the snooping appropriation on May 10.

Attorney General Palmer had asked for a total of \$2,500,000, saying he needed \$1,000,000 to run down radicals, \$500,000 to chase profiteers, and another million for miscellaneous purposes. Byrne, of Tennessee, was making the fight for Palmer.

“Can you tell us,” asked MacGrate, of New York, “how many anarchists Palmer arrested as a result of his May Day plot?” Byrne said he could not. “Have you any idea that even one was arrested?” persisted MacGrate. “I do not know that any were taken,” Byrne confessed.

Then Blanton, of Texas, came to Palmer's rescue, declaring that while the Attorney General had arrested 6,000 anarchists within the past three months, “Louis F. Post, assistant secretary of labor, has turned most of them loose on the American people.” “Well,” retorted MacGrate, “if those 6,000 anarchists existed in the same place that the bomb throwers of May 1st, existed, then they never had any existence outside Mr. Palmer's mind.”

A LAUGH ON LUSK

In his conduct of deportation proceedings against the Russian representative Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, on May 11 and 12, Immigration Inspector Shell was forced to deviate from the law and to violate the Labor Department's own rules governing such hearings.

When denied his legal right to because he adheres to and supports the

The S. E. P. is getting all het up over the fact that there are many vacant non-productive farms in the country. So too are a lot of commercial klubs. There are several reasons for this condition—likewise several remedies. One of the reasons for this condition is the long hours and poor pay that the farmers gave their hired hands while help was plentiful and jobs scarce. John Farmer now is only reaping what he has sown in earlier days. One remedy would be for all bankers who hold mortgages upon farm lands to be compelled to operate those farms, and by operate I mean get out and dig and plow and harrow and sow and cultivate, WORK on the farm instead of working the farmer when he comes to the town bank—that ought to help the crop shortage considerable.

Not since the days when the P. P. had Petrograd falling every day, has there been so many reports of the downfall of the Russian Revolution. Laine is out and Trotsky in hiding and what not—according to the daily papers. But off in an obscure corner we find that the Russians have appeared in Persia and calmly ordered that the British troops be withdrawn. A losing army never orders the enemy to withdraw its troops! As Brisbane says, it's easier to hate a revolution than to conquer it.

Five million dollars to elect McAdoo—the head apparant. Uuh—Maybe, but, Well anyhow, I'm not going to contribute any of that five million.

The Irish “have no intention of establishing such a republic as that of America,” says Thomas Johnson, speaking at Cork, speaking for the workers of Ireland. Continuing he said, “That country isn't free enough because men and women are sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for saying that the country is not free.” He must have been over here and observed us—and Palmer.

Clothes to fit every purse, says the adv. That is capitalism. When we get democracy we will have clothes to fit every person—and good ones too.

“Allies divide the near East” says news-headline. Yes, and they have divided the near West too, you will discover later. The socialists have often been accused of wanting to divide up everything, but for actual division, leave it to the Allies.

By the way—who are “the Allies” now? Ask your commercial club—they know.

Strikes must not be encouraged—this seems to be the general business-man's conviction. Also the government's conviction, as they try to convert the various spokesmen for the strikers. But there is one strike which seems to have escaped the attention of our attentive Mr. General—the march of the overall-brigade striking against the high cost of business suits.

Oh Well. With the world rapidly approaching sovietism—the rich would have to get into overalls anyhow, and its just as well that they get used to the feel of the things. You can always tell a proletarian.

Significant isn't it? Capitalists getting into overalls. It marks the beginning of a new social order.

Now that Kansas has had its American Day on May First, twice as many people in Kansas know the real significance of May Day. On with the good work Governor.

examine the full evidence against himself in advance of the hearing, Martens resorted to his lawful right not to answer questions. After 24 hours of uncertainty, Inspector Shell decided to dispense with all answers and proceed to read into the record the full set of questions drawn up by the Department of Justice.

They were faithful copies of the Lusk and Senate Committee questions. The inspector seemed to hate his job and laughed to keep himself in good humor. “I suppose,” he remarked to Martens at one point, “if I keep on reading this stuff I may come to believe it myself.”

Without having intended to, Martens made answer to one question. “Are you the duly authorized representative of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic?” asked Shell, reading from the Palmer catechism. “Yes!” exclaimed Martens, making his sole contribution to the record the one statement that Palmer has striven to deny or to conceal.

When he had read all the funny questions into the record, Shell announced that the case of the Government was virtually concluded. The hearings were then postponed for a fortnight, and Martens departed in substantial possession of the thing he had originally demanded—a copy of the evidence against himself.

Palmer appears to have shifted his position from the original contention that Martens is a member of some Communist Party, somewhere (which he is not), to a contention that Martens' own statements prove that he is opposed to all forms of government Soviet Government of Russia.

On that ground Martens is reported pleased to have the case stand. He is more willing that the Wilson administration should decide that no supporter of the present Russian Government shall ever be allowed residence in the United States, if it cares to assume that responsibility before the world.

CONDITIONS RIPENING FOR WORLD REVOLUTION

WASHINGTON.—Another red wave that may put the working class in power from Warsaw to Gibraltar the next few months is forecast by official advices now accumulating at Washington.

Censorship is the only agency that still functions at the command of Western European governments. Behind the temporary screen the dissolution of the old order proceeds at a gallop. Outstanding items in the budget of official information gathered here are these:

Soldiers and diplomats look for Poland to burst “like a bubble” after the great drive in which her armies have penetrated the war-torn wastes of Ukraine without landing a single serious blow on the Red Army of Russia. Behind the Polish army food riots are developing rapidly and the known bread supply is less than enough for two weeks.

American commissioners report that the four little “republics” lying in the Caucasus Mountains between Turkey-Persia and Russia are saturated with pro-Soviet sentiment and bitterly hostile to Allied interference.

Asiatic Turkey is three fourths in the hands of anti-Entente nationalists who are negotiating a defensive agreement with Soviet Russia, supported enthusiastically by the Mohammedan masses, whose co-religionists enjoy complete religious and economic freedom in modern Russia.

Syrian chieftains have denounced the French mandate over their country and have summoned the tribes to arms. The straw of oppression was laid on when by official decree the Paris Government established an exact equality between the depreciated French franc and the much more valuable native currency. Syrian couriers were at once dispatched to Russia to solicit support in the war against France. “Do you know what Bolshevism would mean to your people?” Allied agents asked the Syrian chiefs. “We prefer anything to French influence,” the Syrians replied.

Famine and class wars are prevalent throughout Bulgaria. Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Conditions vary from open revolt to passive acquiescence by peasants and workmen who have no faith left in the competence or permanence of existing governments.

It is in Germany, however, that the most sinister threat to the old political and economic order has arisen. Official reports and isolated press dispatches from Berlin unite upon an analysis of conditions there which confirmed in a striking manner predictions made last winter by Col. Roustan Bek, military adviser to the Russian Soviet Bureau in this country.

Col. Bek predicted that German military men would eventually make common cause with their soldiers and the working classes to restore German independence by means of a proletarian government and a communist army. In a word, that the Soviet principle would be adopted because it offered the only escape from the unemployment and bankruptcy of laboring and professional classes alike.

It is interesting, then, to hear Vorwarts, organ of the Social Democrats, saying in a recent issue:

“The failure of the Kapp coup brought many new converts to national Bolshevism, many of them the same officers who supported the coup. The Kapp coup hammered into the brains of our militarists that there is no use trying to govern when working classes are against them. Hence their sudden yearning for and understanding with the workers and their attempt to obtain the support of the workers. “These officers,” continues Vorwarts, “argue that Russian has proved the vitality of Bolshevism. Military officers who lost their positions because of the Versailles treaty... see also that Trotsky has college mates and professional colleagues in Russia, all of whom have given their class mates and relatives fine places in the Red Army.”

And Professor Otto Hostach writes in the reactionary Kreuzzeitung: “Despite the fairest promises Moscow's propaganda in Germany is unnecessary. It is aided and abetted by the dangerous phantom of national Bolshevism which now stalks in Germany, not only in Communist circles but also in the younger military circles, and is finding support among the youth of the country generally.”

The Berlin correspondent of the New York Sun finds the same sentiment among financiers who have lost hope of ever making private fortunes again unless Germany shall break free from encircling enemies. “When it becomes clear that Bolshevism is the only way out I shall give my service to the Bolsheviks,” one of them asserts.

COMMUNISM IN MEXICO

There is only one magazine published in English in Mexico and it is a Communist monthly. Every Communist should read it and know, first hand, that the Mexican Communists and the Mexican I. W. W. are doing, and what is the real significance of the Oregon revolution that has just triumphed. This magazine is “Gale's Journal of Revolutionary Communism”. Typical articles have been: “Made in the U. S. A.—the Civil War in Mexico”; “Who is Financing Pancho Villa”; “The Communist Party of Mexico”; “Open Letter to the Devil.”

Subscription price, \$2 a year. Remit by New York draft or express money order. Don't send personal checks or P. O. money order. “There's a reason.”

Address: “G A L E'S”

Box 518, Mexico City, D. F., Mexico.

“SHOULD THE NORTH CHURCH FORUM BE SUPPRESSED”

Will be the subject upon which four prominent speakers will speak at North Congregational Church

EAST 72nd & ST. CLAIR AVENUE CLEVELAND, O.

MAY 30th AT 7:30 P. M.

Questions and Discussion invited.

STILL AT IT --- “WATCH-FULLY WAITING”

WASHINGTON.—President Wilson is absolutely alone among officials at Washington in refusing to lift the trade blockade against Russia.

Within the past week Secretary Colby and all heads of Bureaus at the State Department signed their names to a memorandum in which they informed the President that in their judgement the illegal and unauthorized blockade of Russia should be abandoned forthwith.

This information comes to your correspondent from the most responsible authority. On the same authority it can be stated that President Wilson refused to endorse the suggestion or to give his reasons for not doing so.

Under Secretary Polk, a bitter and long standing enemy of Russia, is among those who informed the President that the time had come to lift the trade ban. The petition was signed also by the chief of the foreign trade bureau and the head of the Russian division of the State Department. These gentlemen united in saying that pressure from American business men for opportunity to share in the Russian market could no longer be resisted without precipitating a scandal. The Secretary of Commerce gives his hearty endorsement to the memorandum.

Comment for publication is impossible to obtain from those who signed the recommendation, but they do not hesitate to say in private that the President's solitary policy of obstruction will eventually have to give way before the mounting demand of business men for admission to the only foreign market left where gold payments can be had upon delivery.

THE COMPROMISE VERDICTS

Here in Portland the compromise verdict has become a fad, it seems. Every Criminal Syndicalism jury that ever “went out” and “came back in” has brought back some sort of a miserable compromise verdict. There have been verdicts of “guilty,” with recommendation of “leniency”; “guilty,” with recommendations of “extreme leniency,” and now we have as the latest, “guilty,” with recommendation of “parole.”

Is there no longer to be found, in Multnomah County twelve men who have the courage of their convictions? Why add insult to injury, in this cowardly manner, by asking a victim's pardon after having railroaded him? If these men were guilty, why couldn't their respective juries say so and be proud of it? Knowing that they had “served their country well” by convicting a prisoner;—they, nevertheless, seem to be inclined to cringe and crawl in his presence, and to kiss his feet, indicating that they didn't mean to do it.

There is something radically wrong about this somewhere. Either the Criminal Syndicalism Law is a piece of legislation repugnant to these juries, or there must exist that “necessary doubt” of guilt which the court instructs is sufficient for a verdict of acquittal, or else there must be forces that dictate the verdicts that these juries must bring in. Be these miserable compromise verdicts the fruits of any or of all these reasons, one can readily see why these juries find it so necessary, after having undergone some very tormenting mental tortures in the jury rooms, to wash their hands through the cowardly apology for their dirty work, by begging the victim's pardon after having railroaded him—thereby relieving themselves of the responsibility of their deed by passing the buck over on the judge.

Passing the buck over on the judge means absolutely nothing, save that it serves as a camouflage under which disguise these juries are led to believe that they are washing themselves clean, but since it is only a camouflage, they are not. A recommendation of “leniency” means five years. A recommendation of “extreme leniency” means two years. What a recommendation of “parole” means we have not yet learned—but leave that to judge Morrow.

If there was nothing abhorable about this “Criminal Syndicalism” law; If there was no question of “guilt,” and if there was no one dictating to these juries, would there then be any reasons why they should come back from their deliberations blushing and ashamed? Why should they then drape “their” verdicts with such cowardly recommendation? While this might be “one hundred percent americanism,” it is certainly devoid of everything manly.

While it is still costly to us, we have them where THEY ARE BEGGING FOR PARDON.

K. W. OSTER.

NEW YORK.—At a special convention of the Yugoslav Socialist Democratic Party for Slovenia held in Marburg on April 11 it was decided to work for the union of all the Socialists of Yugoslavia to oppose the participation of Socialists in the Government and to leave the Second International and enter the Third (Moscow) International, says a report sent out by the Yugoslav Press Bureau and printed in Austrian newspapers just received by The Federated Press.

The Black Sheep.

CHAPT. XXXII.

Unadaptable.

Four days later, Olive Anderson found a strangely battered letter in her mail box. at the Anamoose post office. Opening it, she read the note, which Collins had enclosed first, after which, she read Jack's letter. It would be difficult to describe her emotions, as she read the simply written account of the boy's lonely wandering in the vastness of the mountain solitude. From out of that almost infinite silence, he had spoken to her, from the innermost recesses of his soul, he had sent a Message by putting his words on paper. He, in the loneliness of the mountains, following the elk and the deer among the firs and the cedars, over rocky ranges and thru canyons, had made her a part of all he saw, had woven memories of her into those grand and majestic scenes, which he so simply described. And after all his feelings were not different from her's, for she too, in the loneliness of her home, mentally adrift on the storm swept sea of new ideas, had often spoken to him from out of the silence of the night, with a voice of mingled longing and despair. She too, had written down her thoughts in letters to him, letters which were never mailed, for two reasons, one was she dared not mail them, and the other was she did not know where to send them. She destroyed the pages as soon as they were written, as he had doubtlessly destroyed many pages which he had written. And now out of the unknown, by the hand of a total stranger some of these pages had come to her. And with them had come the information as to his whereabouts. From now on she could reach him, that very thought seemed to bring him strangely near.

She read the letter three or four times while in the post office. How strange it all seemed that she should be attracted to a “jail bird” to a man who was almost a total stranger to her. For the first time in her life the woman and the lady within her came into conflict, but as usual Against her will, wild thoughts forced themselves into her brain. The letter the woman proved to be the stronger, and sent the blood of her forbears tingling thru her veins. Leaning against the writing desk in the postoffice, from between half closed lids she could see the boy whom she had met in jail, rambling down the mountain side into the depths of the canyons, following the trail of the wild life of the forest. Mentally she could see herself seated beside him in the bark shelter he had described. She could see the giant shadows play like weird ghosts among the forest trees, as the blaze of the campfire rose and fell. She was conscious of a wild desire to live the life of the primitive ages of human evolution, altho she did not phrase it that way.

When Olive left the post office, she met Frank Cartwright, who had been her sweetheart for more than a year, and as was his habit he walked home with her. He was an entirely different type from the girl. His mind was not adapted to serious thought. His highest ideal was to have a girl by his side, a cigarette in his mouth and nothing on his mind. His conversation was limited to such subjects as directly affected his senses. He might be described as, “a well dressed bundle of perambulating flesh and bones.” When he was with Olive he either chattered like a magpie about nothing or made crude and almost disgusting love. He was a typical middle class youth. The wonder was that Olive tolerated him. “Love does not reason” But was there love?

This night as they walked home, Olive who on other occasions did most of the sensible talking or listened to his glibberish with kindly toleration now was strangely silent. She seemed pre-occupied. Her mind was not on Frank, or the coming dance, or possible sleigh ride. In fact it was not on her immediate surround in any sense; it was entirely on Jack, who was far beyond the Rocky Mountains in a little wood cabin by the lake.

Frank asked her a few of his usual questions, but received only monosyllabic replies. Nothing he could say interested her. He spoke the language of her class and that class she had learned to despise. To-night she hated it more than ever before, for his very chatter brot back to her mind the preacher, the judge, the editor and her own father.

Finally unable to restrain himself any longer the boy blurted out, “What ails you Olive? Feel grouchy about something?”

“No,” she answered wearily. “I'm just thinking.”

“What do you mean?” he persisted. “Oh, I mean, I have gone to school for three years and have learned nothing that is really worth knowing.”

“What? You think you won't graduate this summer?” he asked with some solicitude in his voice.

“Oh, no, not that, I can't help graduating. But what good is it?”

“After that you can teach school if you want to,” Frank urged.

“No I could not, and what is more, I would not if I could.” And the way she said the last words made her companion wince. She went on, “If I want to teach school, I will have to go to Normal. That will prepare me to go into a school house and become a teacher. There is other work in the world better suited to my temperament

and I must master it if I am to make anything more than a living.” “You don't need to make a living. You are a woman. You can get married, and get your living for nothing,” Frank said, heedless of the tone of her former speech “You are nervous tonight Ollie,” he said as he slipped his arm around her as they passed in the shadow of a tall building.

His affection was evidently not welcome, for she disengaged herself quickly and told him to behave himself. Her action hurt his feelings, he decided to try to tray the performance with a little more force than before, with the result, that she slapped him in the face for his pains. “I'm in no mood to fool with you tonight Frank,” she said, with no little dignity, “be a man and behave yourself.”

“What's the matter Ollie? Don't you like me any more? What is the use acting like that.” And there was that in his voice that showed real concern. Altho it must be said the concern was only for himself.

“You never heard me talk at all. I have never dared to talk for fear of telling the truth, and finding myself alone in the world.”

“I don't get it,” he said querulously. “Nobody gets it, in this town. It seems that nobody understands any one but themselves, and they understand themselves very imperfectly. It is sure that they do not understand me.”

“I understand you,” her friend protested.

“No you don't. Nobody does for the simple reason that I do not think they think. I have only met one person who thinks as I think on many of the problems of life, and he in a few words said many of the things I have always wanted to say but did not know how to say them. He understood me without knowing me, and I understood him, in the same way,” she said solemnly.

“Who is he?” asked her friend, and there was a touch of bitterness in his voice.

“Oh, I do not mind telling you. He was the boy they had in jail last fall.” This little speech awakened forest memories in her companion. The screaming simian, and the growl of the cave man, were in his mind. It was good that he lacked the physical compromise with himself weakness must compromise or die. So he asked, “Haven't you forgotten that hobo yet?”

“No I have not,” Olive said quietly. “How could I? He showed me the greatness of life's problems, the real meaning of that awful thing called society. He showed me the blood on my fingers, on my food, on my clothes on the car in which I ride, on all the things I have, and on all the things you have. He showed me how unclean we are.”

Frank ignored her philosophy. He was now not in a philosophizing mood. Even if he had been capable of philosophy, she had told him the truth. He could not, and would not understand. “I told you had better sense than to fall in love with a hobo! He attempted to sneer but it counted more like a wall.

She stopped and faced him in the semi-darkness. A ray of light from a distant street lamp fell on her face. It might have revealed to him the glowing beauty of a mind on fire with an ideal. But the bourgeois mind is blind to both beauty and ideals. Still he was not unaware of his own inferiority. He belonged to the great average. She did not.

“Frank, said she firmly but not unkindly, “you are asleep to everything, but your own will and desire. You seem to think that the world was made for you. I feel that I should be for the world. You think only of your pleasure. I must think of the pleasure of others as well. You cannot understand my problems, therefore cannot help me to solve them. Now I want you to go Frank and leave me alone. I must think.” She started up the path and he followed for a few steps. “Go I say,” Olive repeated with a tone of finality which left him no alternative.

“Well I'll be darned!” he muttered. “She is still stuck on a nameless bum.”

Olive heard what he said but made no reply. His attitude was an aspect of the type struggle. He reacted in perfect harmony with his environment. She did not. Between him and Jack of course was the antagonism of the class House of Have from the House of Want.

She went straight to her room and there with her thoughts for companions, she went over all her hopes and longings, aspirations and fears. Jack's words from behind the jail bars put a purpose in her life, and that had become the driving power of her thought. She had decided to tear loose from her world with its deceptions, its deceptions, its lies masquerading as decency. She had started on the trail of truth and he who starts on that trail is following a ghost.”

She carefully counted her accomplishments. She could play the piano. Not marvelously, in fact she never would play marvelously. She had no special gift for music. She could play well enough to charm a lover but then those creatures are easily charmed if the player is pretty and the father is rich. She could not charm an audience any more than could a tom cat. She had studied mathematics but could she apply them to any practical purpose. Surely not, without any practical experience. She had studied English. Could she write a book? No, for the simple reason she had nothing to write about. She had been taught bookkeeping, yet she would need extra training to get a position. She had studied hard for three years. She could read, write, and say amo, amas, amax. What was it all good for? The school had just given her a peep into the intellectual world, but had not given her the needed weapons with which she might wage the battle for existence.

(Continued next week.)

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CLEVELAND, OHIO, FRIDAY, MAY 28th, 1920.

The Battle at Matewan

Another bloody clash has been added to the already long list of affrays between American coal miners and the scum of this vicious industrial system, the hordes of private detectives which infest every locality when the workers attempt to better their conditions.

Matewan, a mining hamlet among the West Virginia mountains is the scene. Responsive to their economic needs, the miners had organized themselves into a labor union for better protection against the excess exploitation to which they were subjected thru the greed of their employers, the Coal Barons.

The employers immediately dispatched a contingent of their private army armed to the teeth with revolvers and Winchester to make war upon the new union. This private army proceeded to ferret out the organizers and active members of the union and to evict them and their families from the properties of the mining company. Like most mining centers, Matewan is owned chiefly by the coal companies.

Having completed their work, the detectives waited at the station for their train to depart and there placed the chief of police under arrest. Sentiment against the actions of the detectives was running high in the village, and, like all American small towns, the arrival of a train being an event of importance, a goodly assembly of residents were on hand to witness it. Among these was the Mayor who interceded when he saw the chief of police arrested. He was immediately killed outright. His murderer being as quickly despatched by the police chief. In a moment a dozen or more men, chiefly private detectives lay dead and wounded on the spot. State troops have since patrolled the few dingy streets of this tiny centre of industry and the class struggle.

Thus, in a few days, has again been run the whole gamut of how many industrial battles? Beginning in the inhumanity and greed of conscienceless exploiters, which in turn, drives the workers into a league for defense, which, instead of being met in a spirit of tolerance, becomes an object of destruction by the exploiters, cost what it may. With an elemental viciousness equalled only by the power of wealth and the capitalist made laws, the destruction of the workers' union is executed. The class struggle bares its fangs and stamps its iron hoofs. Force, naked and weltering in blood amid the rattle of death volleys ensues. And chances are, those who have the most guns and use them first prevail, for power comes thru the operation of physical force now, as when the world was young and man fought man for the mastery of his hunting grounds.

A distressing scene certainly. But an excellent likeness in miniature of an economic system wherein the lives and welfare of the workers are subjected to the whim and desire of the class of robbers who own and operate for individual profit the industries of the nation. Such examples as Matewan teach the workers the innate criminality of such a system. Only workers' control of the mining industry with the title of ownership residing in a workers' government can right this criminal wrong. Let the workers prepare to own as well as operate the mines. By the workers, for the workers thru workers' control All power to the workers!

Buffers for Bolshevism

Since the counter revolution in Russia has been so decisively conquered and the hopes of world capitalism for the fall of Bolshevism have gone glimmering, it has placed much hope upon Germany and Poland as suffer states to stop the spread of bolshevism to the proletariat of Europe and the world. Herein was recognition of the power of bolshevik ideas if granted half a chance at operation. These hopes now seem to be on the verge of collapse.

Upon Poland especially, was reposed much confidence along this line. With a strong capitalistic state between Russia and Germany, the exploitation of Germany by the Allies might continue to the full satisfaction and greed of the victorious democracies, while at the same time, the power of Russia would cease at the Polish frontiers. Recently, a great deal of sympathy for the success of the Polish advance against the Red Army was manifest in the daily press. For a week past it has subsided and little news concerning activities from that section have made their appearance. But the past few days there has appeared news of Polish defeats of a very extensive character, indicating that the tide has turned and the counter advance of the Reds may bring to Russia as momentous victories over Polish aggression as over the counter revolutionists. Poland, as a buffer state stands every chance to collapse.

In Germany there are indications that another revolutionary upheaval is imminent. Recent provincial elections show that the strength of the Majority Socialists in the government is declining rapidly, this strength being about evenly divided between the reactionaries and the Revolutionists. Thus is the inevitable clash of the two social classes seen to be rapidly approaching. A Plain Dealer editorial of recent date indicates the attitude of the capitalistic minded upon this approaching crisis. Says the Plain Dealer:

If the Majority Socialists are to be eliminated the extremists will directly face each other, and it is difficult to see how a disastrous conflict can be avoided. Though no one is poor enough to do reverence to the men who have been ruling Germany it may well be hoped that their rule will continue. In such a field of evils as is today presented in Germany the middle-class Socialists appear almost good and their choice is easy.

Yes, a pseudo, socialism is perfectly satisfactory to capitalism. As between a choice of clear cut workers' control with the elimination of the capitalist class and a reformistic regime of half way socialization, the latter is undoubtedly to its liking, and in the coming crisis in Germany the Allies may be expected to support the latter.

The weakness of reform socialism is becoming emphatically evident in Germany. So far, it has failed utterly. How much longer it may be tolerated by the German people is a question which the coming elections will shed much light upon. There is a lesson in the German situation which the moderate socialists of the United States may well take to heart. While they are attempting to establish in this country a middle-of-the road socialism, the same thing in the land where it has been tried out by practical application is fal-

EDITORIAL & PARTY NEWS PAGE

Proletarian Science History

An economic interpretation of history especially arranged for use as a text-book for study classes, or for home study.

— By W. E. REYNOLDS. —
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OUTLINE FOR LOWER CIVILIZATION.

Beginning Use of the phonetic alphabet. Solonic Law.
Tools and Weapons Iron, steel and precious metals used. Gunpowder, firearms, compass. Evolution of primitive machinery such as water-wheel.
Transportation On land, wheeled vehicles and animals. On water, improved sailing vessels. Biremes and triremes.
Subsistence Similar to upper barbarism.
Shelter Buildings of stone, brick and hand-sawed plank-ing.
Clothing Hand woven fabrics of wool, cotton, flax and silk.
Environment All climates except frigid. Home the center of industry. Extension of agriculture and mining.
Organization Work for slaves, serfs and wage-earners. Ease, luxury and learning for the masters.
Arts and Institutions Monarchical and Imperial. Chattel slavery, serfdom and wage-slavery. Militarism. Monogamic marriage. Combined church and state. Primitive labor unions.
Duration Primitive factory. Wages system. Printing. Much less than upper barbarism. About four thousand years.

CHAPTER X.

LOWER CIVILIZATION.

Lower or hand-tool age.

The lower age of civilization begins with the appearance of the phonetic alphabet,—the alphabet evolved out of hieroglyphics used by the Babylonians and Hittites as early as two thousand years B. C.*) It was further developed and made more practical by the Phoenicians in their commercial relations with other nations. The alphabet was evolved in response to commercial necessity. It was the logical outgrowth of the commercial demand for accurate means of communication and a record of business transactions. The Phoenicians were one of the first great maritime powers of the world and therefore in the greatest need of written communications.**)

The tools in general were but an evolution of those used in upper barbarism and met the requirements of the industrial needs of that age. It was during this age that the water wheel as a source of power was first developed, by the Greeks in the time of Hesiod. Gunpowder made its appearance about the year 600 A. D. in China but was suppressed on account of its great destructivity. It was invented in Europe about two hundred years later. The fire arm was the logical result of the invention of gunpowder. This weapon has played a prominent part in the making of history.

Steel was developed to a high degree of perfection in Damascus, due to the liberation of slaves under the Solonic Law. In pre-Solonic days the slave having no hope in the world did not mingle his thought with his labor, with the result that industry did not keep pace with the military needs of the master in repelling barbarian invasion. It was agreed among the rulers of the primitive empires of Italy, Greece, Rome and Egypt, that higher technical skill in the industrial arts was needed. It was Solon who suggested the idea of liberating a certain portion of the slaves and giving them limited privileges based upon the degree of perfection in the industrial arts attained by them.***)

Out of the Solonic Law evolved the primitive labor union, that became the back-bone of Ancient Civilization. Damascus steel was a direct product of the unions operating under the Solonic Law.****)

It is customary with writers on the economic interpretation of history to place the beginning of civilization at the time of the appearance of the alphabet. Civilization really began with the inauguration of the Solonic Law. It is this law that gave to the masters a form in which they could use their economic power to coerce not only the physical but also the mental resources of their slaves. Physical violence can drive a slave to his task but it required another form to make him think about the improvement of his task. This was found in the system of rewards and immunities under the Solonic Law.

Transportation in lower civilization was a slight improvement over that of upper barbarism, especially in water transportation. The biremes and triremes now supplanted the former slave-propelled galleys, the only difference being in the number of slaves and oars.

The subsistence, shelter and clothing of lower civilization were practically the same as in the age of upper barbarism. There were a few additional fabrics and conveniences due to the further development of the tools of production.

Aryan man, during the age of lower civilization, extended his range from the Himalayas to Iceland, from

ling to pieces. Meanwhile, the Soviet government of Russia, established thru the proletarian dictatorship eliminating at once the bourgeoisie, grows stronger with each rising day. Yet, the Socialist Party at its recent national convention repudiated the principle of proletarian dictatorship as a tactic of the revolution. Since the ascendancy of the moderate socialists to power in Germany, civil war has been rife. Thousands of workers have fallen in the clashes with Noske's guards. But the final conflict between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie must and will arrive for all that.

Shall American socialists attempt that which is already proven a failure? Shall the agony and suffering of revolution be prolonged by dilly-dallying with half-way measures or shall the power of the workers be made supreme at once by denying the capitalist class any power whatever? To answer these questions in the negative is to build upon quicksand and to drain away in agony and suffering the blood of countless thousands of workers.

Let proletarian successes elsewhere teach us the tactics which entail the least suffering. Replace the dictatorship of the exploiting class with that of the useful producers, during the transition from capitalism to Communism.

his cities and trading centers and bought and trafficked Scandinavia to Spain. Wherever he went he established bartered and fought with his neighbors. Robbery and piracy were predominant amongst his early occupations.

Chattel slavery, which was a form of slavery based upon ownership of the person, gradually gave way to the institution of serfdom, which was a form of slavery based upon ownership of the land. Under this form of slavery the serf was sold with the land. He was a part of a Feudal Estate, having the legal status of real estate.

The two classes of society in this age were known as the Patricians and Plebeians. These classes were again subdivided: Patricians into warriors and priests and Plebeians into freeman and slaves. In each of these classes there were again degrees and castes, such as the ranks of soldiers, the orders of priests, the various crafts of the artisans. The serf was an agricultural slave with but little skill.

The life of the upper class during this age as during all others, since the division of society into classes, was a life of luxury, ease and arrogance. Feudalism was not the condition of the entire age of lower civilization, but grew out of the suppression of the Solonic Unions in the Roman Empire which made the Feudal Estate the center of industry. Feudalism was supreme during the dark ages for the reason that after the suppression of the Solonic Unions skill was not encouraged.

During the dark ages the power of the church was supreme. Church and state were one and inseparable, and made relentless war on all forms of intellectual activity, particularly genius of an investigative or inventive turn.

Out of the guild system of the lower age of civilization evolved the primitive factory which gave rise to the apprentice and wages system. The art of printing, like the alphabet itself, was made necessary by the pressure of the larger volume of commerce. The same causes also produced the compass.

The duration of the age of lower civilization was much less than upper barbarism. It began about 2000 B. C., and ended with the discovery of steam power in the eighteenth century.

*** Notice here the beginning of the use of chronological dates. Prior to written records, exact dates were an impossibility.

*** As early as 1000 B. C. the Phoenicians had long since given up the use of the inconvenient clay tablet of Babylonia, and were importing great quantities of papyrus paper from Egypt. They had devised their own system of twenty two signs for writing their own language. There were no signs for vowels or syllables. The Phoenicians were the first people to devise a system of writing containing nothing but alphabetic signs; that is true letters.

The Phoenicians arranged their new letters in a convenient order so that the whole twenty two might form a fixed list easily learned. Such a list could not be learned without giving to each letter a name. They called the first letter of the alphabet, ox, because the Phoenician word for ox, that is, alph, began with the first letter. The second began with the second letter, and so on. This was not unlike our old primers where our parents learned to say: "A is for 'axe', B is for letter, they called, house because beth, the Phoenician word for house "bed" etc. When the children of the Phoenician merchants learned their letters and were called upon to repeat the alphabet, they therefore began: "alph, beth," etc., as if our children were to say: "axe, bed," etc., instead of "A, B," etc.

The word alphabet itself confirms the history that the Phoenicians had the alphabet first, the Greeks borrowing the Phoenician names for the letters, the alphabet(a) having passed from the Greeks to the Latins and from them to us.

*** The heads of the Solonic Unions were elected on account of their master craftsmanship. They were called lords on account of their executive ability and masters on account of their ability as craftsmen. It was not an infrequent occurrence for one of these lords to offer themselves as a substitute or sacrifice in cases where their constituents were supposed to have merited death or re-enslavement for offenses involving a violation of the Solonic Law.

Here was the origin of The Christian concept of the Atonement. Christ the Lord and Master, volunteering himself as a sacrifice, for the sins of his followers. It is but the expression, in a religious form, of an ancient practice.

*** The reader is referred to the first volume of Ancient Lowly by C. Osborne Ward for a further amplification of the Solonic Law.

QUESTIONS FOR CHAPTER TEN.

1. What is a phonetic alphabet?
2. Explain the origin of the phonetic alphabet.
3. What was the Solonic Law?
4. Explain the origin of the primitive labor union.
5. Name the economic reasons for the advent of the Solonic Law.
6. What is a bireme? Trireme?
7. Name the predominant occupations of the Aryan man of this age.
8. What was chattel slavery?
9. What was serfdom?
10. Explain the gradations of the various classes in society at this time.
11. Explain the origin of Feudalism.
12. What was Feudalism?
13. What was the basis of industry under Feudalism?
14. What is meant by the term, "dark ages"?
15. What was the reason for the rise of Feudalism?
16. What was the guild system?
17. Why was inventive and investigative genius suppressed during the dark ages?
18. What was the economic reason for the invention of the art of printing?
19. Why was the compass invented?
20. What was the duration of the age of lower civilization?

(Continued next week)

LONDON—"Either a reactionary Germany will join the Allies, including Japan, in an attempt to exploit Russia's natural resources without recognizing the Soviet Government, or a democratic Germany will form an alliance with the Russian people."—this is the prediction of Brigadier-General C. B. Thompson, a member of Sir Douglas Haig's staff, as to what will happen in case the present methods of the Supreme Council continue.

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ANOTHER LIE NAILED!

— Skygac. —

All beggars are liars. Professional beggars of course become more expert at the game, (or is it an art?) of lying than the mere amateur and there are no professional beggars so expert at either begging or lying than the organized beggars masquerading under the guise of some denominational church. Now that all the denominations of note with the sole exception of the Baptists have gone into the interchurch World Movement, a sort of syndicated church movement, and gone into begging on a larger scale than ever before attempted—one would expect some clever lying. They are telling lies enough—(yes gentle reader—I know I'm using the short and ugly word—but let us call a spade a spade and then there will be no misunderstanding. The I. W. M. is spreading broadcast a fabric of lies—some of them fancy ones and most of them just the plain or garden variety of lies. Now whether or not the responsible parties back of the advertising campaign know they are lying—is of no particular moment. We will nail the lies—some of them and you can judge for yourself.

In one of the advertisements of the Interchurch World Movement we find it headed "A World Rebuilt" by the golden rule not by the rule of gold—but it's gold they're begging for! Asking the question "What are the most precious elements in America's life?" it answers it by more questions and answers. The first question is, "Respect for the home?" "Jesus found woman slaves. He made them companions. Down through the ages His church has BEEN THE CHAMPION OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND ASPIRATIONS." What a monstrous lie! Down thru the ages His church, THE church, ANY church, tenaciously clung to the doctrine voiced by that crusty old bachelor Paul, who told woman to keep her mouth shut in church and if she wished to know anything to go home and ask her husband. "Ask your pastor—HE KNOWS."

"Through the ages His church has been the champion of women's rights." What a lie! By authority of the first chapter of Genesis man has always claimed superiority. The inferiority of women has been preached from practically every pulpit through the ages. The Creator of the universe was a male and man was made in his image, hence he is the supreme and natural ruler of the world, to question which were rank heresy. As for woman she should be content as all "good" women have been content, thus to be the companion and servant (mostly servant) of this favored of the Gods. Woman exists not for herself but for man's comfort and convenience. That was the burden of thought which was taught by the church and which has crushed woman throughout the centuries—especially the ages dominated by Christian thought.

Hearken to what the AUTHORITY accepted by ALL "His Churches"—the Bible says concerning women. First Corinthians, chapter 14 verses 34 and 35 says, "Let your women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but they are commanded to be UNDER OBEDIENCE, as also saith the law. And if they will learn anything let them ask their husbands at home: for it is a shame for women to SPEAK IN YE CHURCH." Chapter eleven of First Timothy verses 11 and 12—"Let the women learn in silence WITH ALL SUBJECTION. But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence."

Columns more could be written but this is enough to prove the Interchurch World movement LIED.

WHEREFORE, YE WORKERS?

Men of America, wherefore plough For the lords who lay ye low? Wherefore weave with toil and care The rich robes your tyrants wear?

Wherefore feed and clothe and save, From the cradle to the grave, For these ungrateful drones who would Drain your sweat—nay, drink your blood!

Wherefore, Bees of America, forge Many a weapon, chain, and scourge, That these stinging drones may spoil The forced produce of your toil?

Have ye leisure, comfort, calm, Shelter, food love's gentle balm? Or what is it ye buy so dear With your pain and with your fear?

The seed ye sow another reaps; The wealth ye find another keeps; The robes ye weave another wears; The arms ye forge another bears.

Sow seed,—but let no tyrant reap; Find wealthlet no impostor keep; Weave robes,—let not the idle wear; Forge arms, in your defence to bear!

THE RED RUBY

Address to the Jury by Ben Gitlow. Also Darrow, the Judge and a final article by Antonio Giovannitti. 10c a copy. Address The Toiler

CHURCH AND CAPITALISM

We read that John D. Rockefeller, Jr., has started a campaign for the Interchurch World Movement. Personally I do not pay much attention to it. I realized, a long time ago, that the master-class, whenever it found itself in danger, called upon the aid of the churches and their clergymen. Rockefeller intimated that we have charged, (he means us socialists) that the capitalists class is desperately using the churches to keep the workmen contented so that they will be satisfied with their lot and not try to better their conditions on this earth, by promising them Heaven beyond the clouds, etc. He said that this is not the truth. Well now, let us see. What did we read about the attitude of the church during and after the war?

Dr. Joseph Kyle, President of Xenia, Ohio Theological Seminary, speaking at Chicago, Feb. 6, 1918, at the conference of "World Evangelism and Vital Christianity" at the Moody Bible Institute declared that a hero's death in battle was not necessarily a passport to Heaven. "Salvation," said Dr. Kyle, "is thru Jesus Christ alone. It would be pleasant to believe that the spirits of soldiers who died in battle go straight to Heaven." Furthermore, we read, "Christ seeks recruits—Soldiers of the Cross, to get in the fight." "Fighting is the business of the world," declared Dr. W. W. Bushard in his sermon in the Euclid Ave. Baptist Church, 18th St., Cleveland, O. "It would be as easy to be Christian soldiers as United States soldiers," he said,—"this despite the slogan of the church for nearly two thousands years, 'Thou shalt not kill.'"

Again, we read: "Cleveland, Dec. 16, 1918: Churches Great Aid To War." The charge that the church had failed in the world-war was denied yesterday morning by Dean H. P. Almon Abbot of the Trinity Cathedral who asserted that the churches have given their sons by the thousands and thousands to the armies and navies. These men have gone forth to fight the battles of God. We also read these statements: "Churches plan to fight the spread of Bolshevism," and, "Conference speakers call on clergymen to change their attitude toward the discontented." The part the churches must take in Americanization work, thus combating the spread of Bolshevism, was to be one of the principal topics Wednesday at the Sectional Conference in connection with the Interchurch World Movement of North America in session at Hotel Cleveland. This was said by Rev. D. D. Vaughn, nad E. A. Wright, Secretary of the Federated Churches of Cleveland. Here also we prove that the churches are consciously or unconsciously against the workingman. We read as follows: "Start campaign to keep foreign labor here after peace has been declared, Pittsburgh, Oct. 18, 1928." "A nation-wide movement which has for its object the retention of foreign labor in this country after the war has been launched here by Rev. A. Kazinsky, pastor of St. Michael church at Bradock, Pa. The clergyman pointed out that after the war 35 to 40% of the foreign laboring class may seek to return to Europe unless some method is devised to keep them here. Probably the priest became alarmed thinking of the loss in money and in members should these people leave the country. Capitalistic industry might also be short of men. But now listen to what we read after the war was over and the people realized that the war was fought for capitalistic interests and not to make the world "safe for democracy."

The Detroit Free Press on Nov. 9, 1919, urges the United States to deport foreign slackers. In a sermon, Rev. Joseph W. Cochran, pastor of Woodward Ave. Presbyterian Church, told his Sunday evening congregation, "We are in an inflamed state of mind toward the foreigners, enemy and slackers who have aroused us to a fierce anger and now we are fighting the plottings of the Revolutionary allies. It there any reason why such aliens should not be deported?"

Our answer to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., is that the master-class for thousands of years has been using the church for their own purposes. History tells us that Thomas D. Torquemada, inquisitor of Spain from 1482 to 1498, tortured, killed and burned 10,000 poor heretics on account of their convictions. Similar methods prevail today against those who do not agree with the master-class. Torquemada failed and you will fail also. We today have Nikolai Lenin and Eugene V. Debs and others who concern themselves about the welfare of the masses, and we do not need the aid of the masters and your brother clergymen.

When the time comes we will have a new and more brotherly world to live in where everybody will enjoy a better and happier life. At the present time, we are willing to trade our interests in the Heaven beyond the grave for only one day of your income.

A. Socialist.

A supply of literature goes forward to the new book store which comrades at Cincinnati have installed.

HEALING THE WOUNDS

— By Anise. —

Along the Rhine
The MILITARISTS of France
Are starting the fighting
All over again.
As if they didn't know how
To QUIT;
And the FINANCIERS
Of the world
Still DICKER
Over a bankrupt Europe
Coming to no conclusion;
The League of Nations
Still goes on
"FIDDLING
While Rome burns";—
But the WORKERS of France
Who suffered MOST
In the war
Have Started
HEALING the WOUNDS!
They have taxed themselves
One franc apiece
Through their labor unions,
Two and a half million francs
To relieve
Their "comrade enemies"
In Austria!
And the workers
In other nations
Are doing the same.

The unionists of Holland
Have voted a half day's pay
For the BABIES
That starve in Vienna,
And forty cars of food
Were sent
By the International Federation
Of Labor Unions.
Italian Socialists are feeding
Ten thousand Austrian children,
And the unions of Denmark
Have LOANED
To the German unions
Funds from their special reserve
At low rates of interests.
The miners of England
Have sent large sums of money
For the saving of LIFE
In Central Europe,
It is the WORKERS
Who know without argument
That the hurt of ONE
Is the hurt of ALL;
And the hunger of one
Is the hunger of all!
Only WE
The workers of America
Have not yet joined
Our fellow-workers in Europe
In healing
The wounds of the WORLD!

Ruminations of a Rebel

— By Tom Clifford —

How evanescent is fame! Less than two years ago President Wilson was loudly acclaimed by press and pulpit the super-angel of world democracy and universal peace. "How have the mighty fallen!" The erstwhile eulogies that once appeared in the daily press are conspicuous by their absence. It now seems probable that when the President leaves this vale of tears his passing will excite but brief comment. He had an opportunity that comes to but few men to place his name alongside that of Lincoln in the hall of fame. Had he considered social service above personal ambition he would now be receiving the plaudits of the multitude instead of almost universal condemnation. The contrast between his career and that of Eugene V. Debs stands out in conspicuous relief. Although Wilson still occupies the highest office within the gift of the people of this nation, his personality excites practically no interest, and he is fated to go to his grave "unwept, unhonored and unsung." 'Gen' Debs is an inmate of a federal prison—a convict—yet his personality is enshrined in the hearts of millions and his name will go down to posterity as one who loved—and loving, served—his fellow men. Debs will live in history. Wilson is already practically forgotten.

Herbert Hoover, the much touted candidate for President, is a typical bourgeois. In harmony with his class interests he is doing his bit in denouncing Russia's Soviet government. With unblushing effrontery he shamelessly repeats the lying tales of anarchy and bloodshed in Russia, which have been refuted by scores of reputable witnesses and which every well informed person knows to be false. Hoover is just a common bourgeois liar when he says that the Soviet government has "wrecked itself on the rock of production." To Hoover—as to all the bourgeoisie—"the wish is father to thought." A Socialist government spells economic disaster to his class. His denunciation of the dictatorship of the proletariat is a perfectly natural concomitant of his desire to perpetuate the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Economic determinism prompts him and all of his class to denounce the one and glorify the other. Hoover has special reasons for bitterness toward the new regime in Russia. At the breaking out of the war he held valuable mining concessions in that country of which he has been dispossessed, and no bourgeois is inclined to tolerate such interference with his interests with equanimity. If the Soviet government survives the storm and stress incidental to a social change, Hoover and his fellow adventurers will be shut out of that prolific field of exploitation. A further source of worry to this gang of robbers is the alarming possibility of the spread of Socialism throughout the world should the Russian "experiment" prove a success, in which event these gentlemen of leisure would have to get off the backs of the workers and earn their own living. The prospect is not at all alluring. No wonder Hoover is peeved.

The white and colored races are soon to be pitted against each other in a world war if we are to accept the deductions of Lathrop Stoddard, a biological historian, in a book just published—"The Rising Tide of Color." Being always suspicious of the honesty of these literary fellows, I am inclined to believe that the author's chief purpose is to keep alive race prejudice, which has always been a notable factor in preventing solidarity among the workers. The religious dope doesn't work as effectively as it used to. Leave it to the bourgeoisie to invent new methods of sidetracking the minds of the workers from a consideration of the one and only question that means anything—their economic emancipation. So long as they refrain from giving this matter attention the master class feel safe.

The intelligent observer of current history has ample reason to be amused over the inanity of the American bourgeoisie. Their lack of vision renders them unfit to cope with the astuteness of the exploiters in Europe. The fact is now revealed that the English government, during the entire war period, spared enough time from the task of "making the world safe for democracy" to "cinch" control of the European oil fields. Wise guys, these Brits. This will insure the English bourgeoisie commercial supremacy. That is what they were fighting for. Pity the gullibility of the American "muds" who childishly thought otherwise. While the were sacrificing millions of treasure and thousands of human lives England was "bringing home the bacon." Score another installment of perfidy for "Perfidious Albion."

NEW YORK—The immediate release of the seventy-nine conscientious objectors still imprisoned by the War Department is urged upon President Wilson in petition from thirty-seven states bearing 20,834 signatures, just forwarded through the American Civil Liberties Union, New York.

The petitions were transmitted with a letter signed by Professor Harry F. Ward, chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union, and by Norman Thomas and John Haynes Holmes of the Union's committee on conscientious objectors. The letter read, in part: "The petitions represent a body of opinion growing out of the centuries of struggle for religious and political freedom. They are just one expression of the increasing resistance throughout the country to the principle of conscription, alien to the traditions and professions of American liberty."

PARIS—"Art for art's sake" came against a real snag in the L'Ambigu theater here, when the directors contracted for the production of Nonziere's "Life is Good." The well known actor Carpentier, was asked to play the role of a member of the General Federation of Labor, who is held up to ridicule throughout the play. Carpentier refused. The actors' association, which is affiliated with the General Federation of Labor, backed Carpentier up. Nonziere refused to rewrite the play. The management could not produce it without actors, so was forced to cancel the contract.

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Maxim Gorky Addresses the Monarchists

(Continued from 1st page.)

in question did not deserve it. That is where the whole horror and tragedy lies.

Madam! Are you still fully convinced that you have a right to demand humane treatment, when you yourself have all your life been merciless to your fellow-creature, not considering him a human being, your equal? You are writing letters. You are educated. You have probably read books, in which the life of the peasant is described. What can you expect from the peasants, when you knowing their lives, did not anything to alleviate their suffering? Now you are the unfortunate one and you are writing with a hand trembling with fear, writing to a man who—as you might have known—can neither take away your fear, nor alleviate suffering. No, indeed! No! Such are the ways of the world; hearts are places for compassion.

But life in a country, where the people were being beaten up by whips and knouts; in a country where ribs were broken and where people were being crippled for the sake of amusement; in a country where oppression had no bounds, where violence was assuming such forms that one could and shame of it—in such a country compassion cannot be found. The people go out of one's mind with the horror

ple, brought up on beatings and violence, on the fist and the knout—such a people cannot be softened. The people, on whose bodies the policemen tread, can tread on the bodies of other people. In a country where inequality has so long reigned, it is difficult for the people to introduce the reign of justice.

We cannot demand that the man who never saw justice should be just. Everything is clear in this world, in which you Madam and your social set have permitted the reign of violence without even a protest. These people feel a slap more keenly than it was felt fifty years ago by the valet of your father.

The people have developed. In the process of their development, self-respect has grown. Nevertheless, they were still treated as slaves and looked upon as cattle.

Madam! Do not demand from the people that which you did not give them. You have no right to claim the mercy of the people. This people was oppressed. It is being oppressed even now by those who retained some sort of power over them. Now, when Czarism and capitalism brought the country to revolution, all the dark forces of the people came into play. All that people were being beaten up by whips and knouts; in a country where ribs were broken and where people were being crippled for the sake of amusement; in a country where oppression had no bounds, where violence was assuming such forms that one could and shame of it—in such a country compassion cannot be found. The people go out of one's mind with the horror

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By SYDNEY FLOWER, LL. D.

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