

Labor Produces
All Wealth
Unto Labor It
Should Belong

THE CANADIAN FORWARD

"WORKERS OF
WORLD UNITE"
YOU HAVE NOTHING
TO LOOSE BUT
CHAINS, AND A
WORLD TO GAIN.

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIAL - CRATIC PARTY

New Series, Vol. 1, No. 26

TORONTO, CA

NOVEMBER 24TH, 1917.

"THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS HAS BEEN IN EVERY COUNTRY THE LAST LIBERTY WHICH SUBJECTS HAVE BEEN ABLE TO WREST FROM POWER. OTHER LIBERTIES ARE HELD UNDER GOVERNMENTS, BUT THE LIBERTY OF OPINION KEEPS GOVERNMENTS THEMSELVES IN DUE SUBJECTION TO THEIR DUTIES. THIS HAS PRODUCED THE MARTYRDOM OF TRUTH IN EVERY AGE, AND THE WORLD HAS BEEN ONLY PURGED FROM IGNORANCE WITH THE INNOCENT BLOOD OF THOSE WHO HAVE ENLIGHTENED IT." --Lord Erskine, Defence of T. Paine, 1792.

Socialist Peace Attitude Vindicated by Asquith

The advance which Mr. Asquith's speech at Leeds revealed towards a negotiated people's peace based upon genuine endeavors to cut out of the life of nations the cancer of militarism was a remarkable sign of the times, and Mr. Asquith will receive laurels for speaking, rather late in the day, just those truths which have earned mud for Mr. MacDonald from the beginning.

The world needs immediate peace, an end to this long agony, and if Mr. Asquith is ready—his speech offers indications that he is not altogether unready—to seize the hour to lead the movement in our own land to the opening of negotiations he will ride back on the crest of the wave of popularity.

A Blow to the Fight-to-a-Finishers.

Mr. Asquith struck the peace note in his opening sentences: "One does not need to witness with one's own eyes, as I did myself last week when I went over the French and Flemish villages in actual dissolution of war, to feel that the attainment of peace is at this moment the supreme necessity of mankind." Of course, he laid it down that the peace must be based on a "solid rock of right internationally recognized and guaranteed," and there is not one of us who will dissent. More explicitly he added:

You cannot look to a peace which is worthy of the word in any arrangement imposed by the victor on the vanquished which ignores the principles of right and sets at defiance the historic traditions and aspirations, and the liberties of the people affected. Such so-called treaties contain within themselves their own death-warrant, and simply provide fertile breeding grounds for future wars.

That is a tremendous admission, and, as Mr. Asquith assumes that victory can only be for the Allies, it is a heavy blow aimed against our own blood-and-iron fight-to-a-finishers. It is a clear and emphatic repudiation of the "knock-out-blow" philosophy.

The late Premier cited the peace of 1871 in support of this view, as Mr. MacDonald has done a score of times before him. The appropriation of Alsace-Lorraine without any regard to the will of the inhabitants, "that act of high-handed and short-sighted violence" was, he said, "the primary, though, of course, not the only, cause of the race in armaments which went on in ever-accelerated pace between the Great Powers for 40 years before the outbreak of this war," and "by far the larger share of the calamities which are now devastating the world

has to be traced, directly or indirectly, to that single act of spoliation and its inevitable consequences." Thus is the imprisoned Morel vindicated by a high authority. He said long enough ago that for France this was primarily a war for Alsace-Lorraine, and now it is being revealed to us that the rallying cries of "liberty" and "democracy" were but the noise and clamor of Imperialists to divert attention from the territorial hunger that really led to the war.

The Grave Danger.

Mr. Asquith, in urging consultation of the will of the peoples concerned before any territory is handed about from one Power to another as the spoils of war, is taking to himself one of the first principles of a people's peace.

A Frank Invitation to Germany.

The invitation to Germany to state plainly her intentions in Belgium, as a first step to peace negotiations, is almost undiplomatic in its commendable directness, and—another powerful blow at the knock-out school—he makes it plain that with a few first conditions offered and accepted negotiations might be begun. "There are questions which may, and indeed must, be left over for discussion and negotiation after the combatants have agreed to drop their arms." That, at least, is facing facts, and it gives ground for hope, after the sickening repetitions of a desire which meant, if they meant anything at all, that the "victory" was to be so much that of a dictator that no question would be left open for discussion, and no German left to discuss it with.

"It is no part of our war policy," Mr. Asquith declares, "to aim at the annihilation of Germany or the permanent degradation of the German people," and in a wonderfully significant sentence he argues that the experience of the war "shows, for the instruction and warning of others, whither a na-

many years' purchase—and I lay stress upon this—if it permits the opening and the re-opening of an era of what I may call a veiled warfare. It is immaterial by what methods, whether of so-called precaution or of overt preparation, or in what forms—naval, military, diplomatic, economic—the disturbing and disrupting forces are allowed to operate. We must banish once for all from our catalogue of maxims the time-worn fallacy that if you wish for peace you must prepare for war.

It is not many months since Mr. Asquith was courageous and frank enough to announce his complete conversion on the question of women's suffrage. This magnificent assertion of pacifist principle seems to imply another conversion, for the record of the Foreign Office when he was Prime Minister, in intimate association with Lord Grey, certainly does not disclose a policy so pacific.

His present policy at least offers hope for a nobler relationship of nations, and he expresses it in terms which will be accepted and endorsed by all who base their political philosophy and social theories upon the sacredness of human life.

For the first time in history, he says, we make an advance towards the realization of our ideal—the creation of a world-wide policy uniting the peoples in a confederation of which justice will be the base and liberty the corner-stone. The limitation of armaments, the acceptance of arbitration as the normal and natural solvent of international disputes, the relegation of wars of ambition and aggression between States to the same category of obsolete follies in which we class the faction fights of the old republics and private duelling—these will be milestones which mark the stages of the road.

They will also be milestones on the road to Socialism, for goodwill among the peoples must be established before the seeds of the Socialist ideal can fall on fruitful ground.—Labor Leader, England.

GEORGE DID IT

George Clarke, a celebrated negro minstrel, on one occasion when being examined as a witness, was severely interrogated by a lawyer.

"You are in the minstrel business, I believe?" inquired the lawyer.

"Yes, sir," was the reply.

"Is that not rather a low calling?"

"I don't know but what it is, sir," replied the minstrel; "but it is so much better than my father's that I am rather proud of it."

The lawyer fell into the trap.

"What was your father's calling?" he inquired.

"He was a lawyer," replied Clarke, in a tone that sent the whole court into a roar of laughter as the discomfited lawyer sat down.—Hyde Reporter.

Bainbridge Sentenced

Just as the Issue of the "Forward" went to Press, word was received that Judge Hodgins has sentenced Comrade Bainbridge to 9 months to the Jail Farm, Richmond Hill. His Attorney will appeal his case to Higher Court and expects to have him out again on bail in a few days.

Send all contributions for Bainbridge
Defence Fund to H. Perkins
363 Spadina Ave.,
Toronto,

Our governing principle is one which I believe all the free peoples in the world are ready and even eager to accept, that you must proceed on the lines of racial affinity and historical tradition, and, above all, of the actual wishes and inspirations of the inhabitants.

The grave danger of the moment is that the Imperialists who have snatched the seats of power in Europe will strive to cheat the world out of the applications of that principle, and to arrange a peace in accordance with the old vicious ideas of plunder and aggrandisement which are the very essence of Imperialist thought.

tion is bound to tend when it submits itself for a generation to the guidance of militarism and materialism walking hand in hand." Let Britain take the warning. It comes at a critical moment in her history.

Repudiation of Paris Resolutions.

It is a little curious, and decidedly puzzling, to find one of the engineers of the famous Paris Conference resolutions making so fine a protest against the "veiled warfare" these resolutions were meant to initiate. The Liberal leader said:

When we are endeavoring to forecast the lineaments of an enduring peace, such a peace will not be worth

WHAT OTHERS ARE THINKING

The Call of the Millionaire.

The following article, in part, was published under the above caption in The "Saturday Evening Post," Oct. 13, 1917, and credited to A. W. Atwood:

Wealth has never yet sacrificed itself on the altar of patriotism in any war," declared Senator La Follette not long ago. "On the contrary it has ever shown itself eager to take advantage of the misfortunes which war always brings to the masses of the people."

If this already classic denunciation of the millionaires of America be true then the task of raising some \$20,000,000,000 for war would seem almost impossible. If wealth did not do its full and patriotic share in the first Liberty Loan and if it fails likewise to do its share in the second loan, then La Follette is right and wealth is a thing accursed. And in these loans we have a vast object lesson in the motives of investment, a flood of light on the impulses to which rich and poor alike respond, whether they spring from the generous, unselfish nature of the patriot or the low sordid heart of the tax dodger and profiteer.

Expressed in its most brutal form, do the rich buy war loans from patriotism or to escape taxes? The first Liberty Loan paid only three and a half per cent. interest, but it was made free from all taxes, including the enormous supertoll on large incomes. Thus it comes about that a very rich man if able to change all his fortune over into these war bonds would escape such heavy taxes that he would be receiving the equivalent of perhaps ten per cent. interest on an investment that pays the poor man hardly more than one-third as much.

At a meeting where workmen were being urged to buy Liberty bonds there sat on the platform the very wealthy president of a big national bank and one of the richest corporation lawyers in the country.

"Take the bonds, my friends," shouted the speaker, "and keep these gentlemen on the platform, from buying them to reduce their supertaxes!"

This remark brought down the house and while the audience roared with delight the banker and the corporation lawyer blushed. "You can't persuade the people," said the speaker in discussing the incident several months later, "that anything but cupidity led the rich to buy these bonds. To persuade them of anything else would be a hopeless task."

SOCIALISM SPREADS AS RESULT OF WORLD WAR

The war has produced a movement towards Socialism which, had peace lasted, would not have risen for fifty years. The war has proved strikingly that the strength of a nation is dependent not merely on its population, wealth and natural resources, but also on the degree to which these elements of strength are mobilized for socially beneficial objects, and not for mere private use or gain.

That Germany's power to endure the stresses of the war is largely due to the fact that she has taken over "in toto" many of the economic doctrines of Socialism, and although her State Socialism is perverted to-day, she needs little more than political freedom to be a complete Socialist state. That similarly France, England and Italy, which have long possessed political freedom, have been forced by the stress of war to take immense strides towards the utilization of every resource for the social good of the whole. That the Russian revolution has placed the feet of that great nation also definitely on the path to Socialism, although the entire mechanism of Socialist organization has still to be constructed.

Such prognostications insist that this

wave of Socialism is now about to reach America.

But the goose flesh which the word Socialist once raised on most Americans is no longer felt. And this is but natural. For it is impossible to keep on having a horror of Socialists when one regards the Socialists of Germany as the only progressive people in the empire of the Hohenzollerns and when one has rejoiced unreservedly at the overthrow of the Romanoffs by the Socialists of Russia.

—From Philadelphia Public Ledger.

A FLATTERING ATTACK ON BRITISH PACIFISTS

The Harmsworth Press has burst out into a furious attack upon the pacifist propaganda. This is very satisfactory. It is evidence of the effectiveness of the agitation. It is an indication, too, that the Jingo party fear that peace is imminent, and they are making their last frantic efforts to prevent that from coming to pass. The columns of attack upon the pacifist propaganda which have appeared in these newspapers within the last few days are produced in the main from the imagination of what Carlyle called "these Fleet Street apes." The various peace propaganda bodies are doing what they have been doing for the last three years, namely, trying to bring the British people to the conclusion at which Mr. Asquith has now arrived, that peace is the most important concern of mankind. There is not the least intention of moderating the peace propaganda activities because of the threat of a Government inquiry into the bona fides and antecedents of those who are financing our work. The origin of the money spent by the Peace organizations in this country will bear investigation, much more so than the sources of the money which is being spent by some of the organizations agitating for the continuation of the war. The money for the peace propaganda in this country comes from men and women who are willing to make sacrifices for the principles they hold. We are not in the least surprised that the Jingo party are becoming alarmed at the extent of the peace movement in this country. If their leaders are kept correctly informed of the marvellous success of the peace meetings now being held daily in all parts of the country they have some ground for their alarm. Meanwhile, we await with calm indifference any action the authorities may choose to take.—Labor Leader.

THE POLITICIAN AND HIS SHEEP

The following cutting from an American journal is not without its value to electors on this side of the line.

The politician is my shepherd, I shall not want anything good during the campaign. He leadeth me into the saloon for my vote's sake. He filleteth my pockets with cigars, and my beer glass runneth over with foaming lager. He inquireth particularly concerning the health of my family, even to the fourth generation. Yea, though I walk through the mud and rain to vote for him, and shout myself hoarse when he is elected, he straightway forgetteth me and mine. Yea, though I meet him in his own office he knoweth me not. Surely the wool has been pulled over my eyes all the days of my life.

A BRITISH VON TIRPITZ

A bluff and fighting old sea-dog is Fisher—one against whom, perhaps, were he in the enemy's ranks, the British press might bring the charge of being an apostle of Treitschke. Nothing in any German writings sounds much more like advocacy of schrecklichkeit than this definition of war delivered by the English admiral in the course of a speech:

The humanizing of war! You might as well talk of humanizing hell. When a silly ass got up at the Hague conference, and talked about the amenities of civilized warfare—putting your prisoners' feet in hot water, and giving them gruel—my reply, I regret to state, was considered unfit for publication. As if war could be civilized! If I am in command when war breaks out, I shall issue as my commands:

"The essence of war is violence. Moderation in war is imbecility. Hit first, hit hard, hit all the time, hit everywhere."

Humane warfare! When you wring the neck of a chicken, all you think about is wringing it quickly.—Munsey's for October.

THE TESTIMONY OF MARTYRDOM "IMMORTAL FAME."

It would almost seem as if the cruellest part of a soldier's life is that he is robbed by it, at any rate while on active service, of the martyrs power to uplift by his death the cause for which he stands. This is borne out by the recent experiences of the fighters for Irish freedom. Many brave and true men fell fighting in the Easter rebellion, but none of them in their dying shook the hearts of their fellows like James Connolly and Thomas Ashe, who met their death while unarmed and helpless in the hands of their captors. We gladly print the following poem:

To Thomas Ashe.

Thought he not that life was worth the living,

He, who gave

All his wisdom, all his glorious manhood,

To the grave?

Was he weary of the misty Irish mountains

By the sea;

Or the heather, with the wild wind sweeping o'er it,

Soft and free?

Did he love no more the prattle of the children—

The sweet tie

That binds us to the magic land of Nature

As years fly?

Nay, but he gave his life to buy their freedom,

That they might be

The Lovers of that Ireland of his vision

Even as he.

There, from the squalid floor—a royal deathbed,

The prison cell!

The dying victor sends the ringing message—

That all is well.

In, thro' the door of Freedom's Fame,

he passes,

With regal pace,

To meet the heroes and the martyrs of the ages,

Face to face.

Let us, his friends, who live to bear his burden,

Nor faint nor fall,

So may we fall, still passing on his message,

That all is well.

Anna G. Lang.

GIVE THE CHILDREN A CHANCE

(Toronto News.)

Environment counts for more than heredity. Nature is ever striving to eradicate in the children the weaknesses of the parents—if she is only given a chance. If the sins of the father are visited upon the child it is largely because the one grows to maturity in the same surroundings as the other. Ninety-nine per cent. of children taken from the slums sufficiently early and given a chance for a decent healthy development under proper physical,

mental and moral conditions, grow into valuable citizens. This is history.

WHERE DID HE LEARN IT?

A teacher of English, in order to disprove the charge that high school pupils know little about the vital things that are going on around them, gave a test in which she asked for definitions of such terms as tariff, reciprocity, the labor problem. In the paper of a 15-year-old she found this: "The labor problem is how to keep the working people happy without paying them enough to live on."—La Follette's Weekly.

Correspondence

Corner Clarke Harbour, N.S.

Editor Canadian Forward:

Dear Comrade,—Kindly allow me space in your valuable paper to speak out a few of my innermost thoughts. I admire right whatever the cost may be, that is why I enjoy reading the Socialist papers. Since the beginning of the war I've been strongly opposed against any movement to continue the war. Is there no other way to settle those difficulties of trade matters than to prolong this inhuman struggle to the destruction and degradation of humanity?

"I came not to destroy the world but to save it." What is man doing to-day? He is not only destroying the world and lives of men but also inflicting punishment on the man or woman who tries to bring about peace, and upon the men who have no desire for the thirst of blood of their fellow-man. Who made the law that men should be compelled to go to war against their will; is it not a person of diabolic nature that would do such a thing? Will that same person that would compel men to do this step down from his lofty perch and take his place amongst the boys in the trenches? Oh, no; his gold and his position keeps him away from active service. I believe every pacifist is justified in the work they are carrying on; they remind me of the Christian martyr of old. The prison bars will burst some day and the name of the pacifist live long after these war lords' names are forgotten.

Sometimes when I think of the delusive ways in which the poor boys were carried off to war and the conditions they are brought back home in, the desire to bring about peace is uncontrollable, one would do and dare anything to save the boys. A woman whose son was sent to her a cripple from this war made the remarks: "I wouldn't mind if the people would recognize him, poor boy; without his health and faculties he is of no consequence now. The lines of some of Oscar Wilde's poems occur to me: "Oh, thou whose wounds are never healed;

Whose weary race is never run.
Oh, Cromwell's England, must thou yield

For every inch of ground a son?"

Why should the pacifist be molested in trying to save humanity? Why should their voices be stifled? Why do the ministers of the gospel allow the sacred hymns to be changed into parodies such as "When the Roll is Called for Service, and I'm Wanted at the Front," etc., also "March on British Soldiers." Those songs are written on the blackboard in the public schools and sung by the children, and still the churches and ministers approve of such. It seems the world in a greater part of it has gone mad.

Continue, socialists and pacifists and fight on for humanity's cause. There will be a way out—clear it for victory over war.

Yours for peace.

Mrs. R. C. Maxwell.

ITEMS OF NEWS FROM ALL PARTS

THE MESSAGE FROM ST. PAUL

High Cost of Living Conference.

Conditions of high cost of living seems to be very similar in the grain growing parts of Canada and the U.S. A. do they not, Reuben Canuck, in spite of other tales which party heelers, press newspapermen in Egyptian bondage, and Big Biz parasites may tell you?

The federal N.P.L. of Canada in its political program declares the main issues to be "the political supremacy of the people." "If we must arm," cried Benjamin C. Marsh, chairman of the program committee, at St. Paul, "let it be to march on Washington and restore the government to the people." If we must arm, asserts the N.P.L. in Canada, let it be to march on Ottawa and restore the government to the people. It is all summed up in the agitation against "the Borden Big Interests" concern!

Certain Socialists were present at the great St. Paul gathering as members of the nonpartisan league welcomed there as in Canada into the nonpartisan membership ranks because the nonpartisans have recognized that these Socialists are the introducers of the new socialism, "the evolutionary socialists rather than the revolutionary socialists, in short such Socialists as are willing to put their theories to the test of experience as to whether practical or impractical. If these Socialists had not belonged to this new school of socialists who believe in education and experience rather than revolution they would never have been able to have worked in unison with the non-socialists in a nonpartisan alliance. To portray these men as anarchists and by every other epithet imaginable as was done in the late provincial elections by debased party heelers and politicians was an insult to the principles of these Socialist reformers and the very opposite to every instinct of British fair play. At a time when the whole of Continental Europe is one sweltering mass of Socialism it shows the greatest lack of wisdom to run down the Socialists too much as the reward of the Anglo-Saxon race for doing so may be a war against a united Socialist Europe. The obvious deduction then is that if the Anglo-Saxons want to go down in the struggle for existence the only thing they have to do to consummate this end is to persecute the Socialists. Think it all over, Reuben Canuck. Does it not look best to let the Socialists have graduation from persecution?

"This meeting (at St. Paul) was called by the National Nonpartisan league for the purpose of bringing together the farmer and wage earner.—Non-Partisan Leader.

THE WILLIAM J. BURNS INTERNATIONAL DETECTIVE AGENCY, INC.

The eyes of the American continent are upon the American Federation of Labor convention, also the eyes of the detective agencies. Here is a demonstration of the fact:

October 25th, 1917.

Gentlemen:

The Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor is to be held at Buffalo, New York, starting the first week of November. You are probably aware that this Convention is the most important in the history of the Organization. There is considerable unrest in the labor field, and the work of this Convention will have important bearing upon the steps that will be taken by the Organization during the coming year.

We have two representatives who

will attend the Convention as delegates. These Investigators are placed in such capacities that they will be able to obtain complete inside information relative to the work of the various committees. As you very likely know, it is at the private meetings of the delegates that plans are formulated, and the policy of the Organization discussed in detail. Our representatives will attend these committee meetings, and will report in detail daily everything of interest which occurs.

We are offering to our clients copies of the reports of both our representatives at a rate of \$25.00 for the complete reports. For your further information, we are attaching hereto, a brief resume of the situation, which may enlighten you upon the matter. If you are interested, we shall be pleased to have you advise us, and arrangements will be made to furnish you with a complete set of reports.

Very truly yours,

The William J. Burns
International Detective Agency, Inc.
Wm. R. Tucker, Manager.

WORKING CLASS CANDIDATES, FEDERAL ELECTION, 1917.

- Ontario.**
Algoma West—James Lockwood.
Brantford—M. MacBride.
Ft. William and Rainy River—A. H. Dennis.
Hamilton East—G. A. Halcrow.
Hamilton West—W. R. Roll.
Nipissing—C. Harrison.
Pt. Arthur and Kenora—J. A. Dunbar.
Toronto East—J. T. Vick.
Toronto South—D. A. Carey.
Toronto West—J. W. Bruce (Soc.)
Waterloo North—M. Smith (Soc.)
Waterloo South—Thos. Hall.
Welland—J. A. Hughes.
Wellington South—L. Cunningham (Soc.)
Wentworth—T. V. Tlatman (Soc.)
York South—J. T. Gun.
York East—J. A. Ballantyne.
- Saskatchewan**
Regina—H. Perry.
Saskatoon—James Casey.
- Alberta.**
Calgary East—John Reid (Soc.)
Calgary West—Rev. W. Irvine.
Medicine Hat—G. Paton (Soc.)
Red Deer—J. R. Knight (Soc.)
- Manitoba.**
Brandon—E. J. Disson.
Winnipeg Centre—R. H. Ward.
Winnipeg North—R. A. Rigg (Soc.)
- Quebec.**
George Etienne Cartier—M. Buhay (Soc.)
Hochelaga—G. Martel.
Maisonneuve—Halley.
St. Ann's—D. Gallery.
St. Denis—A. Verville.
St. James—J. A. Perrault.
- Nova Scotia.**
Cape Breton South—R. Baxter.
Richmond—John Gillis.
Halifax—R. Lenor.
- British Columbia.**
Kootenay West—J. A. Austin.
Kootenay East—Thos. Biggs.
Skeena—R. D. Stock.
Vancouver Centre—W. A. Pritchard (Soc.)
Vancouver South—J. H. McVety.
Victoria—A. S. Wells.
Nanimo—J. Taylor.
St. John—D. Moullin.

SIR WILFRID AND PREMIER GOUIN OF QUEBEC GIVE FORTH AN OMINOUS CHALLENGE.

Quebec, Nov. 10.—Both Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Sir Lomer Gouin, premier of Quebec, threw down an ominous challenge to the English-speaking sections of the Dominion, at a great gathering here last night, which tendered

Sir Wilfrid the unanimous nomination as Liberal candidate in Quebec—Soulages. Both Liberal leaders practically defied the government of the day to enforce conscription.

Sir Wilfrid said: "The Conscription bill has been brutally forced upon the people; the province of Quebec can be won over by appeals to its sympathy, but it can never be won over by compulsion."

Sir Lomer Gouin said: "No power in the world can impose conscription on the people against their will. There is no man strong enough to impose this measure on us if we don't want it. Nobody should forget this."

SECOND REFERENDUM ON CONSCRIPTION IN AUSTRALIA

Melbourne, Australia, Nov. 9.—(Via Reuter's Ottawa Agency).—The newspapers warmly applauded the government's decision to take another referendum on conscription, but deplore the delay which it involves. It is declared that the government should stake its existence and the life of parliament on the success of the appeal. It is stated that the soldiers at the front will again have the vote. The official Labor party which bitterly opposed the last referendum is not able to fight strongly against the coming referendum owing to lack of funds. Voting on the referendum will likely take place on Dec. 15.

AUSTRALIA'S CONSCRIPTION REFERENDUM SET DEC. 22

Melbourne, Australia, Nov. 10.—(Via Reuter's Ottawa Agency).—The conscription referendum voting day has been fixed for December 22.

CONSPIRACY CHARGED AGAINST "MASSES" STAFF.

Max Eastman, editor-in-chief of the "Masses," Floyd Dell, managing editor; Art Young, artist; and C. Merrill Rogers, Jr., business manager, four of the seven staff members indicted by the federal grand jury on the charge of conspiracy in violation of the Espionage law, appeared before Judge Julius M. Mayer in the United States district court yesterday. They were paroled in custody of Morris Hillquit, their attorney, until Friday, when the bail bonds will be filed.

CANADIAN FINNISH SOCIALISTS Publish Semi-Weekly Paper at Sudbury, Ontario.

Finnish Socialists in Canada have suffered more by the rigorous press censorship than any race of people in Canada. It is the only language paper that is not permitted importation from the United States. The following publications have been banned: "Tyomies"—"Workman." Raivaaga—"Pioneer." Toveri—"Comrade." These three are dailies. Toveritor—"Woman Comrade," a weekly paper, and Lakenet—"Blast," monthly magazine, all are victims of Democracy. We welcome the first issue of their new paper, a home product. The auspicious title, "Liberty," is probably a psychological reflection resulting from an overdose of "Bourgeois Liberty." It is quite in harmony with the trend of events, however, and we can only hope that its influence may induce the realities of true liberty and hasten the awakening of labor. The resourcefulness of our Finnish comrades merits recognition. We heartily extend the hand of comradeship.

WAR-TIME REFLECTIONS.

Is it not possible that history will rank as even more scandalous than the reckless manner in which the military parties in Germany and Russia plunged Europe into war in 1914, the Entente leaders' refusal in 1917 to discuss the peace proposals of Germany and Russia and their deliberate prolongation of the war?

If the Allies would but take care of the democratization of their own countries, they could safely leave the democratization of Germany to take care of itself.

It is said that the war arose from a conflict of ideals. In truth it arose from a practical identity of ideals on the part of the foreign offices of all the European Powers.

A group of ladies who call themselves Daughters of the Empire have placed in the streets of Montreal a number of benches marked: "For soldiers only." So far as my observation goes, no soldier ever sits on these benches. I wonder whether the neglect of their benches has given the Empire's Daughters to think?

The circumstance seems to indicate, on the part of the soldiers, a certain fundamentally democratic feeling of solidarity with their civilian fellows which it is good to recognize. Despite the praise to which the patriotic at home subjects him, the soldier is not a prig.

How profound are the democratic beliefs of some of those who are most conspicuous in their support of the "war for democracy" may be judged by the acclamation with which newspapers and associations of business men in Montreal have greeted a proposal to take away the votes of the citizens and place the affairs of the city in the hands of a Commission.

"Look out for Boloism," says the Prime Minister of England. "It is the most formidable weapon in the German armory." Doubtless when Mr. Lloyd George said this he had no intention of issuing a warning against the jingo press, but hoped rather to convey the impression that those favoring peace might have been bribed by German money. It is therefore worthy of note that one of the chief lines of Bolo's activity appears to have been the financing, in the German interest, not of pacifist, but of ultra-"patriotic" French papers, such as Le Journal and Rappel; the latter being the organ of the committee for the annexation of the left bank of the Rhine. Deep calls unto deep: Entente annexationist to Pan-German.

In war-time the vulgarians and the liars have mostly their own way.

PARTY ANNOUNCEMENTS....

ALBERTA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Meets on the First Wednesday in each month, at 8 p.m., at Mrs. A. Martin's, 10528 98th Street, Edmonton, Alta.

The Dominion executive committee meets on the 2nd and 4th Tuesdays of the month at 363 Spadina Avenue, Toronto, secretary, I. Bainbridge.

The Ontario provincial executive committee meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays of the month at 363 Spadina Avenue, Toronto, secretary, I. Bainbridge.

Local No. 71, Toronto—Meets at 165 Van Horne street, every Sunday, at 2.30 p.m. A hearty invitation is extended to all friends and sympathizers.

J. CUNNINGHAM, 12 Boxstead Ave., Secretary.

Saskatchewan Provincial Executive Committee—Meets on the 1st and 3rd Sunday of each month. All comrades desiring to join party or organize Locals are requested to write,

F. G. Wetzel,
Box 151, Vanguard, Sask.

Locals and Executive Bodies may have their Advs. in the Directory for the sum of 25.00 per year.

THE INTERNATIONAL

GENERAL STRIKE

(Canadian Press Service.)

Helsingfors, Finland, Nov. 16.—A general strike of all workmen, including those on the railways, is in progress, and business life is at a standstill, except for the light and water plants and the hospital service.

Russian government troops have united with the proletariat Red Guard and are in control. The Bourgeois has organized a White Guard, which also is well armed.

SOCIALISM IN JAPAN

The Social Democratic Party of Japan was organized and its manifesto published on the twentieth of May, 1901. Six hundred members, including the writer, were associated with the organization. This party was suppressed by the government on the day of its birth. But the Socialist propaganda was unrestricted, so that, in spite of the suppression of the party, the philosophy spread rapidly throughout Japan. The Socialists made a great fight during the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5, and made many sympathizers.

In the summer of 1906, the Socialist Party of Japan was reorganized in Tokyo, and in a few months several hundred members were enrolled, and all indications pointed to a movement of growth and activity. The party had a Socialist daily in Tokyo in the spring of 1907, but it was quickly suppressed by the authorities. Since that time the Socialist Party legally was never permitted to exist until the present time.

Socialists in Japan have had hard, discouraging living the last ten years. Many have suffered prison life. Twelve have served life-terms for their agitation of revolutionary doctrines. Six have died in prison. Twelve have been hung. There are many in prison at the present moment for persisting in Socialist propaganda. Probably the treatment of the Socialists has been harsher and more cruel than that in any other country on earth. Notwithstanding this constant suppression, oppression, intimidation and rigorous punishment, however, scattered throughout Japan there are some seven thousands of Socialists. Many of these once active in the cause, quit for the sake of living. The remainder are true martyrs and bravely face all persecution that may be directed against them.

At the time of the last parliamentary election, the Socialists ran a candidate. Comrade Toshihiko Sakai assumed the responsibility in initiating this move. Five campaign meetings were held but all were broken up by the forces of the brutal police. Following this, the Socialists were entirely suppressed although the constitution guarantees them the right of liberty and freedom of speech. Moreover, in spite of the specific provision in the election law which allows candidates to hold campaign meetings during the two months previous to the day of election, the platform and manifesto of the Party were suppressed.

—S. Katayama in the Western Comrade.

NEW RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT DECLARES ARMISTICE TO ARRANGE TERMS OF PEACE.

Petrograd, Nov. 23.—The note of Leon Trotsky, the Bolsheviki Foreign Minister to the allied embassies, conveying the announcement of the proposal for an armistice, reached the embassies Wednesday night. The text follows:

"I hereby have the honor to inform you, Mr. Ambassador, that the All-

Russian Congress of Soldiers' and Workmen's Delegates organized October 26 a new Government in the form of a Council of National Commissioners. The head of this Government is Vladimir Illich Lenin. The direction of the foreign policy has been entrusted to me, in the capacity of National Commissioner for Foreign Affairs.

"Drawing attention to the text of the offer of an armistice and a democratic peace on the basis of no annexations or indemnities and the self-determination of nations, approved by the All-Russian Congress of Soldiers' and Workmen's Delegates, I have the honor to beg you to regard the above document as a formal offer of an immediate armistice on all fronts and the immediate opening of peace negotiations—an offer with which the authoritative Government of the Russian Republic has addressed itself simultaneously to all the belligerent peoples and their Governments.

"Accept my assurances, Mr. Ambassador, of the profoundest respect of the Soldiers' and Workmen's Government for the people of France, which cannot help aiming at peace, as well as for the rest of the nations exhausted and made bloodless by this unexampled slaughter.

"L. Trotsky,

"National Commissioner for Foreign Affairs."

Buffalo, Nov. 17.—By a vote of 215 to 21, the American Federation of Labor to-day determined to abandon its life-long non-partisan attitude and actively enter American politics next year.

FIRST PROLETARIAN REPUBLIC GREETES AMERICAN WORKERS

Message of Russian Uprising is Held Up Nearly Two Weeks by Censor—First Graphic Account of Dramatic Events of Rebellion Overthrowing Kerenski is Received.

John Reid, noted author, Socialist and war correspondent, has cabled to The New York Call a graphic account of the dramatic series of events which culminated in the overthrow of the Kerenski government and the triumph of the Bolsheviki. The cable, dated November 13, arrived in New York yesterday, after being held up by the censor, and is the first definite story of the uprising.

"The entire insurrection is a stirring spectacle of proletarian mass organization, action, bravery and generosity," Reed declares, after recounting the steps which led up to the flight of Kerenski.

The Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Councils, through The Call, send to the American International Socialists a greeting from the first proletarian republic of the world.

It would be idle to recount what Reed personally saw in other words than his own. Here is the cable:

(By John Reid.)

Petrograd, Nov. 13.—The Petrograd garrison, the Kronstadt sailors and the red guard, comprising as a whole the Bolsheviki army, last night defeated Kerenski's army of 7,000 Cossacks, junkers (students in military schools) and artillery, who were attacking the capital.

The attempted "junkers" insurrection on Sunday, directed by the committee of salvation, comprising Mensheviki (moderate Socialists) and Cadets (Constitutional Democrats), was put down by the Kronstadt sailors, who took an armored car and telephone station by assault, and also the "junkers" school.

Hundreds of delegates arrived at Smolny institute, the headquarters of

the revolutionary government and of the councils, to report the solidarity of the army at the front with the Bolsheviki.

Proletariat is Triumphant.

This is the revolution, the class struggle, with the proletariat, the workmen, the soldiers and the peasants lined up against the bourgeoisie. Last February was only the preliminary revolution. At the present moment the proletariat are triumphant.

The rank and file of the Workmen's Soldiers' and Peasants' Councils are in control, with Lenin and Trotzky leading. Their program is to give the land to the peasants, to socialize natural resources and industry and for an armistice and democratic peace conference. The extraordinary and immense power of the Bolsheviki lies in the fact that the Kerenski government absolutely ignored the desires of the masses as expressed in the Bolsheviki program of peace, land and workers' control of industry.

The entire insurrection is a stirring spectacle of proletarian mass organization, action, bravery and generosity. This morning I was at the scene of the dispersal of the junkers defending the winter palace by the Soviet troops. In the afternoon I was present at the opening of the all-Russian Assembly of Soviets. In the evening I witnessed the assault on the winter palace, entering with the first Bolsheviki troops.

I saw Duma members going unarmed to die with the provisional government. I witnessed the arrest of the ministers.

Death Penalty Abolished.

I was at the meeting of the city Duma (council) on the morning of the 26th, when the Mensheviki, Cadets and others declared against the Bolsheviki and formed a committee of salvation. During the night I witnessed a stormy meeting of the city regiments, deciding which side to support, and then attended the councils' meeting at Smolny institute, witnessing the declaration of peace and land; the decree abolishing capital punishment, and the taking over of the government by the councils and appointment of a new cabinet.

Then, on October 27, I watched the bourgeois counter-revolutionary movement growing. The city Duma visited the Peter-Paul fortress at midnight to see the prisoners. On the 28th rumors spread throughout the city that Kerenski was coming with troops.

I went to Tsarkoe Selo and saw the Bolsheviki troops falling back. War preparations were made at midnight in Smolny institute. On the 29th factories closed down and the red guard was ordered out. The whole city streamed out, men, women and children, with rifles and shovels. The telephone station and the Hotel Astoria were taken by junkers, but retaken by Bolsheviki sailors.

On the 30th victorious battles took place against the Kerenski troops at Ulkova, Krasnoie, Selo, Kolponne, Tsarkoe Selo and Gatchina.

I went to the front with the red guard.

Insurrection in July.

The movement to give all power to the councils has been growing a long time. The attempt by the masses to force the councils to take the power in July resulted in the so-called Bolsheviki insurrection which was put

down by the Center Socialist parties, led by Lieber, Dan, Thaddeoli, Gotz, and so on, who held power.

The impotence of the provisional government created discontent and disgust and led to the astounding growth of the Bolsheviki, which growth was also accelerated by the Lieber, Dan group forcing a coalition with the Cadets, against the will of the Democratic Assembly held in September.

Meanwhile, with Lieber, Dan, etc., heading the Central All-Russian Council, the separate councils, one by one, went over to the Bolsheviki, and demanded the calling of a new All-Russian Assembly of the Councils, which was opposed by the old crowd, and also by the army, fleet, peasant and labor unions' committees, elected early in the revolution.

Masses Thought Differently.

But the masses were of another mind and insisted on the calling together of the councils, insisted on all power to the councils, and on the downfall of the provisional government on the eve of the All-Russian meeting, which was sabotaged by the Lieber, Dan group, the Cadets, etc.

The provisional government made quiet preparations to suppress any demonstration for all power to the councils, and tried to send the revolutionary Petrograd garrison to the front and replace it with loyal troops. The garrison refused, and demanded representation on the staff, but was refused. The garrison then refused to take orders from anybody except the Petrograd council, which formed a military revolutionary committee.

"The army staff planned to take action, but was overheard on the nights of the 24th and 25th by the members of the Pavlovsk regiment, who at once began to arrest the staff and government. The insurrection was on and could not be stopped.

Comprehensive Plan Executed.

The military revolutionary committee took charge and put into execution a perfect and comprehensive plan, captured the whole city and patrolled it the first three nights, while the insurrection was going on. There were no disorders and no crimes. The committee of Bolsheviki kept the town absolutely quiet.

"The many stories being sent out regarding Bolsheviki looting and murdering are without foundation. In fact, after being captured and released on the word of honor, many 'junkers' again took part in treacherous fighting. Some were murdered by their outraged opponents, but very few; while the Bolsheviki losses were five times as great.

"All newspapers except the Bolsheviki ones retailed lies to excite the population, and yet many of them were not suppressed. The City Duma is the center of absolute hostility to the Bolsheviki, with no workingman a member of it, but composed instead of the Center and Right Socialist parties, Cadets and all sorts of representatives of the bourgeoisie, breathing threats and even mobbing Bolsheviki guards they caught alone. Nevertheless, they have not been arrested.

"Now other Socialist parties are forming a new government and debating whether or not to allow the Bolsheviki to take part in it. No one is

(Continued on Page 8).

Organizer's Maintenance Fund

The Workers of Canada await the message of emancipation. Send along your dimes and nickels. Drops of water make the ocean; let us have a tidal wave for Socialism.

NAME.....

AMOUNT, \$..... c.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY..... PROVINCE.....

THE CANADIAN FORWARD

To Our Contributors—

The columns of The Canadian Forward are open to contributions from all friends of the cause. Though we can by no means undertake to publish all we may receive, everything, by whomsoever written, will receive careful attention.

Subscriptions (post free)—

Single copies, 5 cents; three months, 25 cents; six months, 50 cents; in clubs of six, \$2.50; twelve months, \$1.00; in clubs of six, \$5.00; United States, Great Britain and other countries, \$1.50 a year.

Advertising Rates—

Advertising in this paper is charged for at one standard rate, viz.: 5 cents per agate line (.50c. per inch). For rates on contract and agency commission, application should be made to the Business Manager. Locals and Executives desirous of advertising meetings are given a special rate.

Correspondence—

All correspondence should be addressed to
I. BAINBRIDGE, Managing Editor,
363 Spadina Avenue, Toronto, Canada.

Vol. 1, No. 26 TORONTO, CANADA November 24, 1917



It has always been the opinion of broad minded statesmen that to take away the liberties of subjects is to invite the license of rebels.—G. F. Stirling.



GUILTY OF SEDITION

At the time of writing the Editor awaits judgment. He has been found guilty of publishing two seditious libels, to wit: "The Price We Pay," and two letters contained in the Forward of Sept. 10th, bearing the signatures of Hazel Halliwell, and Rebecca Buhay. Strange to relate, the indictment in the first place states, "A seditious libel," but to our astonishment, seven seditious libels were enumerated in the indictment that reached the defending counsel the day before trial. The charge is now based on the following publications: "The Peril of Conscription," by J. Bruce Glasier. "Exposures of the Armament Ring," being a speech by Philip Snowden in the British House of Commons. "Platform of the Canadian Freedom League." "Social Revolution," published by the National Rep. Law Pub. Co., St. Louis. "The Call," British Socialist Party official organ, and the two before mentioned. The prosecuting counsel is evidently under the impression that (a) means (Flock). The first two charges were sustained by a jury of twelve workmen, and the Editor now awaits judgment upon the verdict. It may be said that seventeen charges of the same nature have been quashed in the United States upon "The Price We Pay." This is what is known as a "fair trial," we await the judgment with perfect equanimity.

More next issue.

FLAVELLE FOREVER

(By J. B. in B.C. Federationist.)
Vote for Borden and embalmed ham! Borden's latest promise is that he will tax war profits.
What are war profits?
We are told the nation is fighting for its very existence and needs every cent, and every man, and must even stint on food to win this war.
Then Borden gives letters of marque to some pirates to prey upon us in our extremity and asks them to hand a tip to the government out of their successful robbery.
That is war profits.
We are told not to eat ham or bacon, as it is needed for the soldiers at the front, and before it gets to them, and after being already cured, it has extra salt injected into it to add to its weight. But that is war profits. Send the soldiers salt instead of ham, tax

the people to pay for it and let the supporters of the Borden government fill their pockets. That is war profits and Borden promises if you return him to power he will tax war profits a little.

We don't want any war profits. And if we have to make war, we want to do it in a business-like way. We do not wish to buy salt and pay the price of ham for it.

If you vote for Borden you vote for the whole gang of licensed pirates and hogs who impudently call themselves the "Win-the-War" government. We have more chance of winning the war without them; we can't afford expensive luxuries. To be head of a munition board is not reward enough.

"As high as Haman" would be a better elevation for any one who tries to make profit out of the greatest calamity that ever happened on earth.

If you are poor spirited fools, vote for Borden and ask him to wipe his feet on you again.

What was the use of decapitating King Charles to teach him the unhealthiness of autocracy if you give your premier autocratic power?

Borden has robbed you of your dearest liberty without giving the people a chance to vote on it.

He has shamelessly cooked the election lists, to make sure of getting in again.

But you will vote for him again. O sorry a doubt of it! It must be as Dr. Curry says. Men are all more or less doped all the time with alcohol or nicotine." You can kick them and trample on them and they won't fight. They will just soothe themselves with more dope. All they crave is dope. Dope in their pipes and dope in the newspapers.

The latest dope handed out to them is that they are fighting for liberty. They could not fight for liberty—they would not know it if they saw it. They did not even notice when they lost it. Their forefathers would have to come back to earth every few years and pick up their children's lost liberties and pin them on to them again. Who would be free himself must strike the blow.

You can strike a blow at autocracy in this election without leaving Canada. You can decapitate Borden with your vote. If you don't you will deserve to lose any liberties you still have left by them.

LORD ROBERT CECIL

And Proposed Armistice.

Under the caption "Britain Warns Russia," the British Minister of Blockade, in an interview with an Associated Press correspondent, is supposed to be speaking on behalf of the British nation. He says: "I do not want to indulge in any personal abuse, but if you will examine the Lenine proclamation carefully you will find it is to be a direct incitement by men who profess to be the government, to the soldiers to arrest their Generals and open negotiations all along the line across the trenches." We fully appreciate the fact that the Russian attitude in respect to the peace settlement is not relished by the Minister of Blockade, but we are of the opinion that such a statement as the one quoted is entirely unauthorized by the British nation, and we do not see anything in the Russian note which permits such an arrogant assumption. The Russian note emphatically declares against a separate peace. If a breach of relations is looked for by the British Cabinet all they have to do is to permit the honorable gentleman referred to a further license of tongue wagging with correspondents.

The British nation may think differently about this matter. One thing is apparent, however, i.e., That the Kerensky Bourgeois government has made its last kick, and has gone the way of the Romanoff regime and leaves with us only the undisputable fact that the Russian people want peace. Sooner or later our own government may also appreciate the fact that there are only two things facing them: "Peace or Revolution."

APOSTLES OF DEMOCRACY

From a current reading of the big Union Press we are led to believe that Canada is to be blessed by a wondrous reform revival after Borden gets back. The following from the "Glasgow Forward" will help us to appreciate the fact:

"We are told that after the war the capitalists will combine to construct a higher standard of society. Don't forget that the saviours of to-morrow are the profiteers of to-day. Can it be really believed that the class who bound and gagged and robbed every section of the people during the war are going to devote their time in days to come in setting these people free and raising them beyond the reach of other robbers? Such teaching is only for credulous children or for adults prepared to believe anything that gives an appearance of justification to contentment in slavery."

MOTHERHOOD AND WAR.

Dear Sister Women:
I have received a leaflet poem from Fannie Buxley, California, who is the author. It is called "The Spartan Mother." I think I will write and ask her permission to have it reproduced in full in the "Canadian Forward."
These things are all coming in answer to my crusade letters, and so I think they belong to us all.
"It has burst on her reeling soul at last,
The lie, the accursed lie;
And her spirit leaps with a vibrant strength
To the new world mother's cry."
That is the first verse. I will not quote any more until I see whether I may quote it all, but I wish to dwell on the thought of "The New World Mother" to-day.
This war has proved, among many other things, that the Motherhood that is to save is something other than physical motherhood, something possessed by many who are not physical mothers at all. It is a deep, spiritual possession, a love for humanity, a glorious, self-giving longing to protect, conserve and guard and save.

I know mothers who would send their sons to war. I read with a shudder the other day of one who said she "would just push her son back into the trenches if he tried to escape." God help the world if such an ideal of motherhood were to triumph. But it will not.

We who love each other are finding each other one-all over the world.

We, who deplore the endless sacrifice of the innocent, both in peace and war, and getting down to first causes, and we find the universal enemy of humanity to be the strong power of

Rheumatism
A Home Cure Given by One Who had it

In the spring of 1898 I was attacked by Muscular and Inflammatory Rheumatism. I suffered as only those who have it know, for over three years. I tried remedy after remedy, and doctor after doctor, but such relief as I received was only temporary. Finally, I found a remedy that cured me completely, and it has never returned. I have given it to a number who were terribly afflicted and even bedridden with Rheumatism, and it effected a cure in every case. I want every sufferer from any form of rheumatic trouble to try this marvelous healing power. Don't send a cent; simply mail your name and address and I will send it free to try. After you have used it and it has proven itself to be that long-looked-for means of curing your Rheumatism, you may send the price of it, one dollar, but understand I do not want your money unless you are perfectly satisfied to send it. Isn't that fair? Why suffer any longer when positive relief is thus offered you free? Don't delay. Write today.

Mark H. Jackson, No. 618 D'Gurney Bldg., Syracuse, N. Y.
Mr. Jackson is responsible. Above statement true—Pub.

Gold wedded to Cruelty, the awful cruelty of the exploiter and oppressor. War, this awful war, is merely the symptom of the greater evil, the strongly entrenched foe that we must fight with our bloodless weapons until we have overcome.

I have so many letters now, but am endeavoring to answer all as quickly as I can.

I have just read an article by J. Ramsay MacDonald in the English paper to which I write "The Leicester Pioneer."

Last week he said he believed the war would end in December. This week he says he does not now think it possible, but that the authorities (who have all the money and power) are trying to beguile the people to endure through the winter and on into another year.

Comrades, do we realize what this means? Let us be brave and true and strong, I implore you, sister women. Come forward and help. They, our foes, have all; we have nothing but the stronger Power that can conquer all if we leave the path.

The women with tender hearts are responding—these are the ones we want.

Leaflets and manifestoes are now ready, and are being sent to all who ask for them. Will those who ask please try and contribute a little, even if only 5 or 10 cents towards the cost of circulation?

Let us help to swell the volume of revolt against the slaughter of the poor lads now being called up to be driven to the hell of horrors in Europe. The election is coming. Let us be firm in our resolve not to support any but those who will help to free us from this horror, those who will serve the people who suffer and toil forever.

I am very sorrowful to-day.
Hurled to the prisons by the thousand in every land are those who are true to humanity. The sceptre of the world is in the hands of evil. Yet a few days and our boys here will be dragged in the slavery of legal destruction. Shall we not be brave and true? Women, old and young—with mother-hearts, gentle, loving and strong—come forward and help send our pledges to every candidate for Parliament. Tell your friends of the "slaughter of the innocents."

Yours in loving service,
Gertrude Richardson,
Swan River, Man.

THE FUTURE OF IMMIGRATION

Europe as the Land of Promise After the War.

(By John Gabriel Soltis.)

Considerable thought is given in the various expressions of the labor movement on the future of immigration. It is held by most labor men, both in this country and in the United States, that once the war ceases there will be a veritable deluge of immigrants to our shores from the continent of Europe. This belief is predicated upon the assumed fact, that this supposed immigration will receive an impetus from the circumstance of a Europe ruined and devastated; that the workers of Europe will flee the sorrow and misery which the scientific butchery of the working classes, otherwise known as war, will leave as their heritage. This opinion is very plausible, but it ignores both the point of view of our arrived immigration and changing economic and social conditions of Europe.

The immigration to America for the last decade has been studiously solicited by the despicable capitalistic class. It was not voluntary as immigration used to be. It flowed to America, lured by the false and specious promises of merciless labor assassins. To induce the Polish peasant to leave his clod of clay, and enter a mine, mill or factory, in America, required indeed a sparkling array of lies, once the tenacity of the peasant to the land is known. He left his clod of clay, but it was with the understanding that he would acquire a large farm.

He entered the grinding and pulverizing shell of capitalistic industry. He is still in it. Instead of acquiring a large farm he lost his clod of clay, and his social life. Not only that, when he combined to better his lot in the capitalist hell the gentleman who imported him to our shores turned the machine guns on him and the prostituted press called him names, as it still continues to do. Consequently the immigrant within our midst to-day has anything but respect for "our" institutions.

Mr. Frederic C. Howe, commissioner of the port of New York, an eminent authority on immigration, and a man who combines knowledge of the needs and aspirations of the immigrant with a sympathetic understanding, a rare combination indeed, says that there will be no immigration from Europe after the war. However, he does prove that there will be a vast migration to Europe. It is estimated that there will be two million people who will return to Europe the first year after the war. This estimate is based upon a canvass made of steamship lines and railway ticket offices, where applications have been made for passage. These figures are for the United States. There will also be a proportionate exodus out of Canada, and for very much the same reasons.

When Mr. Howe was asked to explain the *raison d'être* of this emigration, he said: "Many, perhaps a majority, will leave America because of industrial conditions. It has been said that the Texan hates the Slovak and the Northerner hates the 'greaser'; but, to both, it is America who has not welcomed them." Further, Mr. Howe stated: "The increasing difficulty, and in many cases the practical inability of the immigrant to acquire permanent homes," is a good and sufficient reason.

Mr. Howe also recognizes what has been known for a long time to the Socialist, namely: "They came here after having been told that this was the paradise for the home lover. That

in the United States every man could easily acquire a home, which, in a former generation was true, but not now. So they are going back where they think they can get homes."

It is clear, therefore, that the immigrant has all the reasons in the world to return to his native sod, and none to remain here. He has been terribly disillusioned and has awoke to the existence of sad realities.

In contrast to the inhuman and therefore unbearable conditions which the immigrant has to face in America, Mr. Howe makes reference to the changing conditions of Europe, due almost entirely to the war. He says:

"It is universally predicted that the end of this war will see a swift rising tide of legislation along Socialistic lines. That may mean the distribution of lands."

"Every country in Europe is working out organized plans to foster this very movement which I am forecasting. In every country from Ireland to the Black Sea, the days of absentee landlordism and of vast uncultivated estates, no matter who owns them, are probably over. Every European government is awake to this condition.

Mr. Howe states the case admirably. He could have said en passant, that the revolutionary Socialists of all nationalities will be the *leit motif* behind this legislation.

We conclude then, that instead of Europe pouring hordes of immigrants to America after the war, it will be just vice versa. Undoubtedly the worker who has ascribed all of his social and economic ills, to the influx of the "foreigner," will hail this change as a solution of his misery. This worker is due for another good jolt if he thinks so, and he is sure to get it. It is well to remember Tolstoi's adage: "The capitalist will do everything for the worker save get off his back."

THE MILITARY REVOLUTION.

Gun cotton was discovered in 1846 by the Swiss chemist Schoenbein; nitro glycerine was discovered in 1847 by the Italian chemist Sobrero; but it was not until the close of the eighties that means were discovered of applying these two important smokeless explosives for military purposes. Both gun cotton and nitro glycerine (the latter in the shape of dynamite—invented by Nobel in 1866) had been put into use for blasting purposes before a successful military smokeless powder was prepared by their use. It was in fact not until 1889 that Cordite, a gelatinized form of gun cotton mixed with nitro glycerine, was invented. It was also not until the latter half of the eighties that picric acid was applied to the preparation of high explosive shells. This application of picric acid, under the name Melinite, was first made in 1886 by a Frenchman, Turpin.

The Whitehead torpedo in its earliest form was produced in 1866. A practical automatic gun was produced only in 1884, when Maxim invented his machine gun. The Holland submarine was not built until 1900. The first Dreadnaught was built only in 1906. Aeroplanes had developed sufficiently to fly across the English channel only in 1909. The Bessemer process for the preparation of the metal without which the means of destruction could never have reached their present degree of development—steel—was discovered in 1855 only. And, as regards the metal aluminum, which is so important for aviation; there was no commercial process at all for

its manufacture prior to 1885. The production of it in 1890 was only 230,000 lbs.; in 1912 it was 130,000,000 lbs.

I cite these data in order to direct attention to the fact that the application of scientific and technical knowledge to military preparation has brought a Military Revolution comparable in many senses with, but later in date than, that change in industry which the use of steam power and machinery brought about and which is usually known as the Industrial Revolution. In this article I wish to consider the significance of this Military Revolution and the fundamental issue which it presents.

Socialists have always insisted that, since the Industrial Revolution took place, the continually-increasing productivity of human labor and the continually-increasing complexity of the tools of industry, which have resulted from the application of natural forces to industry, have given to the question of production in the present period a character very markedly different from that which it has borne at any former period of human history, and have made it essential that the tools of industry should not be allowed to remain under private control and that the extra productivity of industry should not be allowed to operate for the special benefit of the privileged individuals. Socialists may well point out in addition that, not only in regard to production, but also in regard to destruction, has the scientific application of natural forces had revolutionary effects which make radical changes essential and (it is now clear) even urgent. It is important to insist that, not only in its industry, but also in its warfare, is the present era strikingly differentiated from any preceding era, by the immense changes which the application of engineering and chemical processes have effected and will further effect. If the Industrial Revolution has made powers of destruction many times greater than they formerly were, so the corresponding Military Revolution, brought about by the application of science and mechanical knowledge to the instruments of war, has made the powers of destruction vastly greater than formerly. The Industrial Revolution took place at the close of the eighteenth century. The Military Revolution took place considerably later, but proceeded from similar general causes and presented the same general character, namely: a greatly increased degree of mechanization.

Military Rivalry Must Cease.

The Military Revolution has brought such an increase in powers of destruction, and the development of its earlier counterpart, the Industrial Revolution, has at the same time made possible the release when desired of such a large number of men from their ordinary occupations for the purpose of devoting themselves, either in the field or in the factory, to destruction, that the problem raised by preparation for war is now profoundly different in its character from that at any former period and has an urgency which makes a radical solution imperative. The matter is one on which the race cannot afford to sit down and theorize at leisure. The provision of a solution within a comparatively short period is to civilization a matter of life and death.

The world's future cannot like its past be full of battles; for, if it were, civilized society would shortly come to an end. Civilized mankind must cease to devote its energies to extending and improving the means of destruction; the rivalry in armaments must be brought to an end; or the race will destroy itself. These statements are not the sentimental exaggerations of a pacifist, but the coldest and most certain facts. The "histori-

cal mind," which tends to be bound in its contemplation of the future by an assumption of "historical continuity" with a past which it envisages as filled chiefly with rivalries between states expressed and decided by a series of significant battles, is not the type of mind to which mankind must now look for leadership. Since the Military Revolution occurred, it has become imperative that, in regard to national rivalries, the future shall be definitely discontinuous with the past.

I have already pointed out that the high explosives which were so important a factor in the Military Revolution were first brought into military use only about thirty years ago, and even that a material so fundamentally important in modern warfare as steel plates, as regards its production in quantity, from 1855 only. It will not appear surprising that the Military Revolution, which has so greatly extended man's powers of destruction, should have occurred only thus recently, when it is recalled that the rapid development of experimental science, which distinguishes the present age from any preceding one, and on which the Military Revolution depends, began little more than a century ago.

If competition in armaments continues after the present war, it is almost certain that powers of destruction will become even more devastating and will develop even more rapidly than during the last fifty years. For the war has greatly stimulated the development of destructive agencies. Poisonous gases, asphyxiating and lachrymal bombs, fire ejectors, aerial torpedoes, land battleships ("tanks"), and other mechanical appliances or applications of chemical knowledge, have been added to the available means of destruction; and, if military rivalry continues when the war has closed, there is no doubt whatever that a very much larger amount of scientific and technical research will be directed by the civilized nations to developing and perfecting means of destruction than ever before. And, if such rivalry and such development is allowed to continue, can there be any doubt as to the ultimate outcome?

Mechanism of War.

Many persons who admit the essential folly of war, nevertheless regard as Utopian any suggestion that wars should cease in our own age, and are ready to contemplate a further period of, say, a thousand years, during which the nations will fight among themselves, before they finally abandon war. To such persons it must be pointed out that, since the Military Revolution, it is quite impermissible to contemplate a future era of successive wars. Long before a thousand years had elapsed, civilized society would have been destroyed. What such persons regard as Utopian must come to pass comparatively shortly, or civilization will disappear. I can see no other possibility for the future.

Society controls the use of poisons; and, for the sake of its own survival, mankind will have to bring the use of explosives and other means of destruction also under control. Poisons are extremely valuable in their proper application. Thus, for example, a large quantity of arsenic—a quantity many times in excess of that which would be required to kill the whole human race—is used every year with beneficent results in agricultural and horticultural practice. Explosives, too are very valuable in their proper application; but, as in the case of poisons, application to the destruction of human life will have to be prevented. In the case of explosives, however, the control will have to be international, and not, as in the case of poisons, local or national, because the chief danger from the use of explosives for life-destruction arises in regard

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INDUSTRIAL UNREST IN GREAT BRITAIN

By Lawrence Welsh in International Socialist Review.

(Passed by the British Censor.)

The spring of this year was a period of industrial and political unrest over most of the world, and in England this uneasiness found its main expression in the great engineers' strike. After a slight attempt at coercion the Government was forced to yield, and, on consideration of the men's returning to work, promised a full enquiry into their grievances. That enquiry has taken place and the new Munitions Bill, which will be based on the fruits of the enquiry, will probably go far to justify the men in defying the Munitions and Defence of the Realm Acts and striking in war time.

Simultaneously with the special enquiries into the trouble in the engineering industry, there were appointed by Mr. Lloyd George eight Commissions into Industrial Unrest in general, the terms of whose reference were simply "To enquire into and report upon Industrial Unrest, and to make recommendations to the Government at the earliest practicable date."

The reports of the Commissions are now before us, and in our view the labor and money spent might well have been saved. Throughout the eight reports there is no new fact brought to light, and the Government will learn nothing that was not common knowledge amongst all who are acquainted with industrial conditions here. The only consolation the nation can derive for this foolish waste of its money is the fact that the Government can no longer have any excuse for failing to remedy the evils so plainly set forth by its own Commissioners.

The causes of unrest and the recommendations for their removal are closely similar in all the reports.

Prominently to the front in each case is the high cost of living, the failure of wages to keep pace with the rise in prices, and the universal impression that excessive profits are still being made from dealings in the vital necessities of the nation. The report for the North Western area quotes the following figures from the Board of Trade Labor Gazette of June, 1917:—

Increased cost of food as compared with July, 1914, 102 per cent.

living as compared with July, 1914, 70 to 75 per cent.

food on economical basis as compared with July, 1914, 70 per cent.

The view is widely expressed that an effective treatment of this question would settle by far the greater part of the current unrest, and on general grounds we suppose this is a true view. The Labor Movement generally is, we fear, largely preoccupied with questions of wages, and leaves to a few pioneers the problems of proletarian emancipation and the ending of the wage system. It must be admitted, however, that the resentment is not merely against the actual high prices, but against the very fact that profits are being made at all. This fact may perhaps indicate an abstract hatred of economic injustice as well as a concrete dislike of parting with money!

The common experience of the Commission is that the laboring classes even now support the conduct of the war and any resentment is directed against methods rather than aims in the national policy. In the South Wales report mention is made of a fairly general dislike of the police and

military methods in connection with pacifist and other unpopular meetings. The love of freedom, even for the minority and the oppressed, has fled from England, but it may still be found in Wales. There is no doubt that the feeling is spreading that any high-handed Governmental interference with, for instance, the arrangements for the Stockholm Conference, would have a most disquieting effect. The foolish allegations that industrial unrest is in part due to enemy propaganda are dismissed as frivolous and baseless by the one Commission which considers the matter worth mentioning.

The Military Service Acts have constituted a grave source of dissatisfaction, especially in regard to the question of exemptions from military service on grounds of technical indispensability. Various schemes were established and all failed to supply the army with the exorbitant numbers it demanded. The task of selecting men in the Engineering industry for military service as and when they could be spared from their civil occupation was then handed over by agreement to various Trade Unions, who were empowered to issue a certificate of exemption called a "Trade Card." The Unions to whom this power was granted were all "skilled" Unions, and the general labor unions soon found cause to object to the procedure. Charges of unjustifiable ex-

of victimisation of prominent Trade Unionists: especial resentment is felt that the Munitions Act prevents men from leaving their employment, while the Military Service Acts give employers the practical power to force men into the army.

The conduct of the "dilution" plans—the substitution of unskilled and semi-skilled men or women for fully skilled mechanics—has been tainted with the same abuses. Mechanics so "released" are sometimes sent into the army and sometimes to other civil work. In any case, the power of the employer to remove an active employee whose views are too "independent" is considerable, and has been widely used.

The Commissioners report unanimously in favor of abolishing the Leaving Certificate required by the Munitions Act, whereby an employee is not allowed to change his work without the sanction of the employer. The Government has announced its intention of conceding this point in the new Munitions Bill shortly to be introduced. The penal clauses of the Act, under which fines may be imposed for bad-timekeeping and kindred offences, are strongly disliked, and undoubtedly hinder production far more than they aid it.

Considerable uneasiness is manifested on the subject of the restoration of Trade Union Rules after the war in accordance with the Government pledges. The Munitions Act decrees that a record of all departures from pre-war customs shall be made and preserved. Several witnesses before the Commissions declared that this was not being done. In many cases, no doubt, this is the fault largely of the Trade Unionists themselves who

position and that it is considered inadvisable to inform the public through the medium of the press of the many of the evils of industrial life, we cannot believe that the facts we propose to set down could so have remained actual conditions of domestic life in England in the Twentieth Century." What a criticism of the Government's secretive and deceptive methods!

Another chronic complaint is expressed in the phrase "inequality of sacrifice." All classes alike have contributed their sons to the national cause and most have contributed their best energies. But, as usual, the economic sacrifices of labor have been the heaviest. Never far removed from the border-line of starvation, the workers are now feeling most acutely the pinch of the increased cost of living, the heavy and annoying restrictions on personal liberty and freedom of thought, and the divorce from any control over national policy and destiny. Till Labor perfects its economic weapons and assumes control of industry, these sacrifices will be increasingly its lot.

Is it possible to bring together under one head, the causes of all these various sources of unrest? The one general cause is the lack of control by the workers themselves over the conditions of their industrial lives. A complaint which appears in each of the Reports is the extreme centralization of the national industrial life; the whole direction of policy is too much in the hands of officials in London often far away geographically and always far away in their outlook on life, from labor's activities. All government is "from above" and in deciding policy and methods the men have no say.

The famous Shop Stewards' movement is a significant commentary on this condition of affairs. This is an "unofficial" movement from the Trade Union point of view, that is, although the personnel of the Shops Committees consists entirely of Unionists, there is no connection between the official Union Executives on the one hand and the Stewards and members on the other. The aim of the movement is to secure a closer grip on local conditions and a stronger measure of local control than the orthodox Trade Union structure has afforded. The effect of the Stewards' activities has been to "ginger up" the Executives and even to initiate and conduct important Trade movements without the sanction of Executives. It must be said in fairness to the Executives that a regulation under the Defence of the Realm Act made it an offence in any way to hinder the production of munitions; any support given to a strike movement would have rendered the Union funds liable to confiscation. In general, the work of Shop Stewards is well summarized in the Report for Yorkshire:

"The aims and methods of the Shop Stewards acting unconstitutionally are condemned, but the feeling is widespread that the machinery they have created, if based on constitutional lines, would assist Trade Unions to live up to the demands of those who are employed in modern specialized workshops."

The remedy for these evils lies largely with the Unions themselves. The Government has set up bureaucratic machinery in industry because Labor made no effective protest, and because, if it had, there was no effective alternative to hand. If the Unions had spent their energies less on sectional quarrels and purely monetary aims, and more on crushing out the blackleg, and perfecting their economic weapons on the lines of Industrial Unionism, there would have been another tale to tell.

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FREDERICK ENGELS AND A LABOR PARTY

Two Notable Pronouncements.

"It is far more important that the movement should spread, proceed harmoniously, take root and embrace as much as possible the whole working class, than that it should start and proceed on theoretically correct lines from the beginning. The one great thing is to get the working class to move as a class. That once obtained, they will soon find the right direction."

"Had we from 1864 to 1873 insisted on working only with those who openly adopted our platform, where should we be to-day? I think all our practice has shown that it is possible to work along with the general movement of the working class at everyone of its stages without giving up or hiding our own distinct position, or even organization."

SOCIALISTS AND TRADE UNIONISTS.

"Just as absurd as the opposition and indifference of many trade unions to a Socialist party would be the opposition and indifference of the latter to the trade unions. In the trade unions we have the most capable portion of the working class organized, that which is to form the backbone of a Socialist party, and a Socialist movement has only succeeded in striking firm root where it includes the mass of trade unions."—Karl Kautsky, foremost exponent of Marxian Socialism.

THE INTERNATIONAL.

"The International was founded to establish a real organization of the working class in place of Socialist and half-Socialist seats."—Karl Marx.

emptions were also brought against the Unions, and the Government broke their agreement and suddenly withdrew the scheme without any preliminary consultation with the Unions. This arbitrary withdrawal was one of the main causes of the Engineer's strike and of the general unrest. It is only one illustration of the high-handed and capricious conduct of the Government departments when dealing with labor questions, and all confidence in Government schemes and promises has been destroyed by this arrogant officialism.

The new arrangements for the enlistment of men engaged on munition work have not yet been sufficiently tried for judgment to be passed on their efficiency. Numerous complaints have been received of the usual blunders and lack of tact on the part of the official administrators.

Throughout the history of the Military Service Acts cases have arisen

have taken no pains to enforce the registration; in other cases attempts have been made to force employers to fulfil the conditions of the Act, and the latter have wilfully neglected their duty in the matter.

Various other important grounds of dissatisfaction exist, including the following: The long delay which frequently occurs in securing official attention to industrial grievances. The men are forbidden by law to strike, and without this power they are unable to secure speedy redress of their grievances. The lack of decent housing accommodation is, of course, a chronic complaint, but it has been seriously increased by the migration of munition workers into industrial areas. The conditions described by the Commissioners in the neighborhood of Vickers' Factory at Barrow-in-Furness are unutterably ghastly. The Report significantly says "But for the fact that Barrow lies in a very isolated

The Man With The Hoe.

(By Edwin Markham.)

Bowed by the weight of centuries he leans,
Upon his hoe and gazes on the ground,
The emptiness of ages in his face,
And on his back the burden of the world.
Who made him dead to rapture and despair,
A thing that grieves not and that never hopes,
Stolid and stunned, a brother to the ox?
Who loosened and let down this brutal jaw
Whose was the hand that slanted back this brow?
Whose breath blew out the light within this brain?

Is this the thing the Lord God made and gave
To have dominion over sea and land;
To trace the stars and search the heavens for power;
To feel the passion of Eternity?
Is this the dream He dreamed who shaped the suns
And marked their ways upon the ancient deep?
Down all the stretch of Hell to its last gulf
There is no shape more terrible than this—
More tongued with censure of the world's blind greed—
More filled with signs and portents for the soul—
More fraught with menace to the universe.

What gulfs between him and the seraphim:
Slave of the wheel of labor, what to him
Are Plato and the swing of Pleiades?
What the long reaches of the peaks of song,
The rift of dawn, the reddening of the rose?
Through this dread shape humanity betrayed,
Plundered, profaned and disinherited,
Cries protest to the judges of the world,
A protest that is also prophecy.

O masters, lords and rulers in all lands,
Is this the handiwork you give to God,
This monstrous thing distorted and soul-quenched?
How will you ever straighten up this shape;
Touch it again with immortality;
Give back the upward looking and the light;
Rebuild in it the music and the dream,
Make right the immemorial infamies,
Perfidious wrongs, immedicable woes?

O masters, lords and rulers in all lands,
How will the future reckon with this man?
How answer his brute question in that hour
When whirlwinds of rebellion shake the world?
How will it be with kingdoms and with kings—
With those who shaped him to the thing he is—
When this dumb terror shall reply to God,
After the silence of the centuries.

(Continued from Page 4).

with the Bolsheviks except the proletariat, but that is solidly for them. All the bourgeoisie and appendages are relentlessly hostile.

"The employees of all government departments, state, bank, telephone, etc., are on strike, paralyzing the business of the government. They refuse to work with the Bolshevik ministers. The new Bolshevik plan is to run the government by a series of collegiums, instead of a ministry, headed by a chairman. The collegiums are called the People's commissars, who meet in a council of People's commissars, with Lenin as chairman.

"The news from the front and from all over the country shows that although some fighting is still going on in various cities the masses are pretty solid for the Bolsheviks, except in the Dones region, where General Kaledine and the Cossacks have proclaimed a military dictatorship. The Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' council, through The Call, sent to the American International Socialists a greeting from the first proletarian republic of the world.

(Continued from Page 7).

Even now it is not too late. The dangers of war are trivial compared with those awaiting Labor on the outbreak of peace. Let Labor's Reconstruction begin at home; if the Unions see to it that they are strongly organized on industrial lines, then all things shall be added unto them. When they have the economic power which such a reconstruction will give them, they can effectively demand as a right the control of industry and the establishment of self-governing National Guilds. London, August, 1917.

(Continued from Page 6).

to relations between states and not in regard to relations between individuals.

Apart from the question of the development of means of destruction in its relation to the contingent existence of civilized society, there should not be overlooked, as an additional consideration in urging the abolition of war the "inhuman" character which its increasing mechanization gives to it and which makes an appeal to mankind's sense of democracy. With the

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coming of the Military Revolution, battles largely lost that character, which at earlier periods of history lent them a certain quality of romance, of being combats, in which individual prowess counted, on a "Field of Honor." Warfare is now largely a disgusting automatic slaughter by machinery and by explosives concocted in chemical laboratories. What might at an earlier period pardonably have been regarded as the Field of Honor has become what a German writer, Lamszus, in a vividly descriptive sketch, published in 1913, of "The war that is sure to come," called the Human Slaughter House.

Describing a charge, for the capture of a wood, in which the narrator is imagined to take part, Lamszus wrote: "We are not even charging men. Machines are trained on us. Why, we are charging machines. And the machine triumphs deep into our very flesh.

And yet they are racing up behind us in their hundreds—young, healthy, human flesh for the machine to butcher. . . . This is a soldier's frenzy and joy of battle: to charge with bared breast against planted steel—to dash cheering with soft, uncased brain against a wall of steel. In such wholesale callous fashion vermin only are exterminated. We count for nothing more than vermin in this war.

And dazed and sick, we gaze at the machines, and the steel and iron littering the ground blink up at us full of guile."

Surely the repulsive mechanical character of modern warfare makes an appeal to our sense of decency and human dignity, and impels us to seek and demand that the race shall rid itself of the horror of human slaughter by machinery!

(To be continued.)

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