

**Guide to scans of 2 page wide center (mostly political) art of
The Masses Dec 1912 - Dec 1917**

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Introduction:

The Masses 1911-1917 is noted for its literature and graphic art content.

One aspect of its graphic art content is the 2 page wide art (usually political cartoons) found in the center of many of the issues. There are in the 79 issues of The Masses printed roughly 50 such 2 page wide works of art (or works of art less than 2 pages wide, but where some of the work of art crosses the area between two facing pages). The first such is a brilliant Art Young cartoon that appears in the December 1912 issue. Most of these two page wide images are political cartoons, tho one is a color work of general art, and two or three are not a single two page wide or center-crossing graphic image, but rather two page wide mixes of text and several graphic images.

Problems with previous efforts to make a digital record of this:

Many of the projects involving making a digital record of two page wide center art by special libraries and universities have done a compromised job of rendering these two page center of publication images, for a number of reasons:

- (1) Failure to render black ink on white (or cream) color paper AS black on white images, wasting most of the file space with color information that records NOT the art, but details of how that particular page aged, tore, got stained, etc.
- (2) Failure to render the two page wide single work of art AS a single image, instead rendering it as two separate pages.
- (3) Failure to unbind bound collections of magazines and failure to press the materials being digitally-imaged flat against glass, resulting in serious distortion or even loss of part of the image in the center of the work of art.

Sadly, the otherwise in many respects excellent Krause reprint of The Masses butchered pretty near all center works of art by cutting out part of the center area of the two page wide art in most cases.

Thus we usually have poor rendition of the center art of The Masses by all who previously tried to make digital images of it. I here have tried to offer alternatives to this.

Academic and special collections libraries attempting to archive original material using microfilm or digital means have for the most part failed to understand that paper should be pressed flat for imaging. They also have for the most part been blind to the notion that if images of material are distorted or lost in gutters of bound volumes, these volumes must be unbound and their pages pressed flat. These two mistakes account for a great deal of incompetent imaging of archival material over the last 60 years.

The excuse often given for these failures is “we can’t do that... it will damage the fragile originals”. After having worked with over 100,000 pages of fragile originals, I know this excuse to be nearly always self-serving rationalization. A falsehood intoned as dogma by those who are too ignorant or unwilling to make quality archival images. In some cases this unwillingness is (by the admission of some of those involved, personally, to me) deliberate because the institution does not wish to have the highest quality images available to the world, for it fears this will cause people to no longer be forced thru their doors, and thus cause their institution to lose importance. To this day it’s considered standard of practice to use overhead scanners without glass to press paper flat, instead of flat bed scanners (such as those I use), or overhead scanners / digital camera copy tables equipped with hinged glass plates to press the material being imaged flat.

Note that in general Hathi-Trust’s scans of The Masses collection of University of Michigan tend to be more thoughtfully done than those scans of The Masses by Tamiment Library. They at times (tho not always!) render two page art AS two page wide scans. Unfortunately, the collection at Hatcher Labadie was not as complete as that at Tamiment Library. On the Riazanov Library hard drive and on Marxists.org all three digital archives.... mine, Tamiment’s, and Hatcher Labadie’s (made by Hathi Trust) are presented.

Origins of the scans in This Collection:

Scans I Personally Made Directly from Original Issues:

Between my personal collection of original issues of The Masses, the collection held by Holt Labor Library of San Francisco, and the Theodore Watts’ (author of the definitive indexes to The Masses, The Liberator, and New Masses) personal collection, I had original issues available to scan using techniques I deemed appropriate for 25 of the 79 issues of The Masses. 21 issues of those 25 contained 2 page center art. Thus I personally scanned about 40% of the 50 two-page center art pages presented here, directly from original paper.

I made these scans using an Epson GT 20000 flat bed tabloid size scanner and a Contex Flex 50i broadsheet size flat bed scanner at the Riazanov Library digital archive projects scanning facilities.

As for the remaining 24 images here...

Scans We Restored and Repaired from Tamiment Library's digital images:

Tamiment Library embarked on a project of scanning its near complete collection of *The Masses* a number of years ago. At that time Michael Nash (their long-time director) told me that original full resolution scans of the pages would be made available to all when the project was done. After he died his successors were reluctant to provide such.

Years later I managed to get hold of their full resolution (400 and 600 dpi) digital images in original tiff file format. I ascertained Tamiment Library had no intellectual property rights to the scans: The scans were in the public domain because they were "slavish reproductions" of public domain material. Note this is true of scans made of *The Masses* by Hathi Trust, Google... and by me as well.

I proceeded to convert Tamiment Library's individual monster tiff files (which occupied nearly 500 gigabytes for the entire archive) into .pdf files of individual issues, reducing the size of the entire archive to under 5 gigabytes. This process took weeks of work. The full resolution Tamiment Library scans are now available for the first time ever on this hard Riazanov Library hard drive as .pdf issue files, and are posted for all to download from the Internet on the Marxists.org web site.

[The scans Tamiment Library and their partner, the Modernist Journals Project offered to the world were low resolution 200 dpi scans. Adequate for 100 dpi screen display, but not for printing or fine analysis.]

With the original full resolution tiff files from Tamiment's project in my possession, I and Robin Palmer spent hundreds of hours working together to restore the two page scans from issues I was not able to scan myself. This involved stitching together the severed images, converting color images to proper single bit black and white and/or high contrast gray scale images, removing stains and other damage in their images, and at times attempting to mitigate distortion of the images introduced by Tamiment Library's failure to flatten the pages when acquiring digital images.

Example of our restorations of Tamiment Library's scans:

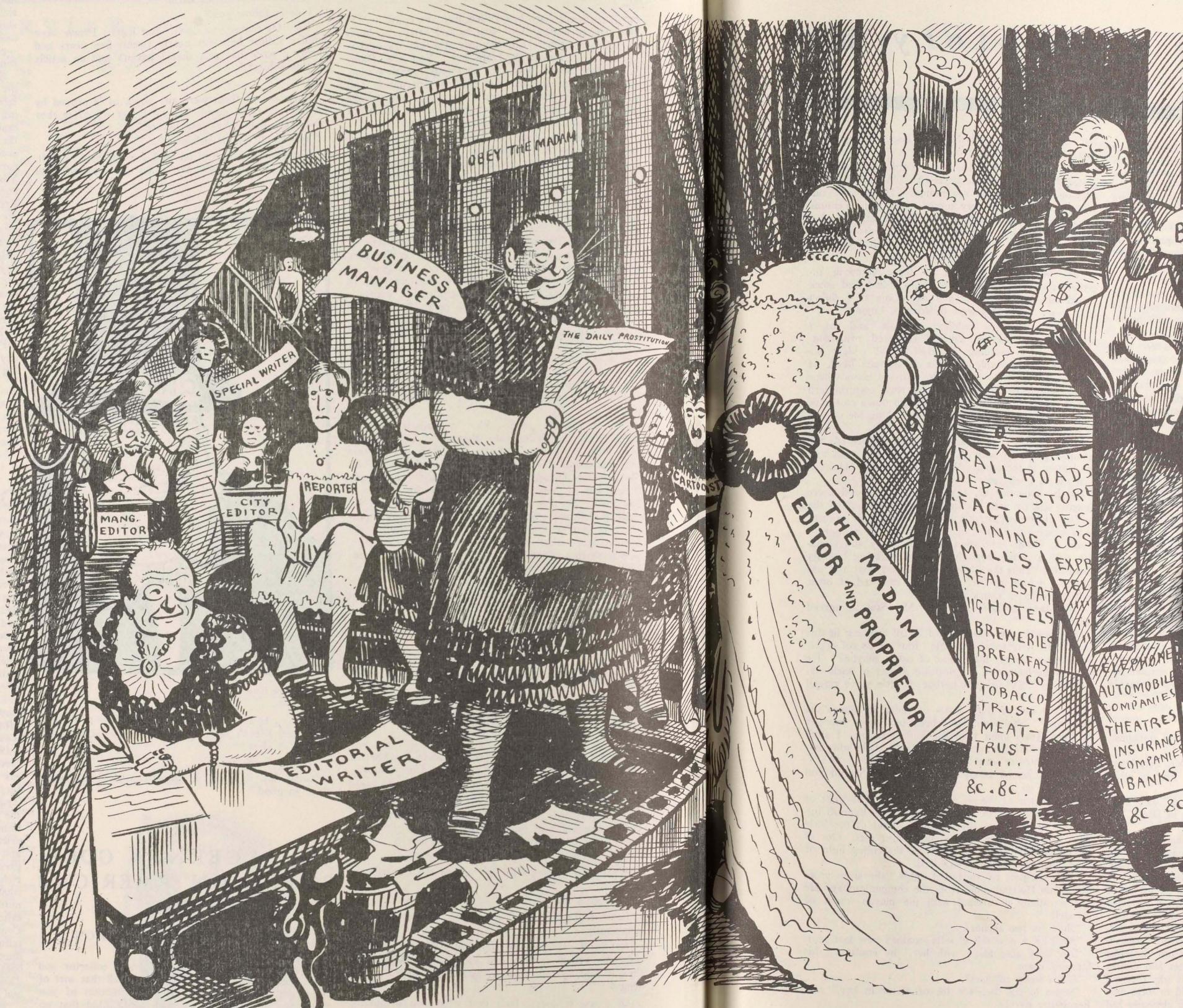
Just before presenting here the 50 scans that constitute this archive of the individual two page graphic images from *The Masses* I have included four scans that, together, give an idea of what we started with when restoring Tamiment Library's scans, and the problems encountered.

The first two of the images are the two pages with which Tamiment Library digitally acquired and saved the center 2 page wide political cartoon for the December 1912 issue of *The Masses*. The next image is the same as page 1 of the 50 scans in the main archive that follows, showing the restored image Robin and I created from those two pages, after much effort. The fourth of these four pages is a low resolution scan I found on the web of this cartoon, which shows what the image SHOULD have looked like if the distortion due to Tamiment's imaging team refusal to properly flatten the pages had not been present. Note that this distortion was most acute in this one scan made by Tamiment Library. In most of our restored scans either such distortion was not present or it was present to a lesser degree. We spent hours at times removing this and other flaws to produce the 24 restored scans provided here. As noted above, 21 other scans I was able make personally direct from original issues, obtaining better results in a tenth or less the time the restorations of the Tamiment Library scans took.

The originals for the other restored scans in this collection can be viewed in the main archive of scans of full issues of *The Masses* made by Tamiment Library, provided elsewhere in the section on *The Masses* on the Riazanov Library hard drive and on the Marxists Internet Archive page that presents scans of *The Masses*.

We met with what I'd call generally good but less than perfect success in restoring scans for this project. Our skills in digital restoration were rudimentary, as were the tools we had available to us to apply to that restoration. I leave it to you, who views this collection, to decide which is the more appropriate way to archive and present this material.

---marty June 2016 Brooklyn NY



THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS





THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS



The Freedom of the Press

Guide to the 50 scans of The Masses 2 page Center Art

[the two digit number in front of the volume and issue number is page number in the thumbnails display in Acrobat of the scan in question.]

01 v4n03 dec 1912

Art Young - The Freedom of the Press

This is the first time a two page wide political cartoon appears across the center two pages of an issue of The Masses. It's also one of my favorite of all of the political 2 page wide cartoons in The Masses, and as true today over 100 years after it was printed as it was back in 1912. Present is the stitched together and restored cartoon from Tamiment Library's original digital imaging, in Black and White at 400 dpi. Unfortunately this restoration is less than perfect. We did not have the time or skill or software tools to fully correct the distortion introduced by Tamiment Library's imaging team's failure to press the two pages flat. Thus there is some distortion to some of the material in the center of the image.

02 v4n04 jan 1913

John Sloan - Why, He Did It

Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

03 v4n05 feb 1913

Maurice Becker - None So Blind as Those Who Can't Afford to See

Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

04 v4n06 mar 1913

Art Young - US: You're a Cheap Bunch of Soreheads and You Can't Land Here.

Scanned by me directly from original issue.

05 v4n07 may 1913

George Bellows - The Business Men's Class

Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

06 v4n08 may 1913

Art Young - Defeated

This is one cartoon whose message I frankly can't figure out.

Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

07 v4n09 jun 1913

Stuart Davis - Saving the Corpse

Scanned by me from original issues

08 v4n10 jul 1913

George Bellows - Splinter Beach

A particularly beautiful rendition of a scene from a century ago. Evocative of what working class life for young adults growing up in Brooklyn and NYC must have been like circa 1913: rough and tough, hard, ebullient, joyous -- full of the chaos of struggling life. Appears to be by the East River near the Brooklyn Bridge. One of my and Robin's favorites.

Original lithograph sold at Christies for \$1,263,570 (hammer price) May 23, 2013.

See, <http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/drawings-watercolors/george-wesley-bellows-splinter-beach-5683361-details.aspx>.

8 bit gray scale scan restored and stitched from Tamiment Library's scans.

09 v4n11 aug 1913

John Sloan - The Woman's Night Court / Before Her Makers and Her Judge

A woman being judged ... not by her peers!

Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

v4n12 sep 1913 NO two page center art

10 v5n01 oct 1913

Maurice Becker - Absolute Justice / Portrait of an Arbitration Court /
Labor, Capital, and an "Impartial" Third Party

Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

11 v5n02 nov 1913

Maurice Becker- Street Peddlers / The Uncurbed "Curb"

Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

12 v5n03 dec 1913

John Sloan - The Masses [priest addressing wealthy congregation]

Thus, friends, we see The Masses filled with a vague unchristian spirit of discontent. They cry out upon work, bewailing their divinely appointed lot, forgetful, my brethren, of the heavenly law which ordains that only through toil and tribulation by the narrow path of self denial may we enter into the higher values of spiritual blessedness. Let us pray.

Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

13 v5n04 jan 1914

Stuart Davis - War

scanned by me from original issues.

v5n05 feb 1914 NO two page center art

v5n06 jan 1914 NO two page center art

14 v5n07 apr 1914

John Sloan - Calling the Christian Bluff

Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

15 v5n08 may 1914

Maurice Becker - Unlawful Assembly

Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

16 v5n09 jun 1914

Maurice Becker - Ammunition

Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

17 v5n10 jul 1914

Stuart Davis - The Dignity of the Uniform

[How company thugs get turned into official legal “soldiers”]

Text: “Before they put on the Kaki suits they are gunmen and thugs in the employ of the mine owners. Dressed up, they are soldiers of the state militia, engaged in the “protection of life and property.” This wonderful transformation scene may be observed in Colorado, Calumet, or any strike region.”

Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

v5n11 aug 1914 NO two page center art

18 v5n12 sep 1914

John Sloan - His master: “You’ve done very well. Now what is left of you can go back to work.”

Searing comment on the mutilation of the workers used as canon-fodder in imperialist war, and how the rulers see this.

Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

19 v6n01 oct 1914

K. R. Chamberlain - Afterwards

“He: The war is over. You can go home now, and WE’LL run things.”

“She: “You go put up that gun, and perhaps we’ll let you help.”

Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

20 v6n02 nov 1914

K. R. Chamberlain - [Grand Jury investigation of Colorado Mine Strike]

Colorado Mine Owner: “We only got 14 of them. Better go ahead and indict a couple of hundred more for murder.”

Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

21 v6n03 dec 1914

Art Young - The Sport of Kings

“Colorado mine-owners have enlisted a new batch of militia-gunned to hunt strikers in the coalfields. We suggest that they let the gunmen drive in the game, and they do the shooting themselves.” [This is a representation of a fox hunt, but with mine-owner militia shooting miners for sport.]

Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

22 v6n04 jan 1915 mostly text with assorted sketches by Frank Walts

Max Eastman article - What is the Matter with Magazine Art

Frank Walts: assorted small illustrations

Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

23 v6n05 feb 1915

Eugene Higgins - The New Calvary

A single 8 bit 400 dpi gray scale image made by me directly from original paper.

24 v6n06 mar 1915

K. R. Chamberlain - Now We Will Talk

Text: “After refusing for twelve months to meet any person representing the striking miners, the Rockefeller interests - *now that the miners are all either murdered or whipped back into the mines* - graciously offer an interview to the strike leaders. “I am sure we shall understand each other better.” said John D. Rockefeller Jr. “and our meeting will have an influence for good”

["Junior" is how John D., Jr. was called to distinguish him from his father, who was known as "Senior" An author in Wikipedia comments on this image: In April 1914, after a long period of industrial unrest, the Ludlow Massacre occurred at a coal mine operated by the Colorado Fuel and Iron (CF&I) company. Junior owned a controlling interest in the company (40% of its stock) and sat on the board as an absentee director.^[3] At least 20 men, women, and children died in the incident, and in January 1915 Junior was called to testify before the Commission on Industrial Relations. Many critics blamed Rockefeller for ordering the massacre. Margaret Sanger wrote an attack piece in her magazine The Woman Rebel declaring, "But remember Ludlow! Remember the men and women and children who were sacrificed in order that John D. Rockefeller Jr., might continue his noble career of charity and philanthropy as a supporter of the Christian faith." ^[4]^[5] He was at the time being advised by William Lyon Mackenzie King and the pioneer public relations expert, Ivy Lee. Lee warned that the Rockefellers were losing public support and developed a strategy that Junior followed to repair it. It was necessary for Junior to overcome his shyness, go personally to Colorado to meet with the miners and their families, inspect the conditions of the homes and the factories, attend social events, and especially to listen closely to the grievances. This was novel advice, and attracted widespread media attention, which opened the way to resolve the conflict, and present a more humanized versions of the Rockefellers.^[6] Mackenzie King said Rockefeller's testimony was the turning point in Junior's life, restoring the reputation of the family name]

One single bit BW 400 dpi image restored from Tamiment Library's scans.

25 v6n07 apr 1915

John Sloan - The Constabulary / Policing the Rural Districts in Philadelphia 1910
Text: "We need a constabulary in this state to police the rural districts" - Tactful New York Gentleman. "The proposed NY State constabulary is modeled after that of Pennsylvania., which proved its usefulness so notably in the great streetcar strike in Philadelphia" - *candid Pennsylvania Editor*.

Scanned directly from original paper by me 400 dpi

26 v6n08 may 1915

Glenn O. Coleman - The Sawdust Trail
["The Sawdust Trail" was a term for the revival tent circuit, where "sinners would be redeemed". In this case the term is being used ironically, the reference being the sawdust on the floor of bars.]

Scan made by me from original paper

27 v6n09 jun 1915

Maurice Becker - During the Prayer
"Well, father, we've got John Lawson out of the way"
[John Lawson was a Colorado coal striker sentenced to life in prison]
600 dpi 8 bit gray scale image scanned by me from original paper

28 v6n10 jul 1915

M. A. Kempf - To the US: Did You Call?
[the specter of involvement in WWI]
Scan made by me directly from original paper]

29 v6n11 aug 1915

Art Young - A Strike-Breaking Agency
"Against this kind of capitalist warfare the laboring man is expected to be courteous, gentle, and patient" Strike-Breaking Rates: A Tap on the Nut - \$10 / A shot in the hoof - \$15 / Knockdown with a kick in the navel - \$7.30 / A crowd cleanout, dead or alive - \$100."

Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

30 v6n12 sep 1915

Glenn O Coleman - Heat
This shadowy work of art transports one to the summer streets of a century ago.
[Three scans, two with a tabloid scanner and some cropping of text outside of the art itself (600 dpi gray scale and 1200 dpi single bit BW), and one full edge to edge scan of both pages at 400 dpi grayscale with a broadsheet scanner. Scanned by me from original This was a very dark, low-contrast image, which was quite difficult to render digitally. Rather to my surprise, a single bit BW scan rendered this image more accurately and in more detail than did assorted gray scale scans.]

31 v7n01 oct-nov 1915 largely text

Stuart Davis - Types of Anti-Suffragists

Three images, each with its own caption. The center image crosses the two center pages.

Captions are: "We've got other things to do, haven't we, Mary, besides interfere in politics." [wealthy woman to char-lady] and "What do we need with the vote. We can get all we want without it". [wealthy woman to servant] and "What's the use" [down-trodden and dissipated woman].

Scanned by me from original paper.

32 v8n02 dec 1915

Art Young - Breed!

A biting cartoon on the role men / capitalist society would impose on women.

This scan was made the old-fashioned, low tech way, involving printing out each of the two severed parts of the image produced by Tamiment Library, then physically cutting and taping the two pages together, then scanning them

33 v8n03 jan 1916

Maurice Becker [anti US involvement in WWI cartoon]

President Wilson: "But I don't want them [munitions] - there isn't any enemy to fight"

Morgan, Schwab, & Co.: "You buy these guns and we'll get you an enemy."

400 dpi single bit BW image made directly by me from original paper

34 v8n04 feb 1916

Maurice Becker - The Higher Education [at Harvard]

"A reform for Harvard University suggested by her most illustrious graduate"

[anti-war / anti military training on campus cartoon]

single bit BW 400 dpi stitched and restored from scans made by Tamiment Library

35 v8n05 mar 1916

Art Young- If You Belong Here, Line Up!

biting satire in an anti-militarism / anti-imperialist war cartoon. Hard to imagine such a cartoon appearing in *any* publication outside of a small circulation left publications today.

Single bit BW stitched and restored from Tamiment Library scans.

36 v8n06 apr 1916

Art Young - April Fool!

[Curious cartoon regarding the bourgeois press. Includes small images of Art Young and of Max Eastman.]

Single bit BW 600 dpi scanned by me from original paper.

37 v8n07 may 1916

K. R. Chamberlain - "Parade of 2,000,000 Charity Workers , to be held in 1950, in honor of a destitute person found in the slums" / "NY City has now some 10,000 paid workers for organized charity"

[Lampoon of parasitic and fake "charity workers" that probably offended petty bourgeois sentiments then... and offends them today, too.]

Scanned by me from original paper.

38 v8n08 jun 1916

O. E. Cesare - Permanence of Worship [Rockefeller]

"Denver, April 9 John D. Rockefeller Jr. is willing to endow a Protestant or Catholic Church or both in every Colorado Fuel and Iron Company camp where adequate support and permanence of worship are assured."

[pages include text article on the subject by Max Eastman]

[A searing attack on the hypocrisy of religion.]

Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

39 v8n09 jul 1916

Boardman Robinson - The Deserter

[firing squad executes Jesus]

Scanned by me, single bit BW, from original paper.

40 v8n10 aug 1916

Robert Minor - "Either Platform Will Do"

[shows Democratic platform and Republican platform to be the SAME hangman's platform for Mexico]

Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

41 v8n11 sep 1916

Art Young - [typical scenario in court faced by the poor]

Attorney for the Defendant: "Your honor, the defendant was out of work. He has a sick wife and three small children."

Prosecuting Attorney: "Your honor, I object. The evidence is irrelevant, incompetent, and immaterial.

1200 dpi single bit BW scanned by me from original paper.

42 v8n12 oct 1916

Boardman Robinson - Europe 1916

[grim image of death on a donkey (Europe), offering the carrot of "victory" as it entices the donkey to advance over and off a precipice.]

Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

43 v9n01 nov 1916

Maurice Becker - Power

[cartoon about the fight for the 8 hour day]

Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

44 v9n02 dec 1916

Arthur B Davies - Struggle COLOR plate on center 2 pages

This is the ONLY instance in all of the 79 issues of The Masses of a COLOR center two page wide (or at least crossing the center of the two center pages) work of art. The scan presented I made from an original issue. My issue I had unbound from a large bound volume, and it had a dozen HOLES running vertically on each side of the center crease. I spent a couple of hours digitally removing those flaws. Scan is 24 bit color, 600 dpi.

45 v9n03 jan 1917

Boardman Robinson - [image of Judas / Cleric urges military training]

“Then Judas, which betrayed him, answered and said ‘Master, is it I?’ He said unto him, Thou hast said.” Matthew 26:25 / “Our Lord Jesus Christ does not stand for peace at any price. . . Every true American would rather see this land face war than see her flag lowered in dishonor. . . I wish to say that, not only from the standpoint of a citizen, but from the standpoint of a minister of religion. . . I believe there is nothing that would be of such great practical benefit to us as universal military training for the men of our land.” - Reverend Dr. William T. Manning, Rector of Trinity Parish, New York City.

[Boardman Robinson is known for his use of biblical images in cartoons in “The Masses” and “The Liberator”. This anti-war cartoon is both visually biblical AND quotes from the book of Abrahamic-religious superstition known as “The Bible”:]

This scan made by me directly from original paper.

v9n04 feb 1917 NO two page center art

v9n05 mar 1917 NO two page center art

46 v9n06 apr 1917

Art Young - The Way of Ancient Rome

[worker as canal mule pulling ship of the ruling elite of the US]

Single bit BW scan 600 dpi made directly from original paper by me.

47 v9n07 may 1917

George Bellows - Benediction in Georgia [Minister addresses convicts]

Restored and stitched from scans made by Tamiment Library.

v9n08 jun 1917 NO two page center art

48 v9n09 jul 1917

Boardman Robinson - The New Freedom

[Devil whips masses into fortress adorned with US flag with Liberty tied to a stake.]

Single bit BW scan made by me from original paper.

49 v9n10 aug 1917

Boardman Robinson - Making the World Safe for Capitalism
gray 600 dpi scan made from original paper by me.

v9n11 sep 1917 NO two page center art

v9n12 oct 1917 NO two page center art

50 v10n01 nov-dec 1917

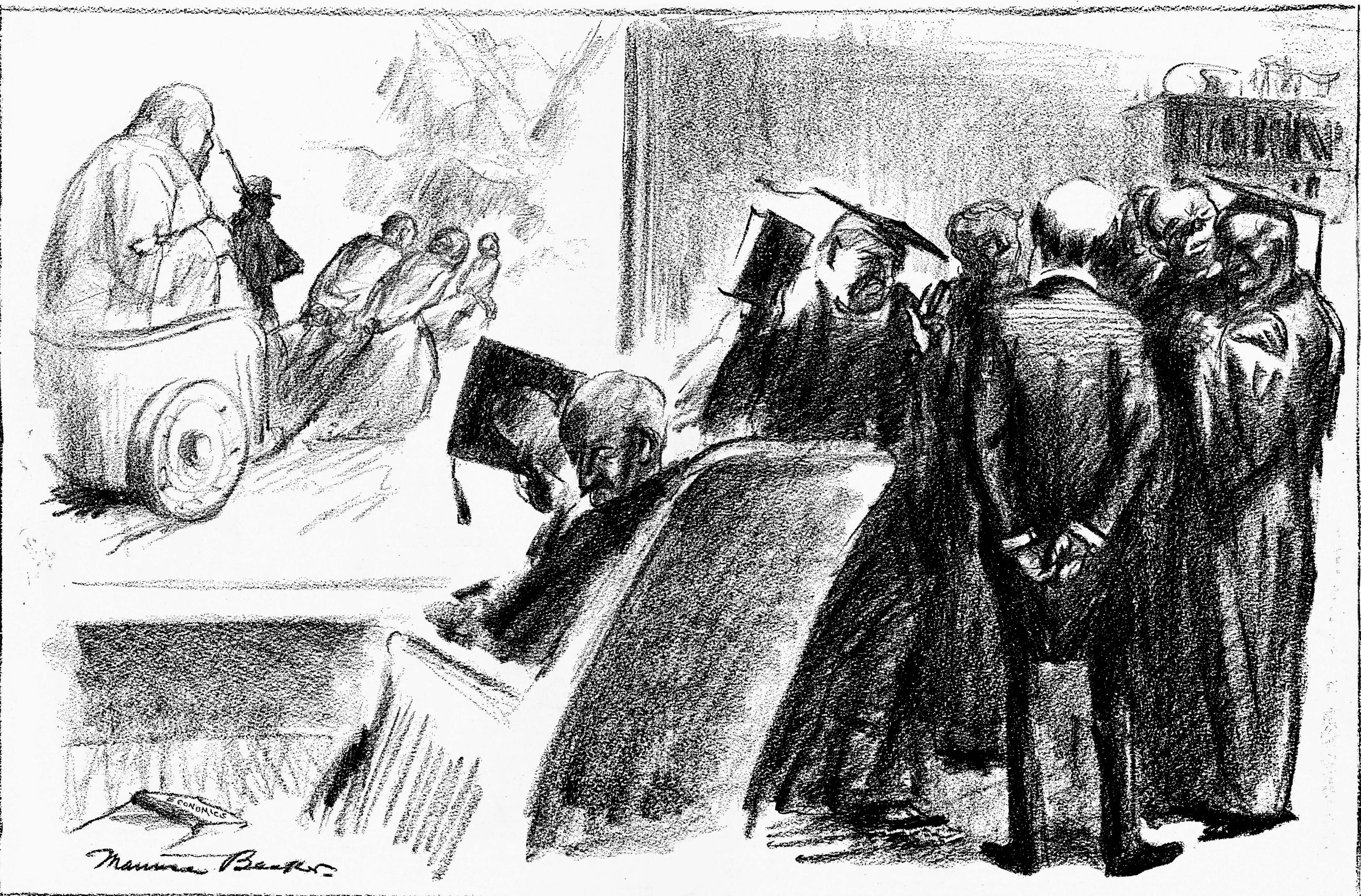
Art Young - "Oh Lord, control my appetite if you must, but don't take my pie away."
[capitalist sits before a pie of coal, iron, railroads, telegraph, water power, and lumber]
Single bit BW 600 dpi (but only 53 kilobytes for entire image) made the old fashioned
way from Tamiment's scans by, after restoration to BW, printing out each of Tamiment's
two pages of the severed image, cutting and pasting together with sissors and tape,
touching up with a physical pen, then scanning the result.



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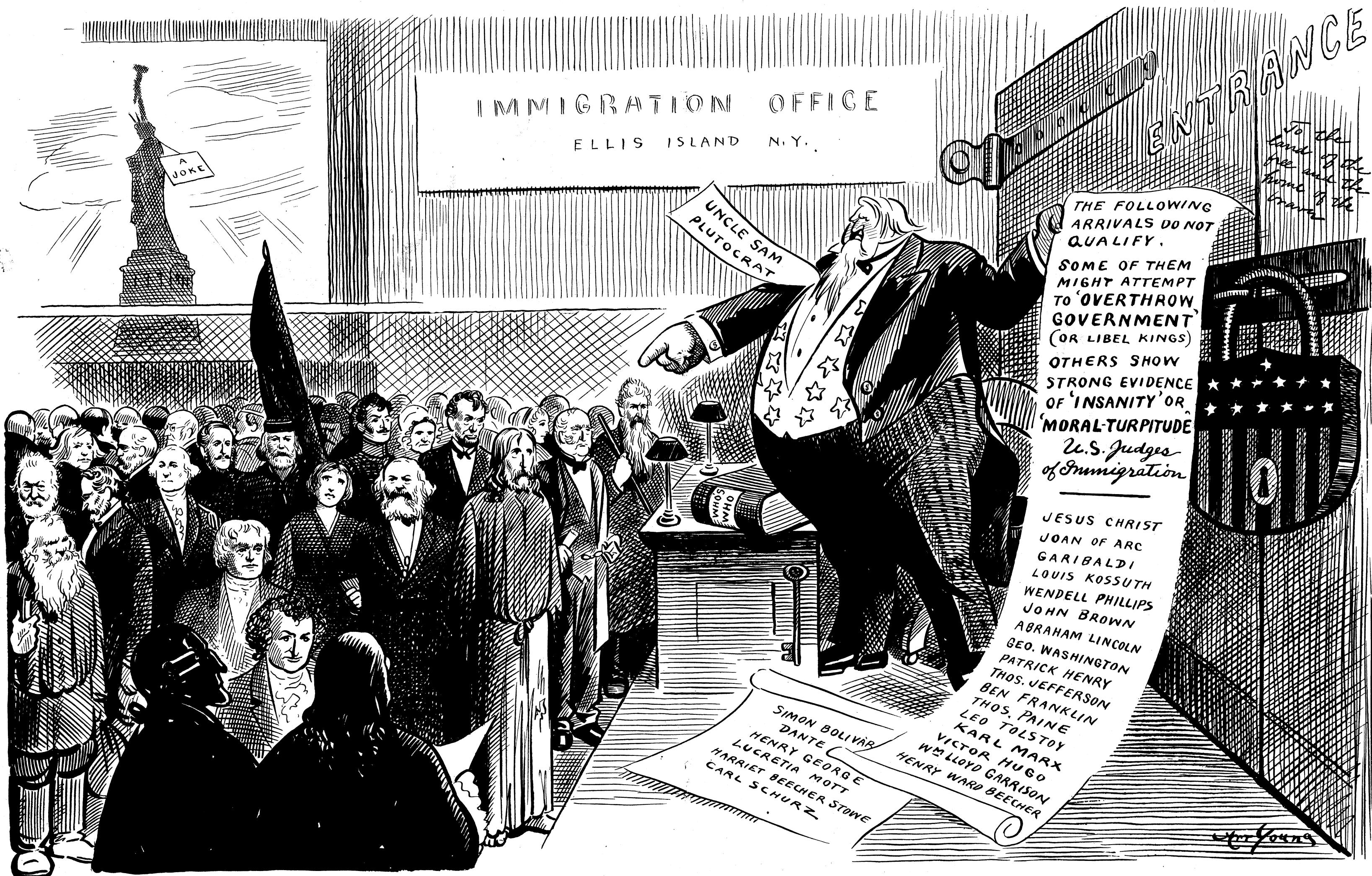
Why Did *HE* Do It?



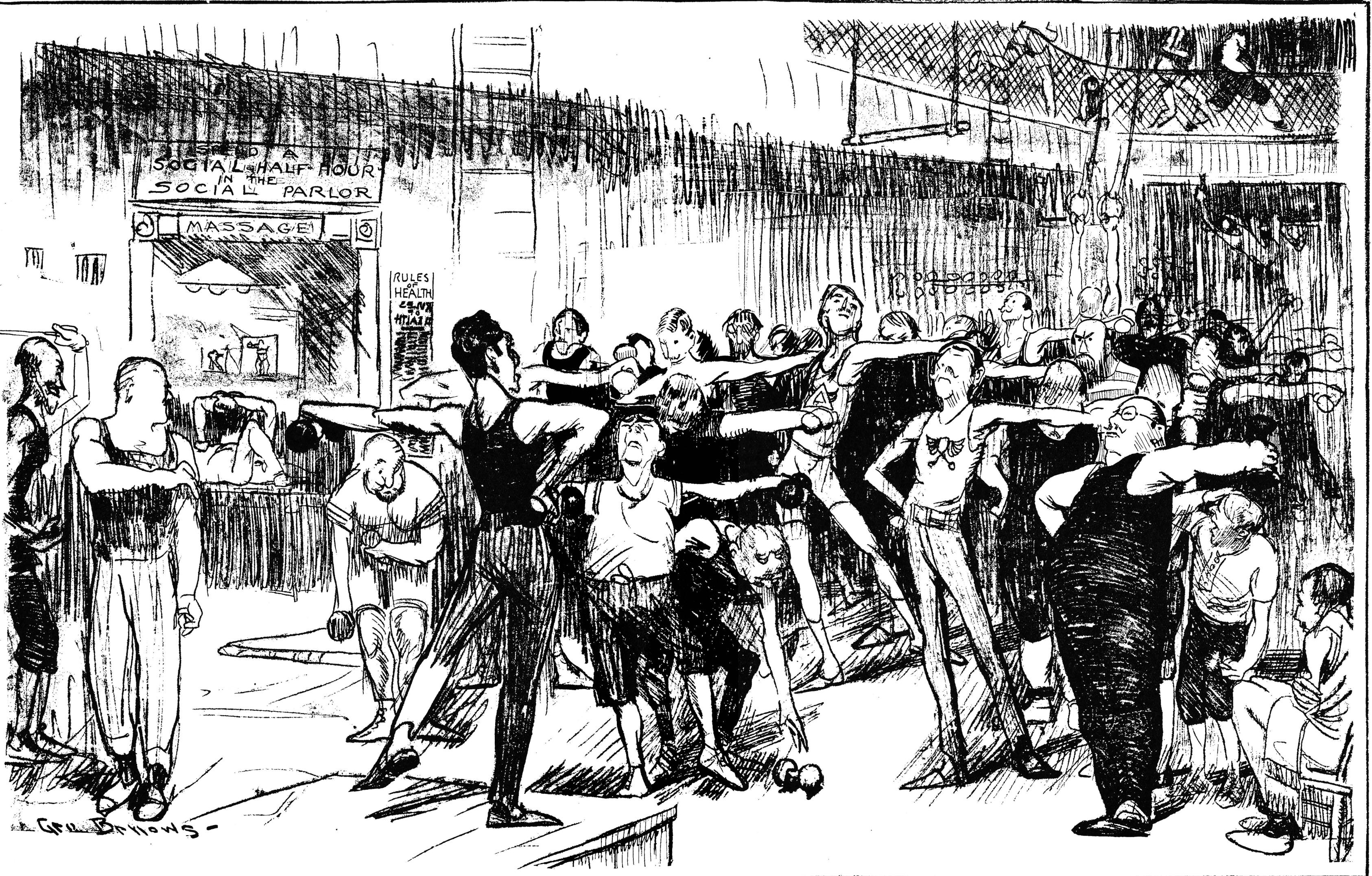
Drawn by Maurice Becker.

None So Blind As Those Who Can't Afford To See

IF THEY SHOULD COME BACK, VIA ELLIS ISLAND



U. S.:—"You're a Cheap Bunch of Soreheads and you Can't Land Here."



Drawn by George Bellows.

The Business Men's Class

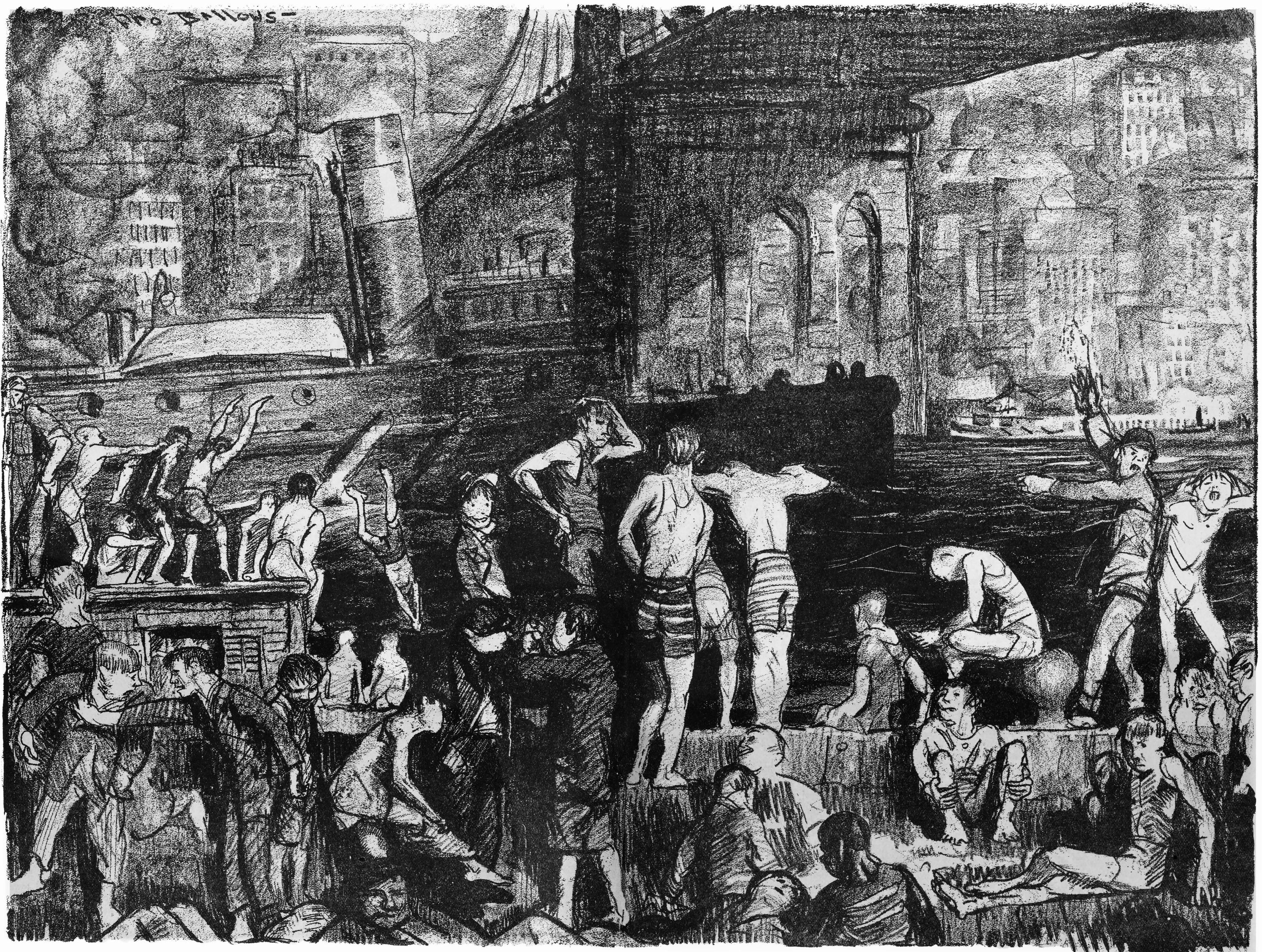


DEFEATED

Drawn by Arthur Young.



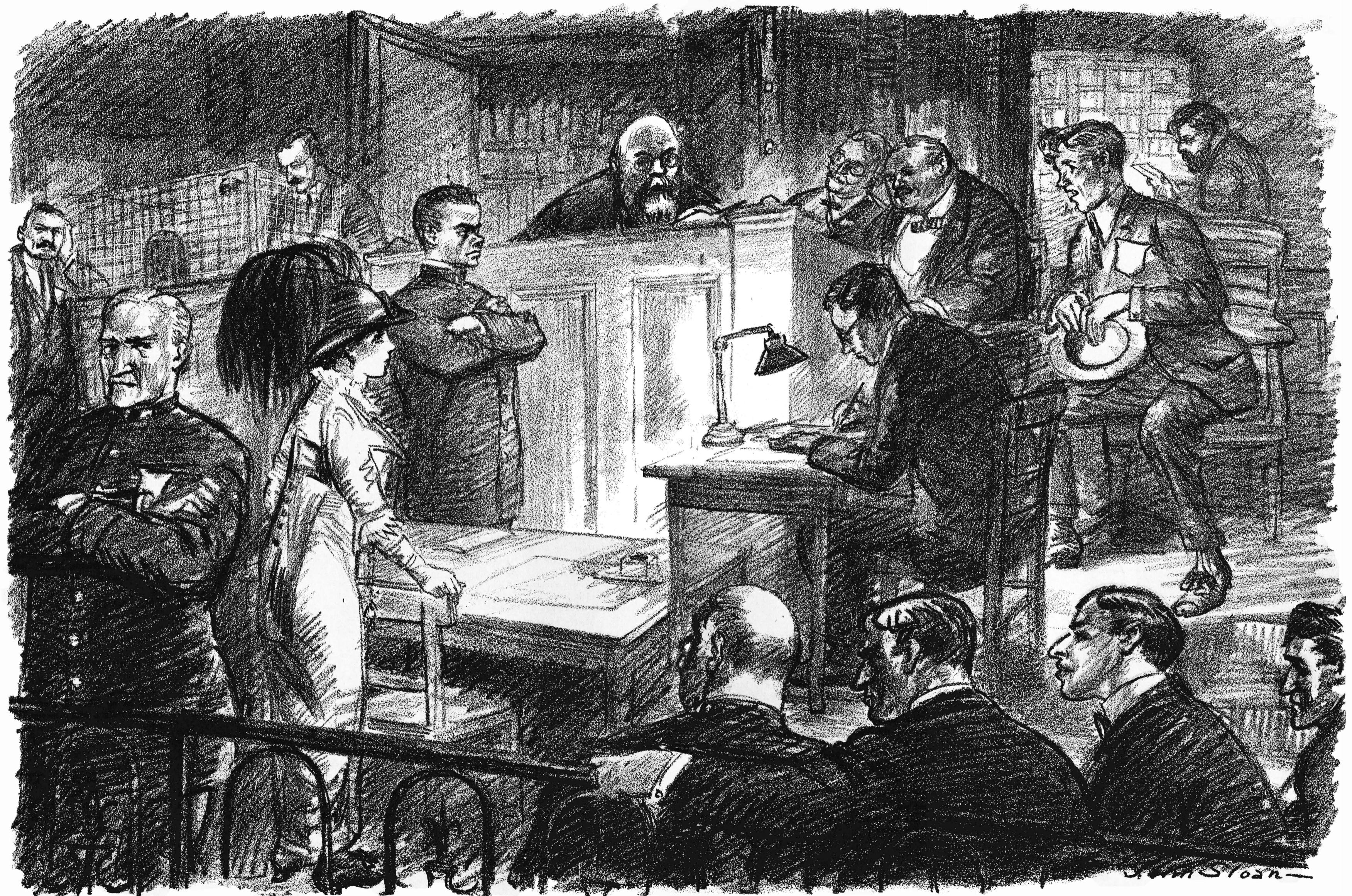
Saving the Corpse



Drawn by George Bellows

Splinter Beach

THE WOMEN'S NIGHT COURT



Drawn by John Sloan.

Before Her Makers and Her Judge



ABSOLUTE JUSTICE

The Portrait of an Arbitration Court

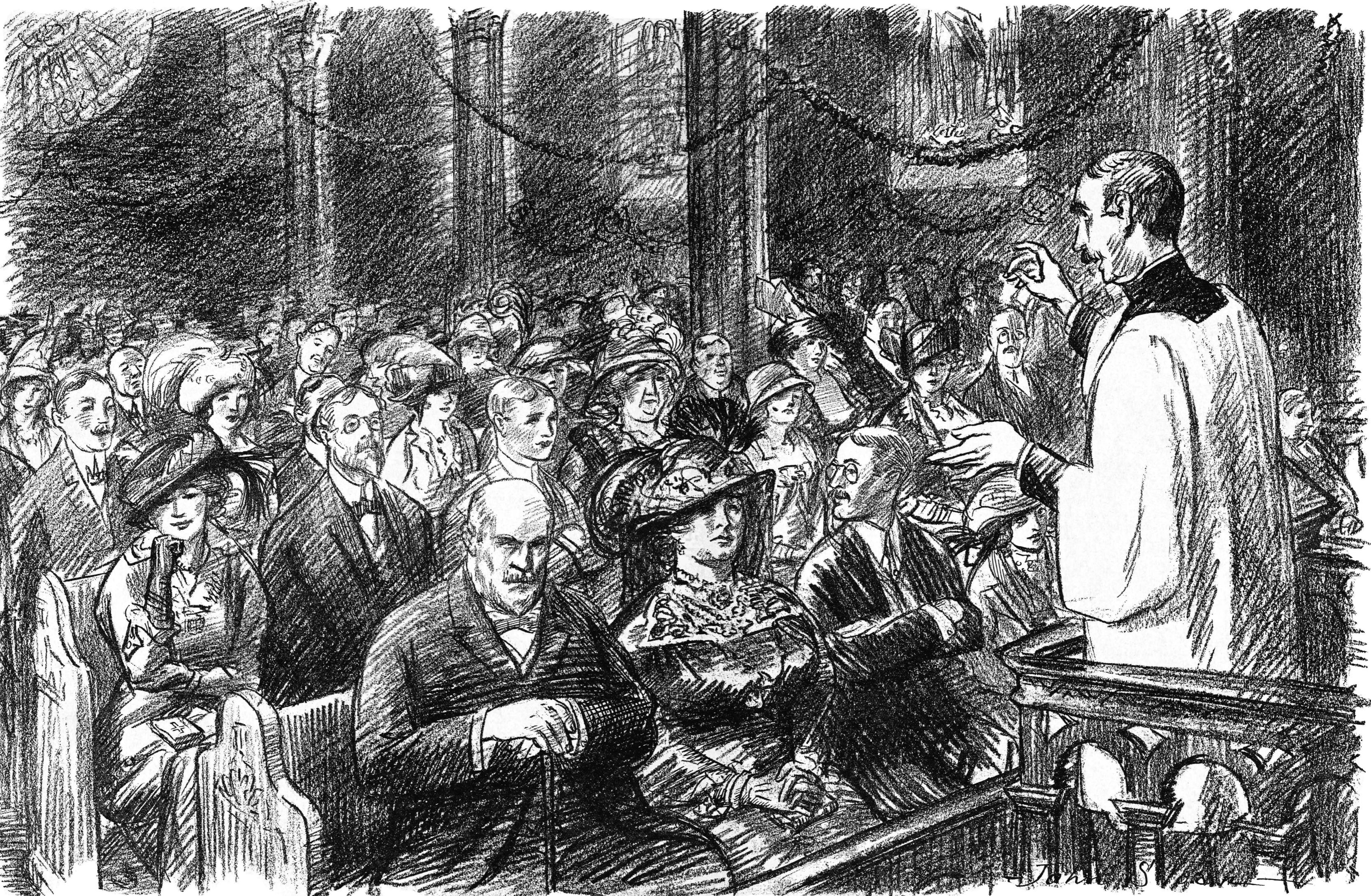
Labor, Capital and an Impartial
Third Party.

STREET PEDLARS



Drawn by Maurice Becker

The Uncurbed "Curb"



Drawn by John Sloan.

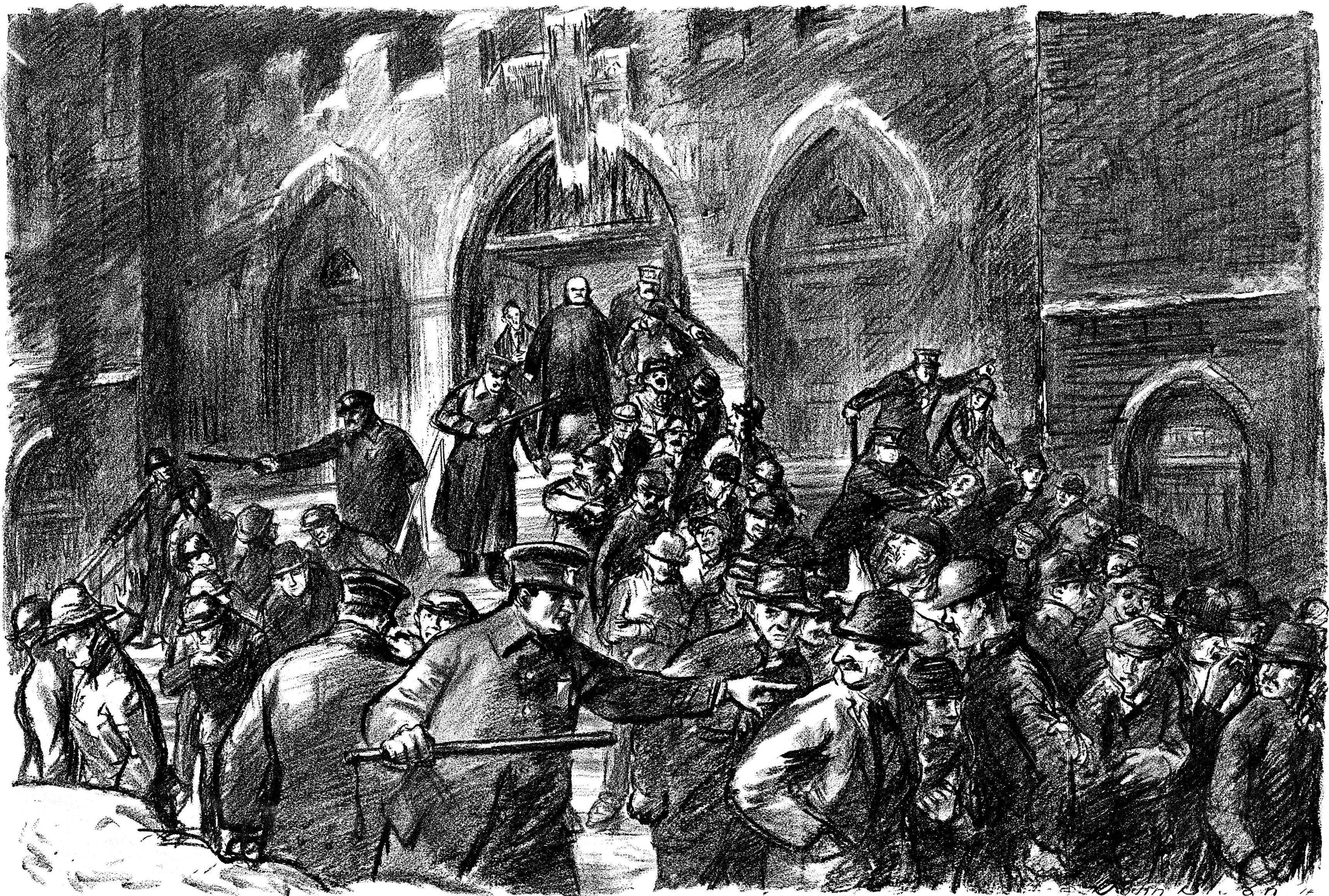
HIS REVERENCE: "THUS, FRIENDS, WE SEE THE MASSES FILLED WITH A VAGUE, UNCHRISTIAN SPIRIT OF DISCONTENT. THEY CRY OUT UPON WORK, BEWAILING THEIR DIVINELY APPOINTED LOT, FORGETFUL, MY BRETHREN, OF THE HEAVENLY LAW WHICH ORDAINS THAT ONLY THROUGH TOIL AND TRIBULATION, BY THE NARROW PATH OF SELF-DENIAL, MAY WE ENTER INTO THE HIGHER VALUES OF SPIRITUAL BLESSEDNESS. . . . LET US PRAY!"



Drawn by Stuart Davis.

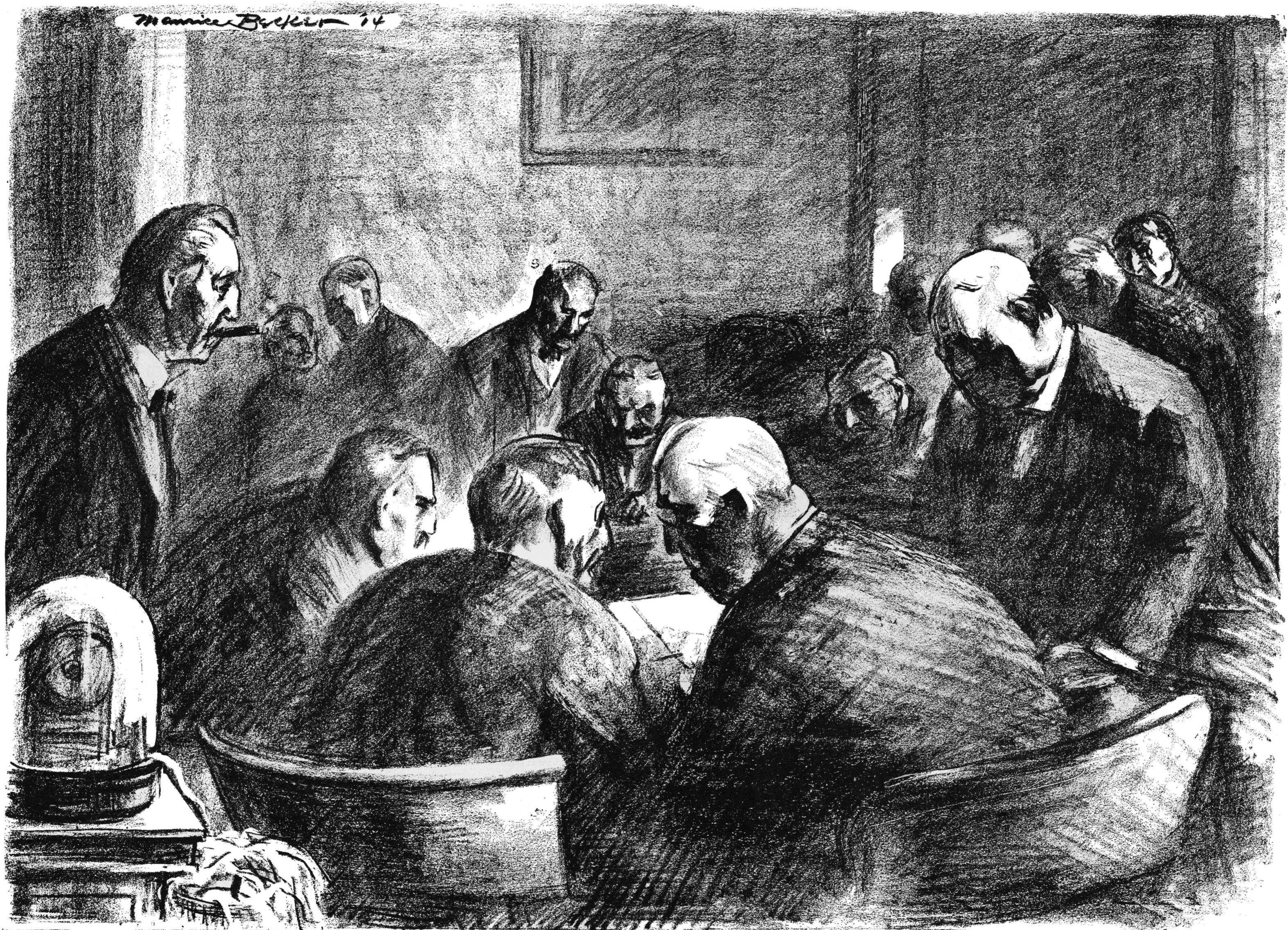
THE MASSES, Jan., 1914.

WAR



Drawn by John Sloan.

Calling the Christian Bluff



Drawn by Maurice Becker.

"Unlawful Assembly"



AMMUNITION

Drawing by Maurice Becker



Drawn by Stuart Davis.

THE MASSES, July, 1914.

"The Dignity of the Uniform"

Before they put on the khaki suits they are gun-men and thugs in the employ of the mine-owners. Dressed up, they are soldiers of the state militia, engaged in the "protection of life and property." This wonderful transformation scene may be observed in Colorado, Calumet or any strike region.



Drawn by John Sloan.

His Master: "You've done very well. Now what is left of you can go back to work."

THE MASSES, Sept., 1914.



Drawn by K. R. Chamberlain.

AFTERWARDS

THE MASSES, October, 1914.

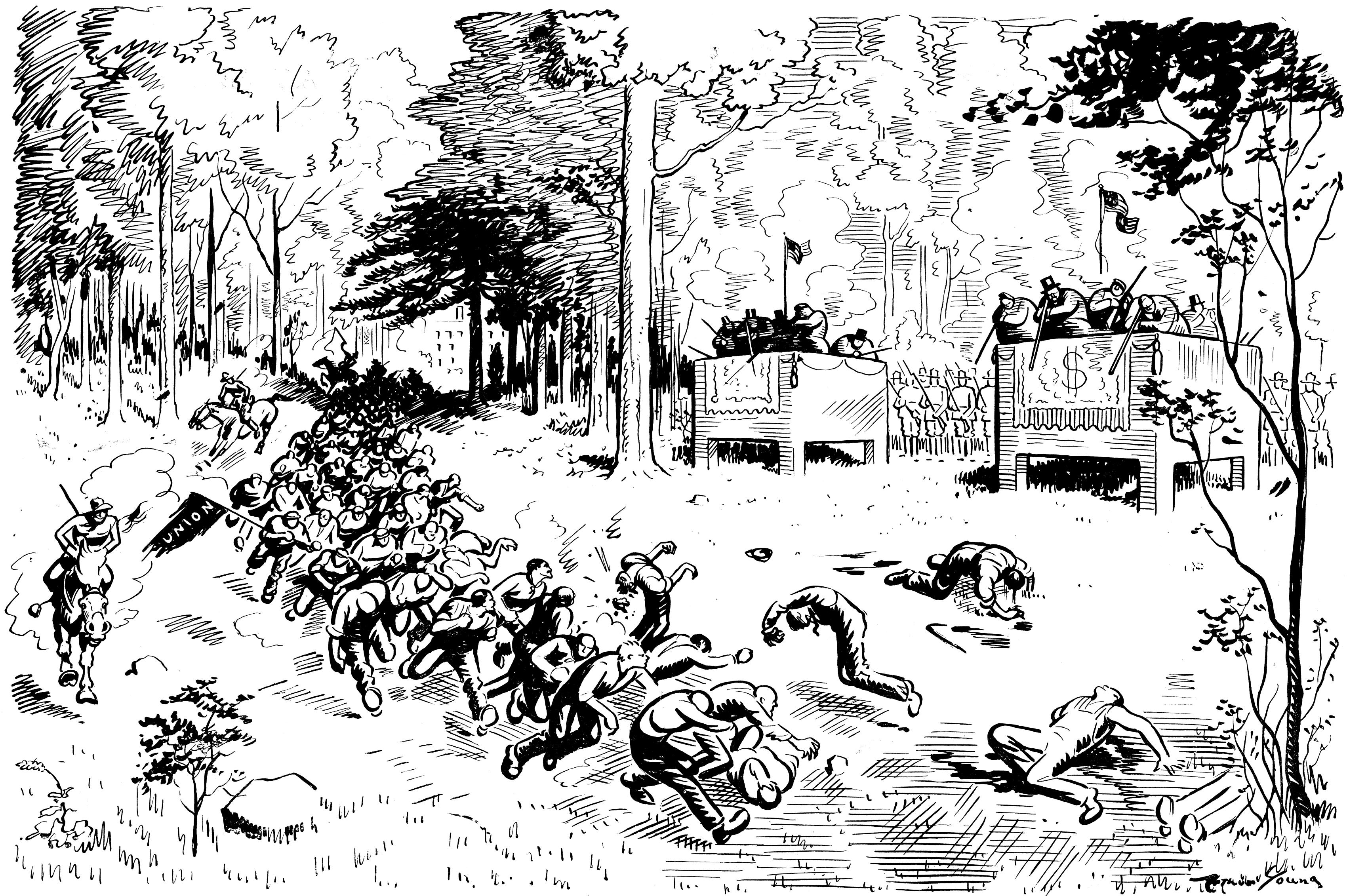
He: The War's Over. You can go home now, and We'll run things
She: You go put up that gun, and perhaps We'll let you help



Drawn by K. R. Chamberlain.

Colorado Mine Owner: "We only got fourteen of them. Better go ahead and indict a couple of hundred more for murder."

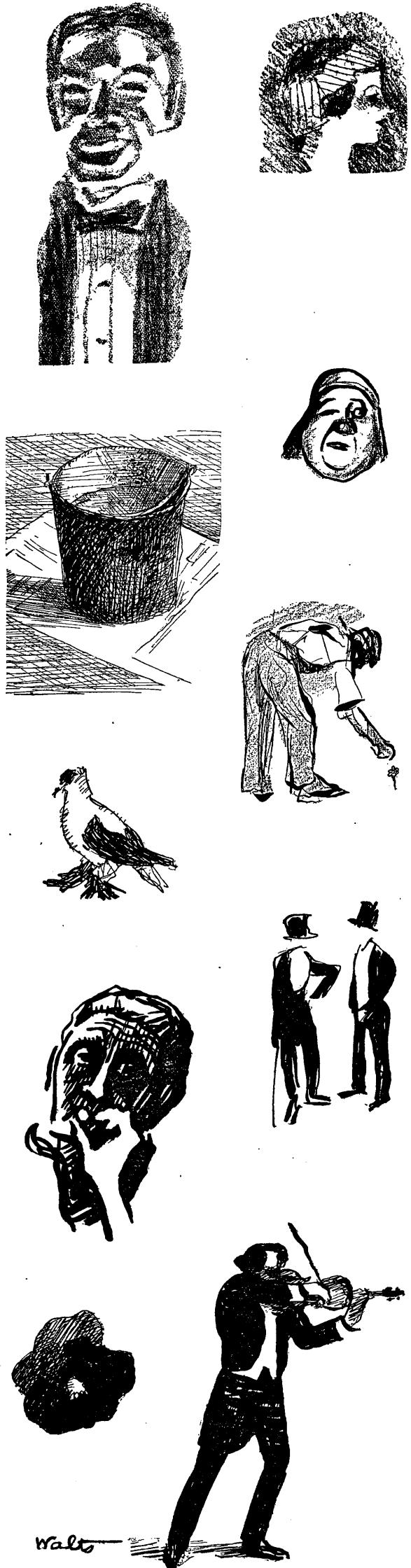
The Las Animas County grand jury, after investigating the Colorado strike disorders, has indicted two hundred members of the miners' union for murder. Chief among the "strike disorders" they investigated, is the Ludlow Massacre, in which fourteen of the miners' women and children were murdered in cold blood by mine-guards and militiamen. No mine-guards or militiamen have been indicted. The situation is capable of just one interpretation, and that is the one presented in this picture.



Drawn by Arthur Young.

THE SPORT OF KINGS

Colorado mine-owners have enlisted a new batch of militia-gunned to hunt strikers in the coal-fields.
We suggest that they let the gunmen drive in the game, and they do the shooting themselves.



SKETCHES BY FRANK WALTS

WHAT IS THE MATTER WITH MAGAZINE ART

Max Eastman

DRAWING is destined to a high place among the arts, for drawings, like music, can be adequately reproduced and widely distributed. And while this has appeared a detriment in the light of aristocratic ideals, in the light of democracy it is a fine virtue. The ideal of democracy has indeed given to many artists of our day a new interest in drawing. Some of the best painters in America would draw for the popular magazines, if popular magazine editors had an interest in true art.

That the editors have not an interest in true art is due, I suppose, not to any natural depravity in them, but to their struggle for existence under the prevailing system of journalism. And the system, briefly, is this:

A publication is a piece of goods manufactured and sold in competition with others for the benefit of a stock company that owns it. The stockholders as a group are interested in dividends. They hire an editor to put out a publication that will sell, and they pay him according to his success. Editors, like human beings, are prone to eat food, and beget families, which is to say that their tastes and ideas are subject to an economic interpretation. And so they seek to mix into their publication a little bit of everything that will sell. The editorial art is the art of ever attracting a new constituency without alienating the old. The result, an insane passion for variety, but a perfectly automatic toning down of every variant that appears. A profitable mediocrity—sometimes called a “golden mean”—is the editorial ideal.

And artists, like editors, are “economically determined.” They learn to draw pictures that will sell, pictures that will attract ever new constituents without alienating the old. Or if their native impulse to be an individual, an object of hate as well as love, is too strong—then they do not draw for publication at all, which amounts to the same thing in its effect upon magazine art.

This then, is the diagnosis of published art in America. It is business art. It does not aim to achieve the beautiful, the real, the ideal, the characteristic, the perfect, the sublime, the ugly, the grotesque, the harmonious, the symmetrical, or any other of those ends that various schools of art and art criticism have with similar merit set before them. It aims to achieve profits in competition. And any or all of those genuinely artistic aims are subordinated to that.

At this point, certain persons whom I should wish to have disagree with me throughout life and literature, will chime in with, “Yes, you’re right. The trouble is that the people don’t want true art, and the magazines have to give people what they want.”

The trouble is not so simple. It would not take “the people” long to discover and express their likings for true art, if enough true art, enough kinds of true art, were offered them. Only they would not all discover likings for the same kind. And that is where the trouble lies.

True art is not one and indivisible, the same to-day, yesterday, and forever. Indeed, the more highly evolved a group of art works is, the more do individual specimens differ, and the more certain it is that some people will definitely dislike some specimens. That is how it falls out that, although plenty of people would like true art, still the effort to please a great many people all the time and never displease any, results in a drab and mediocre semblance of art.

—

Might we not almost define good art—braving the

learned dogmas of the schools—as art which gives a high degree of satisfaction to those who like it? And does it not almost follow that it will give equal dissatisfaction to those who do not like it? But the aim of a money-making magazine is to give neither intense pleasures nor intense displeasures to a few, but to please everybody a little all the time—namely, about ten or fifteen cents’ worth. Then only can the editors feel steadfast and sure in regard to those dividends.

Let us consider the prevailing features of magazine art in America, and judge if they do not sustain this diagnosis. We shall find that they each arise out of the desire to please everybody a little and displease none.

I.

Magazine art tends to be photographic. By which I mean that it tries to reproduce every portion of a figure, as seen from a certain point, with mechanical precision—eliminating all those lights and shadows, emergings and recedings, suppressions and distortions of external reality which the individual human factor puts into a perception. The trained magazine artist has carefully destroyed all his own warm and lovable idiosyncrasies, and turned himself into a reproducing machine which can “go over” a canvas from top to bottom, and “put in” with unerring accuracy everything that “ought to” be there. He is a highly skilled person. He knows how to draw men, horses, buttons, pants, books, hatracks, seltzer bottles, shoes, shoestrings, cats, frowns, kisses, hot-water bottles, anything and everything, scattered or combined; but how to draw a single human perception he has not the slightest idea.

Nor does he need one, for his accurate reproductions in skillful perspective, give a certain rudimentary satisfaction to everybody—the satisfaction, namely, of saying, “My, ain’t that a good likeness!”

We have the authority of Aristotle that this—“the pleasure of recognition”—is most fundamental and universal of the aesthetic pleasures. But we do not need any authority, for every honest person—even the pastmaster of futurism—will have to confess that still the child in him takes a rudimentary satisfaction in this feat when it is well done.

At the time when I grew beyond a purely childish interest in pictures, I formed the habit of looking through the comic weeklies for drawings by Art Young. If anyone then had asked me why I liked these drawings better than others, I should have said: “I don’t know—they’re so funny looking.” But I could say more than that now. I could say that Art was about the first popular draughtsman to quit drawing standard types, pictures of pictures of pictures of people, and begin drawing people—the people around him the way they look through his eyes. And that they look “funny,” and look as they never looked before and never will again, was not a discovery peculiar to me.

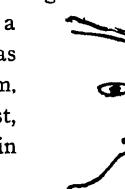
Consider his “Nice Cool Sewer” picture from THE MASSES for last May. A critic on the *Evening Mail* declares that this drawing is “already a classic”—but I find people who do not like it. They think it is not “done.” “Why, his hands look like mittens!” they say. “They’re not hands!”

No—they are not hands, not objective hands, hands in the abstract, hands from a

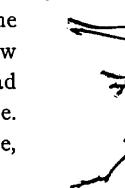
hand factory. They are a certain peculiar individual’s perception of the hands of a certain peculiar man, a tired man, a man sunk onto a chair at the end of a dirty day’s work, a man who feels bad and smells bad to himself, and wishes he were abed.

However, there is no entering a brief for the picture, no judging its artistic merit. The final truth about its merit is that some people will see the picture, and some will not, but those who see it will see it with great joy, for it is not a picture of a picture, nor yet even a picture of a man, but a picture of a perception of a man.

The difference between drawing a man and drawing a perception of a man, is akin to the difference between knowledge and experience. The thing an artist has to do is to transcend his knowledge and win his way back to experience. Take a crude illustration. If you, being as stupid about these things as I am, set out to draw a man going east, you would do it the first time in this fashion:



That would be a poor picture of a man going east, and you would decide that you know very little about physiognomy. On the contrary, however, you know too much. Your knowledge is what got in your way. You know, for instance, what is the shape of a man’s eye, and you drew a picture of your knowledge instead of drawing the looks of an eye. Empty yourself of that knowledge, and you will draw it this way:



Somewhat the way it looks.

I here reach the limit of my artistic training, but no more is needed to show the usual progress toward real drawing. It is a progress away from knowledge about things toward experience of things, away from abstraction toward concrete perception.

And when we pass beyond the photographic, or kodak, style of art, we are only taking further steps in the same direction. For, strangely enough, a photograph is a good deal more like knowledge than it is like perception. It has perspective, to be sure, but that is all it has that resembles visual experience. When we look at an object we allow our own character, our memories, predilections, interests, emotions, ideas, to determine what we shall see and how we shall see it. We do something. We go out and seize the salient details of the object, and we over-emphasize, and perfect, and condense, and alter, and mutilate, and idealize—in short, we perform the creative act of perception.

And when artists draw creatively, when they draw with individuality, as we say, and with freedom, they are simply coming nearer to that natural act of ours. They are coming nearer to real experience.

Great artists have always drawn in this way. There is nothing modern that departs more freely from what we know the human proportions to be, than the drawings of Michael Angelo. There is nothing less like a photograph than the sketches of Leonardo.

But most magazine illustrators have never caught the fever of individual being. They have never declared themselves free and independent of customary knowledge; they have never gone beyond catering to the rudimentary pleasure of recognition. And in a commercial way, it is well for them. Because if they should put their own individual vision strongly into a picture, a great many people to whom their individuality is uncongenial, would dislike the picture, whereas the mere act of easy recognition pleases everybody a little.

II.

When magazine art is not photographic, it makes up for that by being neat and “slick.” Perhaps *chique* is the technical word. I mean that if there is anything omitted or varied by the individual mind of the artist, the variation is so definite, arbitrary, and regular, as to carry us still farther away from a real perception instead of nearer to it. No one could accuse the usual magazine poster prodigy of being photographic. On the contrary, it is nothing but a pattern, a conventionalized symbol, a deft mechanically cut and trimmed diagram remotely suggesting a young lady in the agonies of fashionable attire.

Let us compare with it a drawing which is still less photographic. I choose one that was exhibited at the McDowell Society in New York a while ago. One of the chief virtues of this drawing, in comparison with the usual poster is that it is not a drawing of a girl. But that is not the virtue I mean to point out. I mean to point out that here is a drawing even more abbreviated, more incomplete, less filled up with meat, but which comes right back to reality, instead of going farther away from it. For those who can see it, this is a most true, intimate, and final picture of that dog—sketched with unerring loyalty to the eye, and sketched, moreover, with living sympathy and emotion. For those who see it, it is exquisite, but for those who do not, it is only a piece of old newspaper—the last thing in the world to pay money for. And so it is not a magazine drawing, while the other decidedly is. For neatness of execution—no matter how inhuman and foolish the subject matter—pleases everybody a little. Sometimes we call it “decorative”—and sometimes it is!

III.

When magazine drawings express feeling, the feelings they express are only the obvious and conventional ones of average people with coins in their pockets.

Wistfulness in a pretty girl—indicated by arching her eyebrows clear up into her hair. *Adventurous although stylish athleticism* in a young man—indicated in the jaw and pants.

Romance in the meeting of the two—indicated by his gazing upon the earth, she upon infinity.



Drawn by Arthur Young.
“I GOREY, I’M TIRED!”
“THERE YOU GO! YOU’RE TIRED! HERE I BE A-STANDIN’ OVER A HOT STOV IN A NICE COOL SEWER!”



SKETCHES BY FRANK WALTS



THE NEW CALVARY

Drawn by Eugene Higgins.



"NOW WE WILL TALK"

Drawn by K. R. Chamberlain.

After refusing for twelve months to meet any person representing the striking miners, the Rockefeller interests—now that the miners are all either murdered or whipped back into the mines—graciously offer an interview to the strike leaders. "I am sure we shall understand each other better," said John D. Rockefeller, Jr., "and our meeting will have an influence for good."

THE CONSTABULARY



Drawn by John Sloan

THE MASSES, April, 1915.

"Policing the Rural Districts" in Philadelphia, 1910.

"We need a constabulary in this state to police the rural districts."—*Tactful New York Gentleman*.

"The proposed New York state constabulary is modeled after that of Pennsylvania, which proved its usefulness so notably in the great street-car strike in Philadelphia."—*Candid Pennsylvania Editor*.



Drawn by Glenn O. Coleman.

The Sawdust Trail



Drawn by Maurice Becker.

DURING THE PRAYER

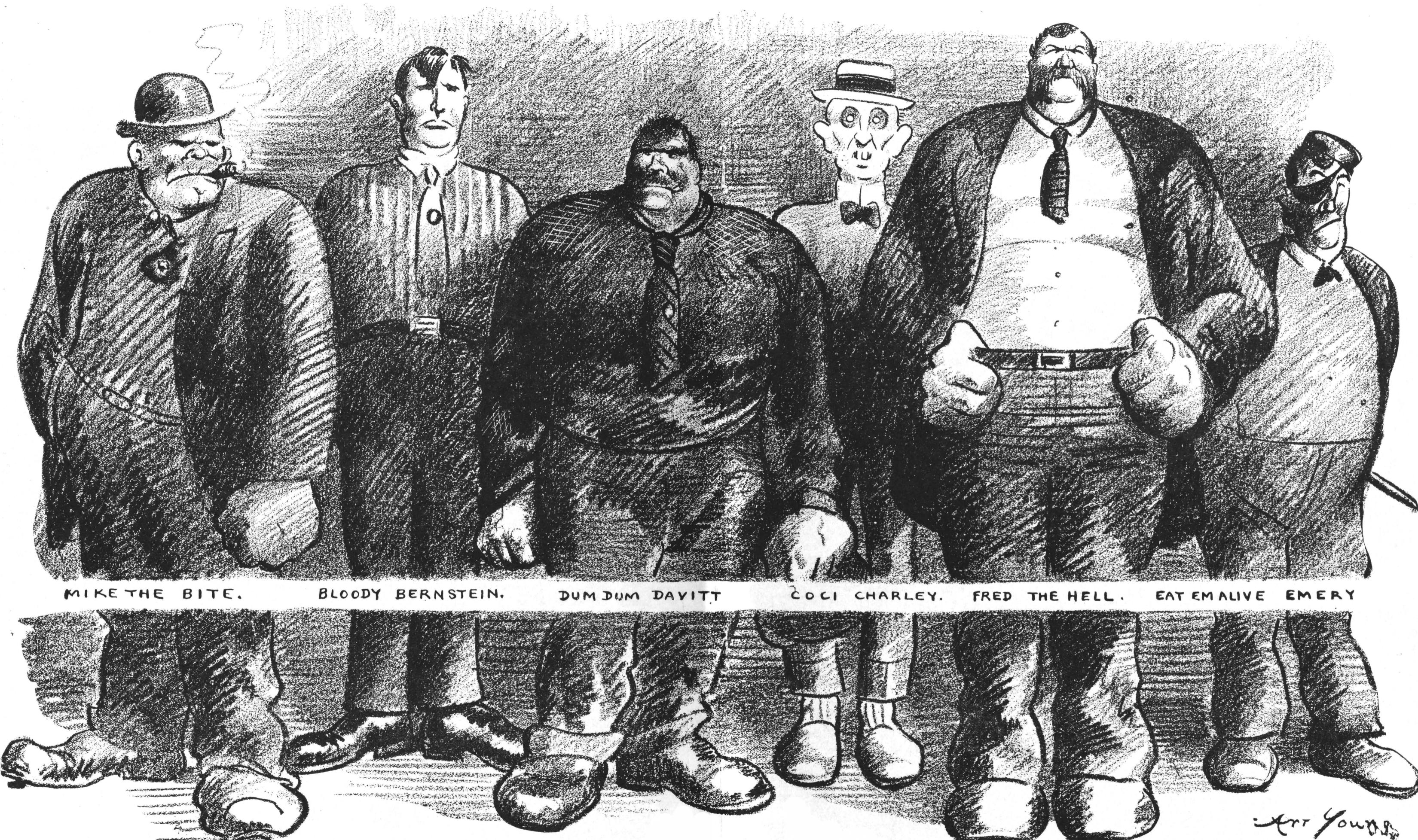
"Well Pa, we've got John Lawson out of the way!"



Drawn by M. A. Kempf.

To the U. S.:
"DID YOU CALL?"

A STRIKE-BREAKING AGENCY



Drawn by Arthur Young.

Against this kind of capitalist war-
fare the laboring man is expected
to be courteous, gentle and patient

THE MASSES, Aug., 1915.

STRIKE-BREAKING RATES

A tap on the nut —	\$10.00
A shot in the hoof —	15.00
Knockdown with a kick in the navel —	7.30
A crowd clean-out dead or alive —	100.00



Glenn Coleman -

TYPES OF ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS—By Stuart Davis



"We've got other things to do, haven't we, Mary, besides interfere in politics!"

without consent of the steel corporation, on account of the trust's ownership of railroads and ore. And Hill, testifying before the Committee on Ways and Means, made practically the same statement. But when we have broken up this control and placed the great basic natural resources and monopolies in the hands of the people, where they belong, we will have taken the first step in re-establishing a condition where industry will develop to its maximum, where every man will have work, where labor will find its lost bargaining power,

and jobs will be looking for men instead of men looking for jobs.

Let labor unite to fight for government ownership of the things which labor must be able to touch in order to live. Private monopoly in the necessities of civilization is, as President Wilson has said, intolerable and indefensible. America is realizing this as Europe has long realized and acted upon it.

If there were a single spring on a desert island you would not let one man, or even a minority group

among the castaways, monopolize or control that spring. You would realize that its possession by the whole ship's company was a matter of vital necessity and justice; that if one group controlled it as against the rest, immediately those who had water could dictate to those who had not water; in short, that already economic slavery had begun. Until this tyranny is ended there will be no real freedom either for labor or independent capital. But with natural resources and transportation in the people's hands, and accessible to

all on equal terms, there will be no restriction of labor or of industry; and America will take a place of leadership among the nations in the development of real instead of nominal democracy.

And above all while we are fighting to restore labor to a position of independence, remember, too, that before the public lands were exhausted there was little or no unemployment or industrial oppression in this country. When a man was free to take up a good homestead and make a living on it, no power on earth could force him into the slave pens of Lawrence or compel him to

submit to the un-American degradations of the western mining and southern lumber towns.

Today the report of the Department of Agriculture tells us that half our arable land lies fallow, as useless to man as it was ten thousand years ago. To bring the idle man to this idle land and create self-sustaining units, where there is now waste and poverty, is perhaps the foremost task of constructive American statesmanship. Let labor lead in this great work. It means its own emancipation.

In the labor movement of today we find the main hope of democracy. It contains the real idealism of American life. Political parties are essentially selfish. Without fundamental principles, they are maintained chiefly to get offices for men who use them to get office. Reform bodies are busy carrying on superficial

movements that do little harm—except to waste energy that might be usefully employed. They are generally trying to find some way to help the poor, without interfering with the special privileges of the rich. The church does not play a helpful part in the struggle for economic justice: its tendency is to sustain privilege.

But the labor group stands out as the one organized body that is ready to make great sacrifices for a simple and righteous aspiration. Labor is immensely vital because it is fighting for humanity's basic needs and rights.

That the gentlemen who are rooting for truffles in the field of American industry have understood so little the meaning of the labor movement is because they understand so little the meaning of democracy—which is but another word for life itself.



"What do we need with the vote? We can get all we want without it."



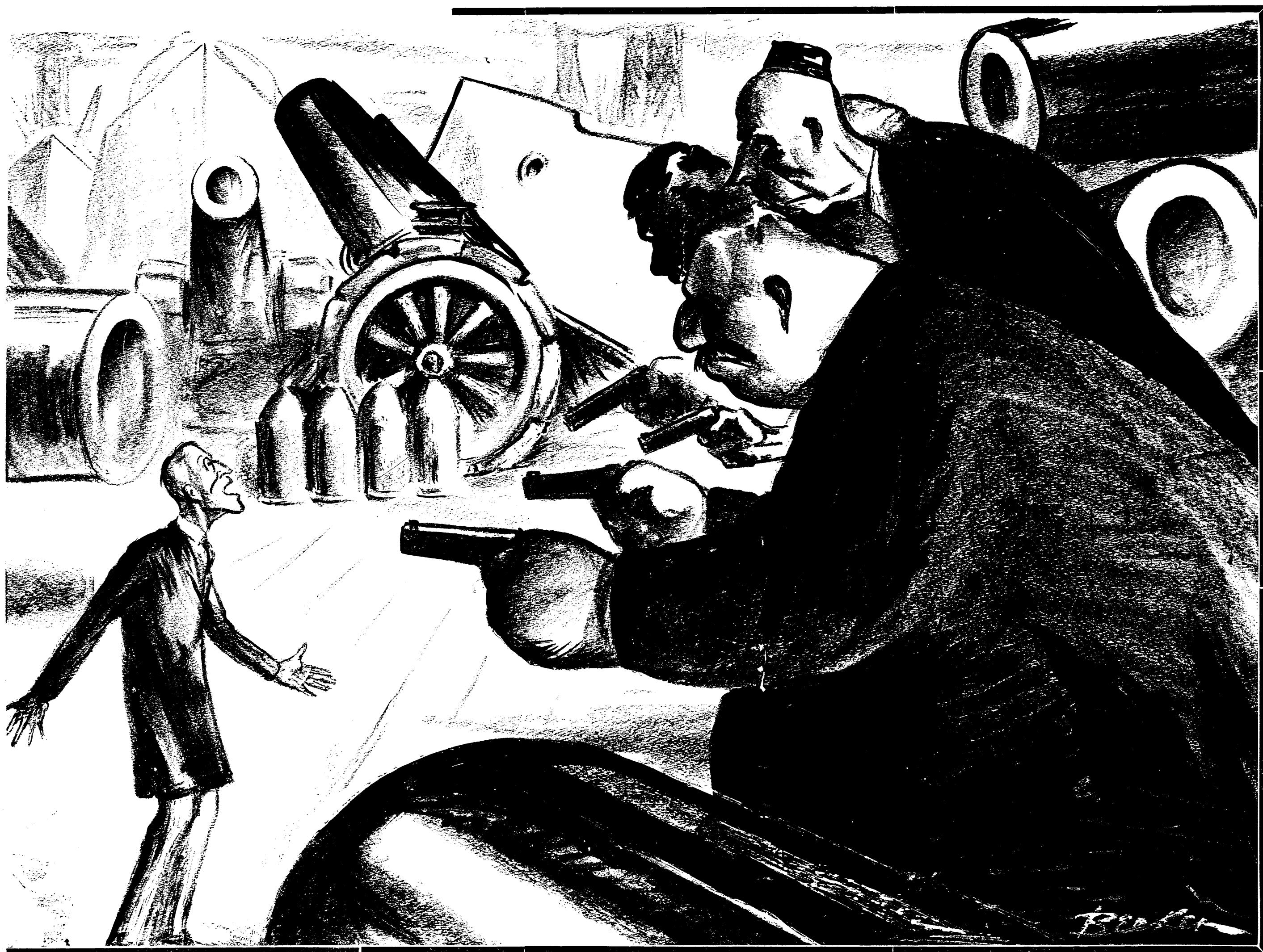
"What's the use?"



Drawn by Arthur Young.

THE MASSES, December, 1915.

“BREED!”



Drawn by Maurice Becker.

President Wilson: "But I don't want them—there isn't any enemy to fight."
 Morgan, Schwab & Co.: "You buy these guns and we'll get you an enemy!"

A BALLAD

THE Biggest man in creation?

It was Joseph the Nazarene.

Joe, the Yiddisher "carpenter stiff,"

The husband o' Heaven's Queen!

Joe, that was smitten o' Mary,

Joe, that was game as grit—

When she came weepin' to 'is arms,

Needin' a father for it.

Joe was as right as the compass.

Joe was as square as the square,

He knew men's ways with women,

An' Mary was passin' fair!

Passin' pretty an' helpless,

She that he loved th' most,

God knows what he told th' neighbors,

But he knew it warn't no Ghost.

He tuk th' tale as she told it,

And never th' bat of an eye,

E'en tho' 'is 'eart was breakin'

Under the load of the lie—

Steady an' game an' tender.

When she needed a strong man's care,

An' then he saddled the ol' jackass,

An' took 'er away from there.

Took 'er away from th' neighbors,

That spoke o' th' fit of 'er gown,

Took 'er away from th' gossips,

That made 'er th' talk o' the town,

Comforted, soothed and coddled,

Just as he might ha' done,

If it that was heavy within 'er

Was Joseph's, the Carpenter's son.

Joe, he was silent an' tender,

Joe, he was game as grit,

But I'll bet when he walked by Mary,

To have been the father of it,

He'd a give all 'is 'opes o' heaven,

He'd a shot like a bat into 'ell,

The minute he knew for certain

That mother and child was well.

Patience surpassin' th' mountains,

Kindness shamin' the rain,

When th' sickness came upon her,

An' she cursed 'im in 'er pain;

So he came to the manger,

With Mary makin' 'er moan,

An' e'ld 'er and while she labored

With a child than wa'n't is own!

He looked at th' brat in pity,

An' he held it up to 'is breast,

That ached with an awful feeling

That Mary never guessed,

And 'im an' th' brat they 'it it.

(Carn't yer see 'im standin' there in th' shop lookin' at th' brat like 'is eyes ud eat 'im up? Carn't yer see th' tenderness when 'e'd show 'im th' 'ow o' th' 'ammer an' saw? Carn't yer see 'im ust lookin' at 'im, and lookin' at 'im, an' a-goin' over an' puttin' 'is arms around 'im an' sayin' to 'isself underneath 'is breath: "Yer mine, God, dam it, yer mine any'ow!" An' carn't yer 'ear th' brat, lookin' up, an' sayin', "Daddy?" Yes, 'im an' th' brat, they 'it it.)

An' after th' years had run,

Folks thot no more o' th' gossip,

But called 'im the Carpenter's Son.

"WILLIAMS."



Drawn by Maurice Becker.

THE HIGHER EDUCATION

A Reform for Harvard University Suggested by Her Most Illustrious Graduate

As To Patriotism

THE editors of the New York *Globe* honored us with a public denunciation for offering to our readers an anti-enlistment pledge. They seem to think we are almost as bad as Christ. For they accuse us of opposing enlistment not only in the future but in the remote past.

"If Editor Eastman had been in Sparta when the Three Hundred were recruited who defended democratic Greece against the onrushing autocracy of Persia, he would have urged them not to enlist."

That is a wild inference. Suppose an editor announced that fighting with swords and spears was out of date, would that be a betrayal of Leonidas? Every once in a while we have to decide that something has seen its day. Every once in a while we have to take an inventory of our stock, and throw away what is rotten and useless. War is rotten and useless.

If the editors of the *Globe* will read a book by Norman Angell, called *The Great Illusion*, they will find very cogent proofs offered of the proposition that victory in war between modern nations brings no substantial benefit—moral, political, cultural or even financial.

The book is not about Leonidas, it is about us. But it throws a backward ray of light over the whole history of nationalism that makes war look rather futile and ridiculous. We are not sure Greek culture and the democracy of the maritime cities (all maritime cities were democratic if you didn't see the slaves) would have lost much through Persian conquest.

It is possible that a Persian conquest would have spread Greek culture beyond Greece and Ionia.

The fact that Leonidas was a hero need not prevent our seeing this. If we have not attained a higher ideal than Leonidas died for, we have not fulfilled the promise of his death.

We have in fact attained a higher ideal than nationalism—the ideal of a free humanity. And in some of us this ideal, we are happy to say, has supplanted patriotism altogether.

And while it might conceivably happen, that this ideal should demand our enlisting in a national army—to fight either against our own country or with it—it is in the highest degree improbable. It is so improbable that people of the pledge-signing disposition may very well be encouraged to express in that way their absolute renunciation of the patriotic ideal, and its military retinue, as essentially barbaric, inane, and homicidal.

We suspect that those who signed that pledge would be the first to bleed, were the cause of industrial liberty at stake.

ZENO比亚

LO, Cæsar's legions army, victor-led,
A sight to glad and pride the Roman eye!
Wrinkled and monster elephants sweep by,
Making the earth to quake beneath their tread;
Cæsar, himself, with laurel on his head,
Rides next, and all his banners flaunt the sky.

But now the eager concourse gapes and hums,
For She who makes the triumph-march complete,
Zenobia, naked and imperial, comes,
With gold chains chiming from her hands and feet—
Her kingdom overthrown, herself a prize—
Yet no capitulation in her eyes!

HARRY KEMP.



Drawn by Arthur Young.



Drawn by Arthur Young.

April Fool



Drawn by K. R. Chamberlain.

New York City alone has now some 10,000 paid workers for organized charity.

Parade of 2,000,000 Charity Workers, to Be Held in 1950, in Honor of a Destitute Person Found in the Slums

CHURCHLY ROCKEFELLER

Max Eastman

OUR magazine has been thrown out of the subway stands and rejected by the distributing agencies in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and many small towns, besides being prohibited from the Dominion of Canada, because of its attitude toward churchdom. That churchdom as a whole is against the struggle of the lower classes toward liberty, is against discontent, is against rebellion, is against the arrant assertion of human rights, is against clear thinking as well as heroic action toward a free and happy world—that is our attitude. And to it we add the surmise that Jesus of Nazareth was more than half in favor of these things, and that the churches maintain their position by denying and betraying him whom they profess to believe divine.

Meekness and preoccupation with the next world, or with "spiritual" blessings, and "gifts of grace," are the qualities of mind which make it easy to deprive people of their material rights and the enjoyable profits of their toil. They are the qualities which have become most carefully associated with churchly worship in the modern world. It is no surprise, therefore, that Mr. Rockefeller, Jr.—the arch prince of our benevolent-looking despots—should announce that he will give away churches of all kinds, free for nothing, to any of his mining towns in Colorado where "permanence of worship" can be guaranteed.

He was not willing to give back any of the money, or any of the liberty, he had taken out of those towns. He was not even willing to *talk about* such matters with his serfs. He would not allow them to form unions, but he will *give* them churches. They could not meet to discuss their rights in this world, but he will build them beautiful places in which to pray for a chance in heaven. Permanence of worship among his employees is permanence of peace and profit to him. This is the underlying and most true explanation of Rockefeller's un-Christlike zeal to cherish the souls of his workers while ignoring the demands of their human natures.

It is underlying and true, whether Rockefeller knows it or not.

The other day I was talking to a material scientist who works in Rockefeller's laboratory, and he told me that—all appearances to the contrary—Rockefeller is a sincere man. His zeal for the welfare of his fellowmen is simple and genuine. "He is the kind of a fellow that would light the light and get up at night, trying to think what he could do for people!"

This is perfectly possible. It has been true of a great many others, who nevertheless carefully guarded their personal privilege and source of income against every accident. The larger part of our mind is unconscious, and it knows how to take care of these emotions. We agonize over the misfortunes of others, but our agony quite automatically *forgets* to get around to the real point at which, by sacrificing *our own power*, we can relieve them.

Woodrow Wilson is an astoundingly candid man. He always tells you everything that comes into his mind. But he is so delicately adjusted by nature that nothing ever comes into his mind except what he wants to tell you.

Doubtless a similar if more insidious thing is true of Rockefeller. He was the "shrewdest" witness that Frank Walsh brought to the pillory before the Industrial Relations Committee. I am inclined myself to

doubt if a conscious hypocrite could be so shrewd. The delicacy, the suavity, the perfection of poise with which his answers clung to the paths of churchly and conventional morality along which his hideous power and tyranny might remain justified, surpassed any astuteness I am willing to credit to his conscious mind. I gladly acknowledge that he defends his self-interested despotism with those abstract ideals in entire childlike ignorance of what motives control him.

It becomes the more necessary for us to unveil those motives. We can show others what he is doing. And perhaps even—the miracle was suggested by the material scientist—we can show him. Far be it from me to oppose any wonders that look possible to a member of the Rockefeller Institute!

An Exception

I HAVE lately been reminded that in sociology exceptions will be found to every general truth. There are ministers and there are congregations who will even stand up for the revolt of the poor. I was reminded of this by an experience in Detroit, where one minister seemed willing to go almost as far in defending a lecture on the class struggle, as another went in vilifying the lecturer. The latter, a Presbyterian, when he heard that the editor of *THE MASSES* was to speak in the Parish House of the Universalist Church, denounced him in his pulpit as a blasphemer, and protested against his being allowed to "pollute" by his presence the house of God, or any of its outbuildings. He brought along *THE MASSES*, and endeavored to read to his congregation a ballad in praise of Joseph the Nazarene, which we printed in our January number. But his courage failed him. "I can not go on," he said, "it is too horrible."

To his protest the Universalist, Rev. Willis A. Moore, who conducts an Open Forum in his Parish House, replied that his forum was really open, and that he had no idea of curbing in his parish house the sincere expression of any man's truth.

After the lecture the Presbyterian returned to the ring with a challenge to Dr. Moore in the public press to read the ballad to his congregation.

Dr. Moore replied to this with some very spirited utterances, and concluded with the remark that he would challenge any Christian minister to read certain Old Testament passages which he would name. "They are not more fit for pulpit reading than 'A Ballade.' If these vile anecdotes are fit to be printed and circulated in the inspired Word of God, by the same token the poem is fit to be printed in *THE MASSES*." The real objection to the poem, according to Dr. Moore, is not that its message is blasphemous, but that it is worded in "the language of men at their work, uncouth and rude."

I do not rehearse all this because of any resentment against the Presbyterian minister. It gives one a pleasurable excitement upon entering a city to be denounced as a blasphemer, and also it gives one a splendid audience.

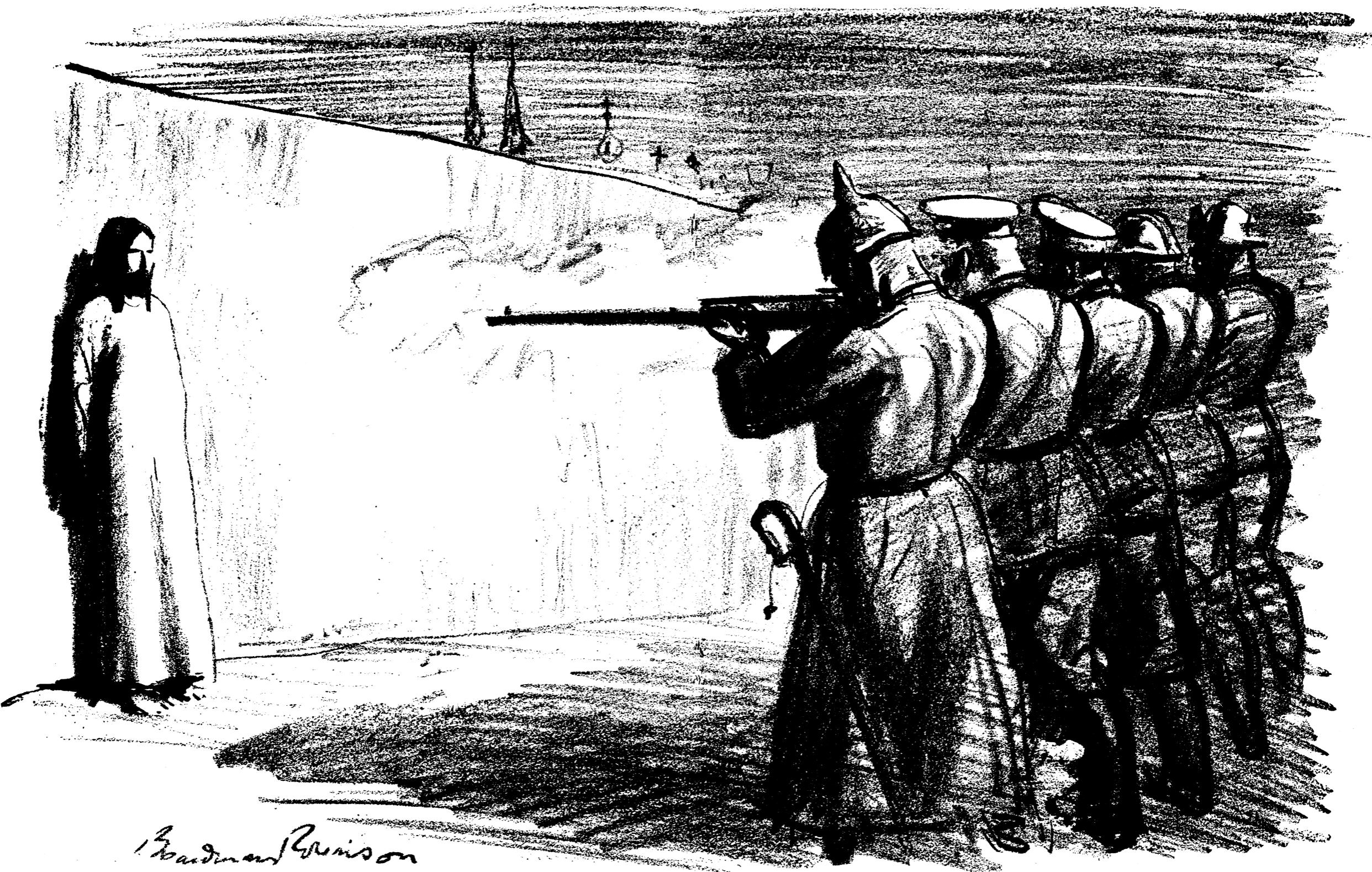
The amount of publicity which this pious man and I divided among ourselves in the Detroit press for two or three days would have sold a hundred touring cars. I merely cite the opposition of these two ministers as an example of the breadth of possibilities which even so well retained an institution as the church may hold.



Drawn by O. E. Cesarc.

"Permanence of Worship"

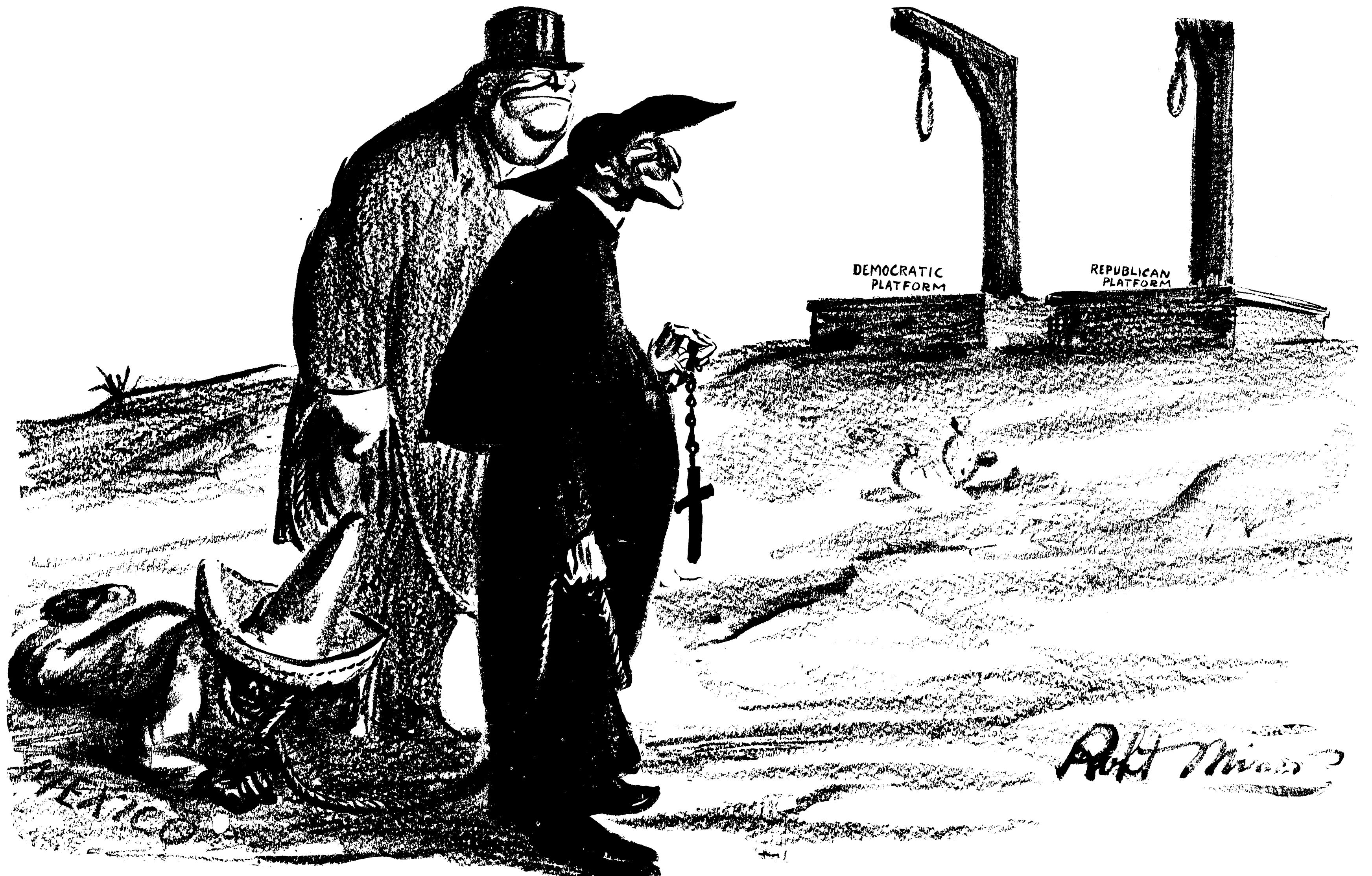
"Denver, April 9.—John D. Rockefeller, Jr., is willing to endow a Protestant or Catholic Church, or both, in every Colorado Fuel and Iron Company camp where adequate support and permanence of worship are assured."



Drawn by Beardman Robinson.

The Deserter

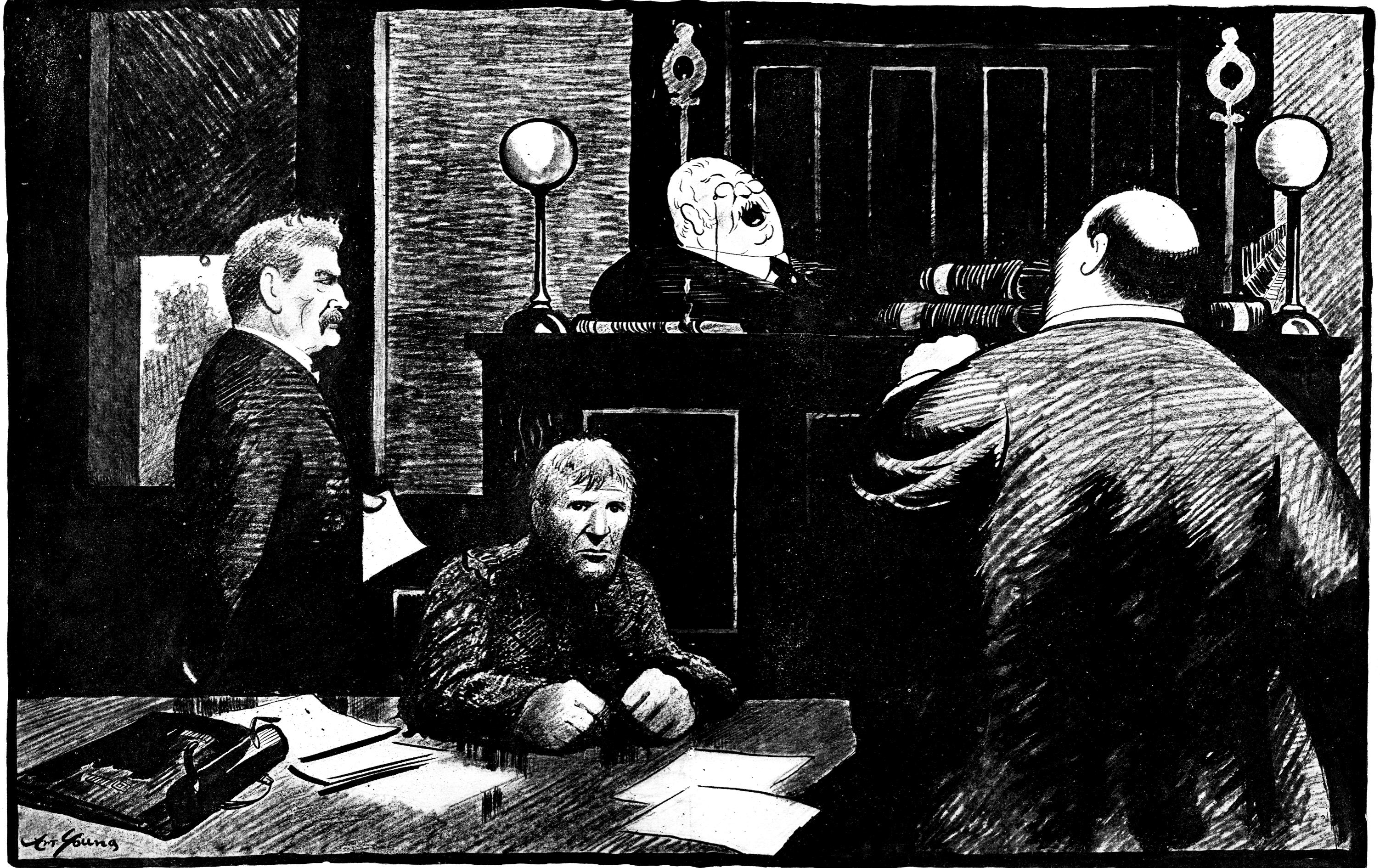
THE MASSES, July, 1916.



Drawn by Robert Minor.

THE MASSES, August, 1916.

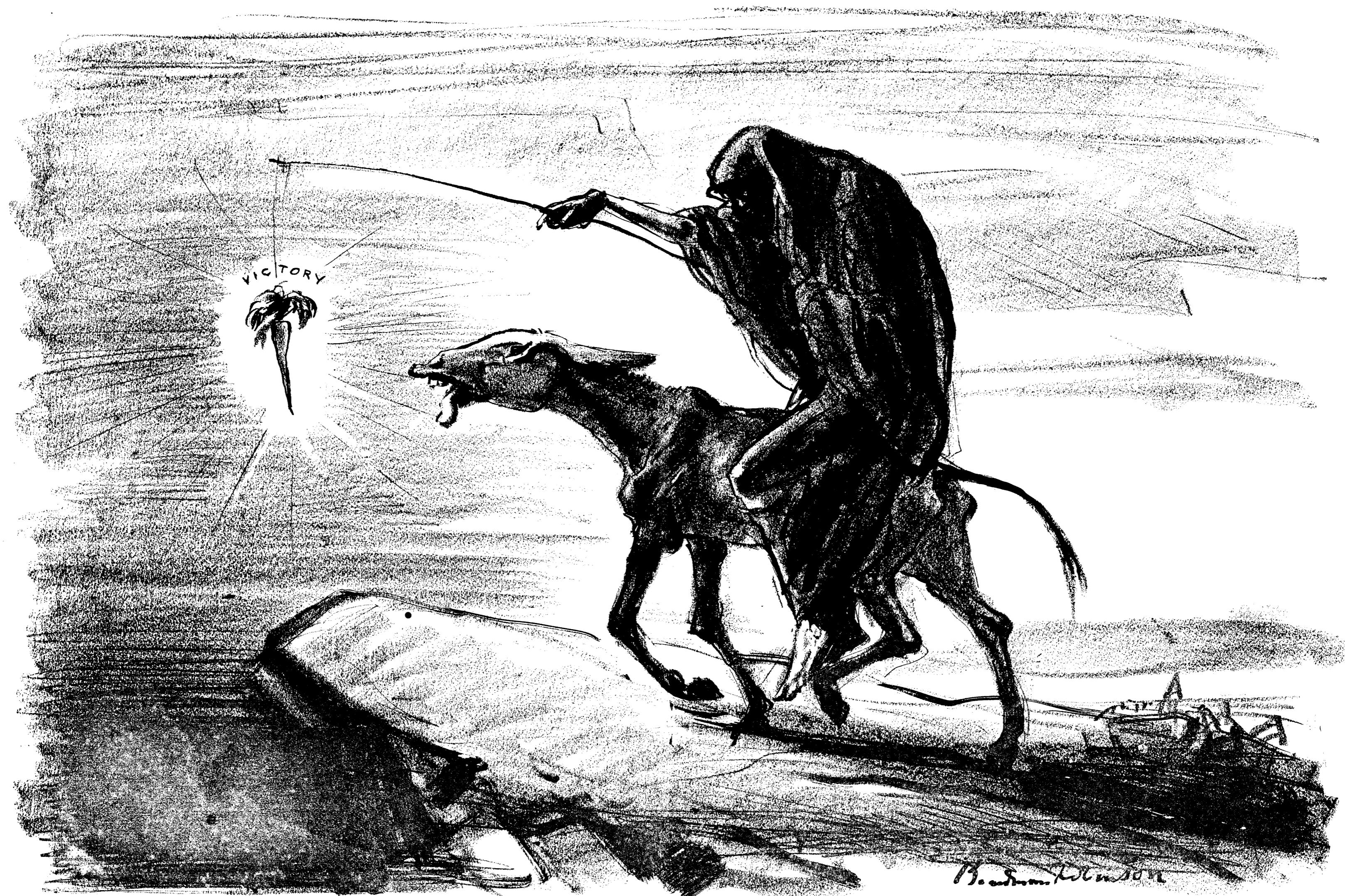
EITHER PLATFORM WILL DO.



Drawn by Arthur Young.

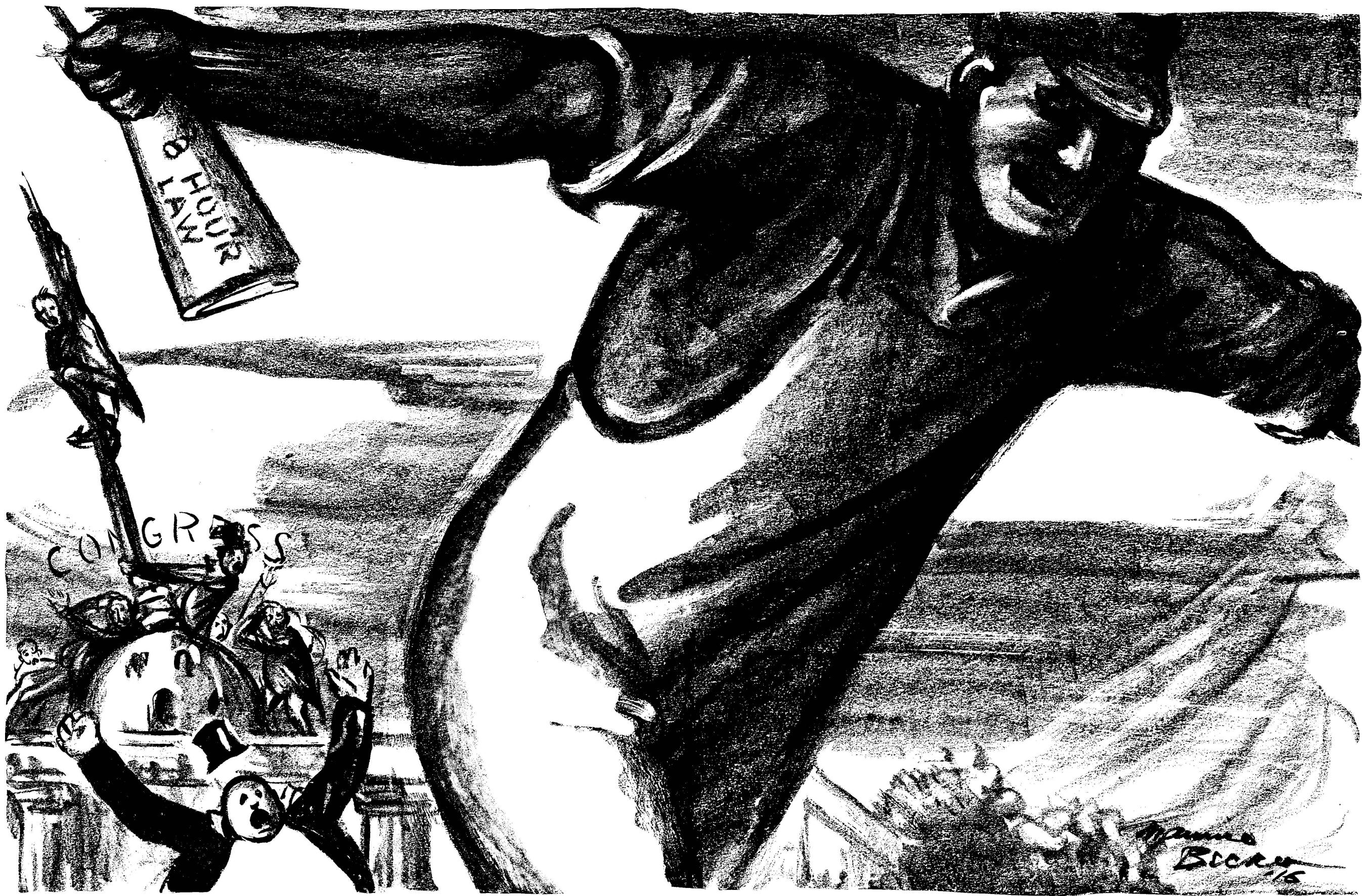
Attorney for the Defendant: "Your honor, the defendant was out of work. He has a sick wife and three small children."

Prosecuting Attorney: "Your honor, I object. The evidence is irrelevant, incompetent and immaterial."



Drawn by Boardman Robinson.

EUROPE, 1916



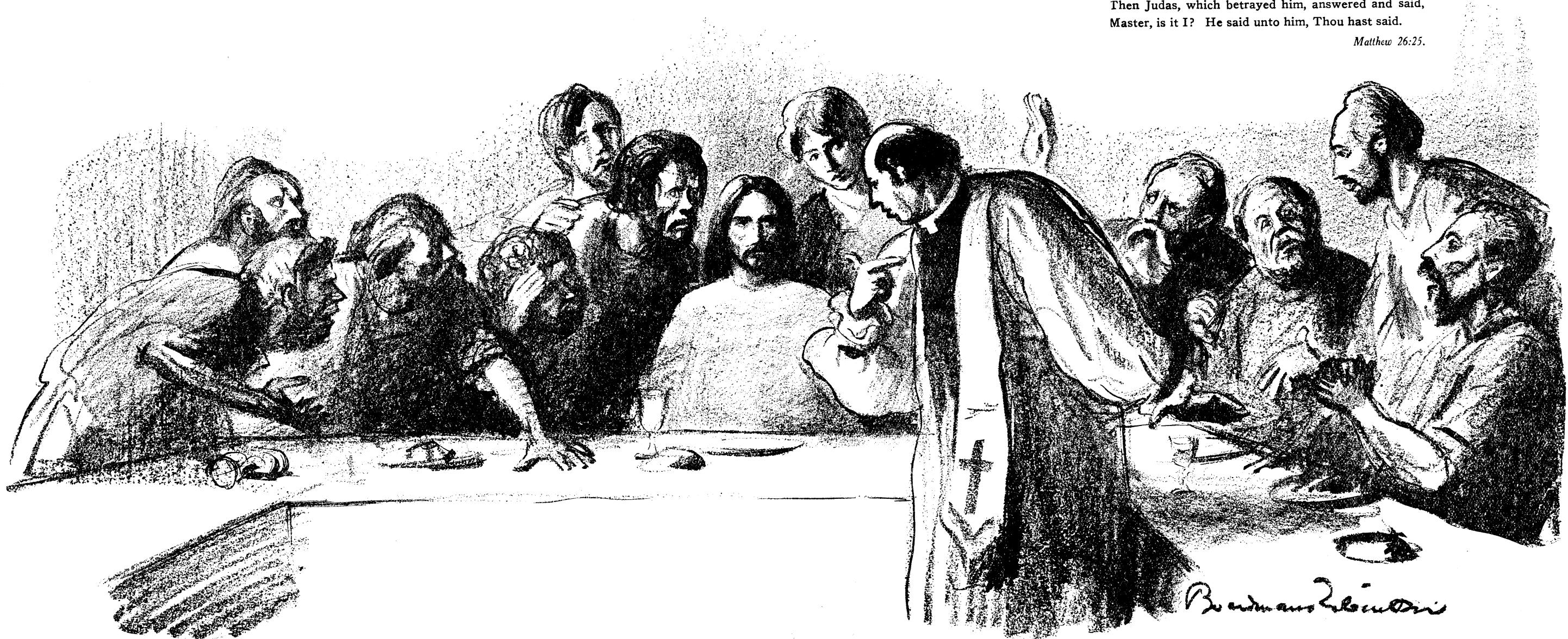
Drawn by Maurice Becker.

POWER



STRUGGLE

A DESIGN BY ARTHUR B. DAVIES

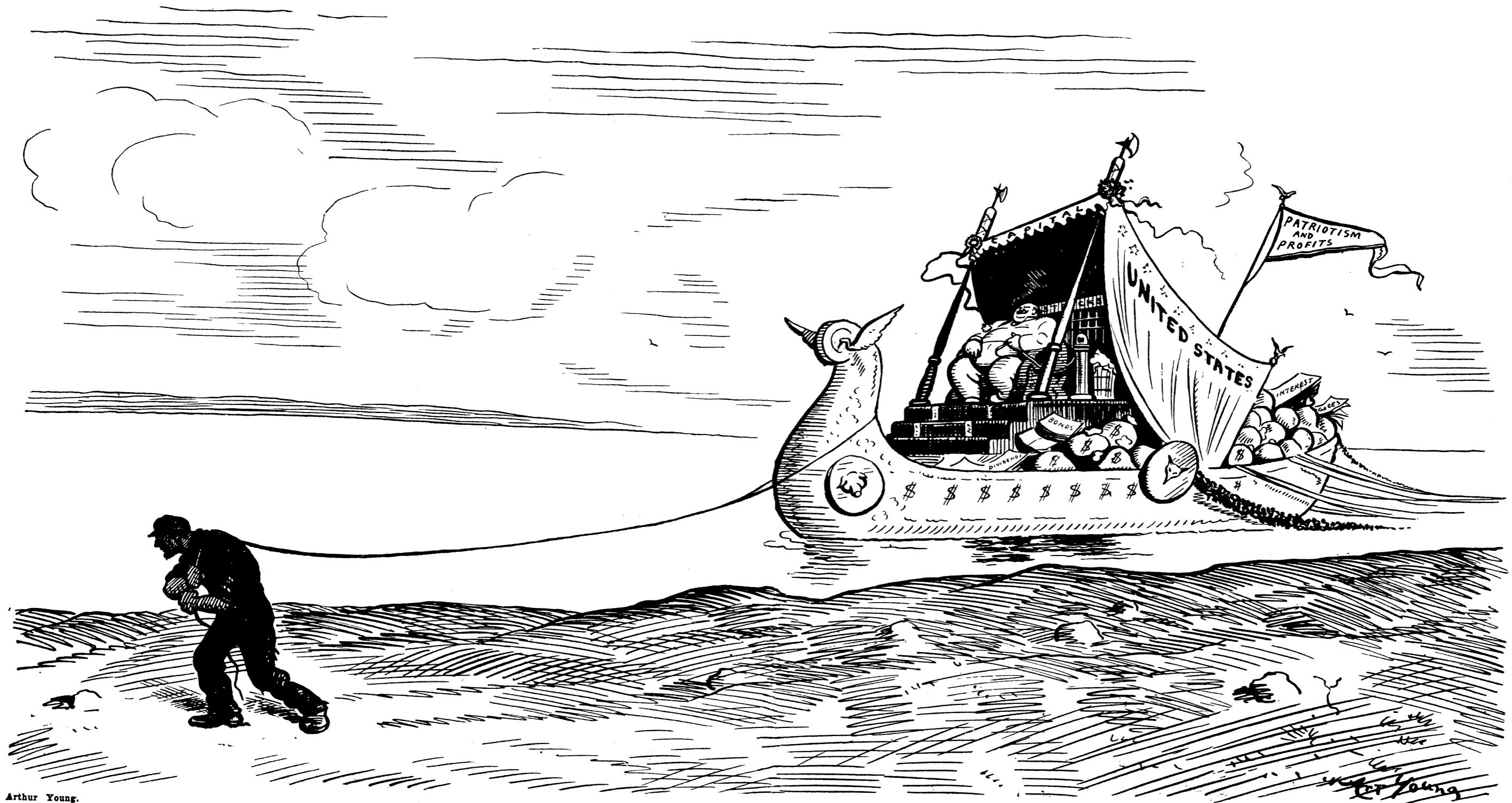


Then Judas, which betrayed him, answered and said,
Master, is it I? He said unto him, Thou hast said.

Matthew 26:25.

"Our Lord Jesus Christ does not stand for peace at any price . . . Every true American would rather see this land face war than see her flag lowered in dishonor . . . I wish to say that, not only from the standpoint of a citizen, but from the standpoint of a minister of religion . . . I believe there is nothing that would be of such great practical benefit to us as universal military training for the men of our land."

—Rev. Dr. William T. Manning, Rector of Trinity Parish, New York City.



The Way of Ancient Rome



George Bellows.

Benediction in Georgia

Painting the Lily

THE Little Father is dead; long live the Little Brother!

IT proved so easy to push Nicholas off his throne that Russia must be wondering why it twiddled its thumbs for twenty-two years.

HERE will be complaint in some quarters that the Russian revolution was not accompanied by the necessary number of important funerals, but it is, of course, impossible to please everybody.

THE papers indicate that the friendly relations which have so long existed between Germany and Russia are about to be broken off.

ONE hopes that Mr. Romanoff's new house will have all the modern conveniences including an attic where he can store the divine right of kings.

IF the news ever reaches Columbia University, it will probably be regarded there as a deliberately unfriendly act.

HERE is an unconfirmed rumor that Siberia is to be opened for emigration.

THE railway brotherhoods insist that the eight hour law shall be enforced, and you know very well what that is—Anarchy.

UMANITARIANS will be glad to know that members of Congress were allowed time between sessions to collect the mileage for the theoretical trip home and back.

THOSE who have been urging us to go to war on behalf of suffering Belgium were no doubt gratified to learn that the first concrete result of our break with Germany was that the American relief work was kicked out.

FREDERIC R. COUDERT says that a pacifist is really a murderer. Yet, so complex is the human organism that in his private life a pacifist may be a kind husband and an indulgent father.

GENERAL WOOD complains that the activities of pacifists tend to slow up recruiting. Slowing up recruiting in this country must come under the head of painting the lily.

THE President has put all postmasters into the civil service. Bang goes the one poor little issue of the late Mr. Hughes.

THE Germans did not seem to have any better luck in coming to an understanding with Mexico than we did.

TAFT to be 20th Century Paul Revere for Universal Training."

RESPECTFULLY referred to the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

HOWARD BRUBAKER.



Boardman Robinson.

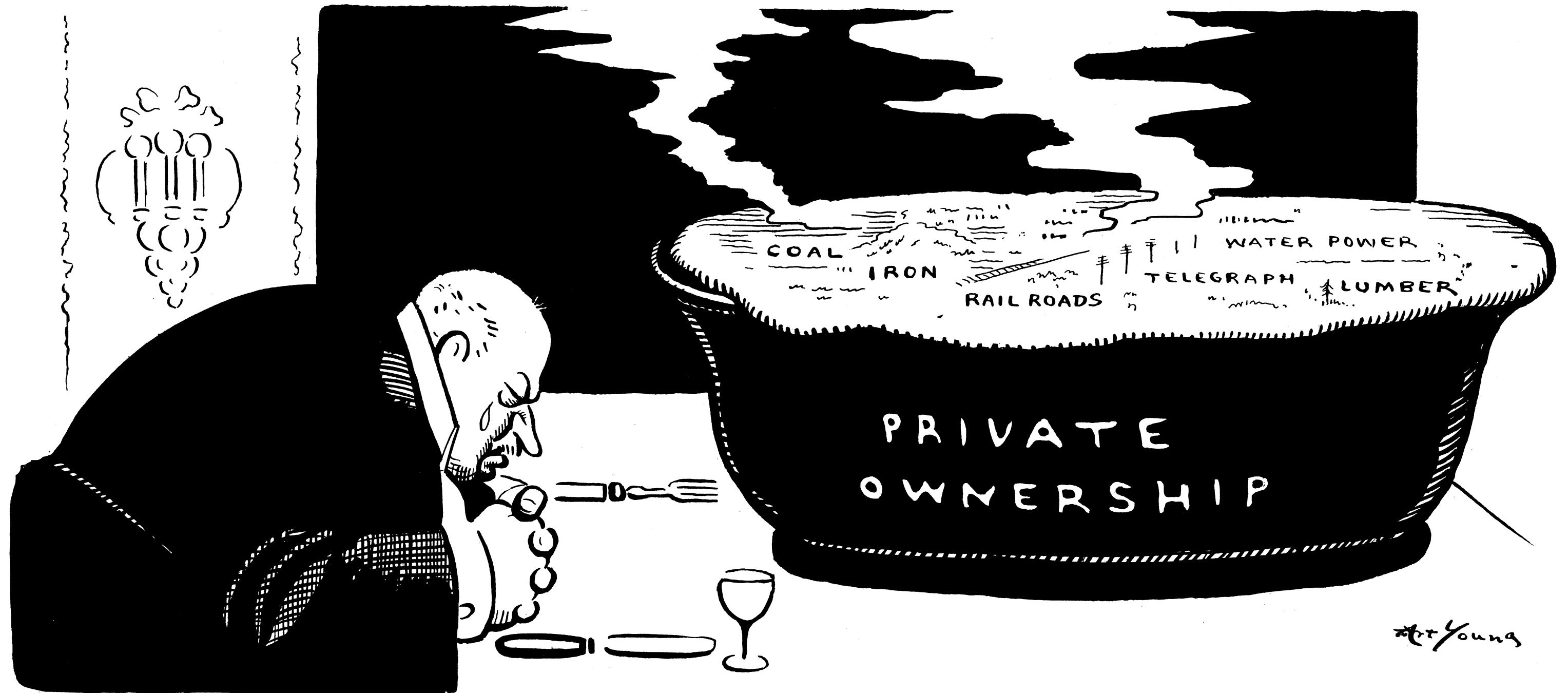
Drawn by Boardman Robinson.

“The New Freedom”



Drawn by Boardman Robinson

Making the World Safe for Capitalism



"O Lord, control my appetite if you must, but don't take my pie away!"