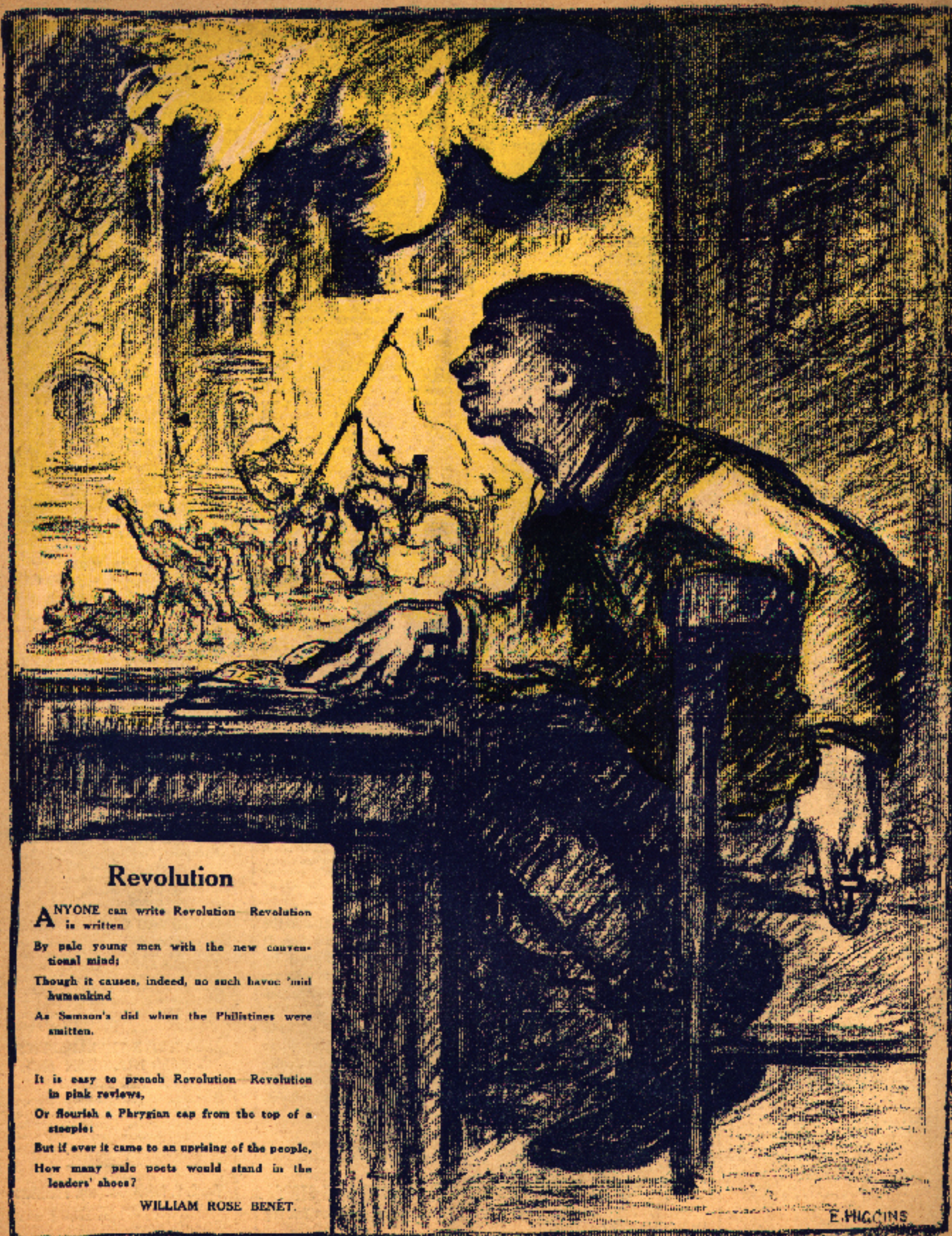


THE JANUARY 1916 10 CENTS
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Revolution

ANYONE can write Revolution—Revolution
is written

By pale young men with the new conven-
tional mind;

Though it causes, indeed, no such havoc 'mid
humankind

As Samson's did when the Philistines were
smitten.

It is easy to preach Revolution—Revolution
in pink reviews,

Or flourish a Phrygian cap from the top of a
steeple;

But if ever it came to an uprising of the people,

How many pale poets would stand in the
leaders' shoes?

WILLIAM ROSE BENÉT.

E. HIGGINS

THE

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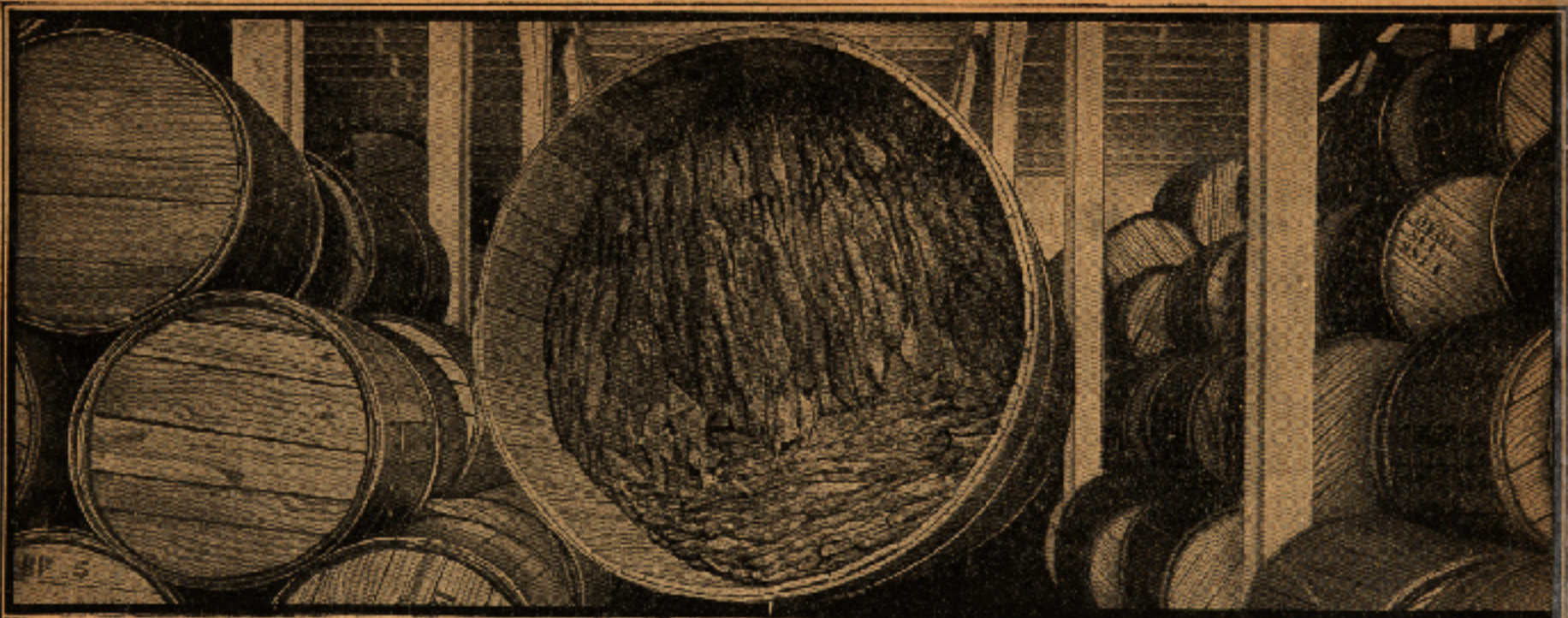
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The Dog: "What Are Those Strange Creatures Doing?"



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Which Do You Agree With?

Ward & Gow vs. The Public

By Artemas Ward

I HAVE received a number of letters (written at the request of its publisher), protesting against the exclusion of a certain paper from my newsstands. These letters were sincere enough, no doubt, but so desperately biased as to be quite unreasonable.

Having neither the time nor the inclination to start a controversial correspondence in defense of my own liberty as a citizen and a merchant, I take this method of replying, which may show that I have a right to my own freedom of action, and that none of these correspondents are justified in calling my course outrageous, tyrannical, destructive to the liberty of the press, and other extreme characterizations.

Is not this the first time in the history of the world in which it is demanded that a merchant should buy and sell an article which he prefers not to handle?

If such a procedure were established, would it not greatly limit individual liberty, which is surely more important than the liberty of the press?

If I am not at liberty to decide what I shall sell on my newsstands, to whom shall this power of decision be relegated? Would it be the duty of the mayor, or would it be open to every publisher of a periodical, and every manufacturer of confections?

Is it conceivable that a man who pays a rent of over half a million dollars should have his liberty limited in a way that would be intolerable to a news dealer who pays a \$500 rental, or to an honest Catholic boy who has secured a live privilege through his alderman?

Liberty, as I understand it, consists in personal freedom under the law, and not in making other people give up their liberty—either for millionaires or masses. Must Wanamaker sell Ingersoll's books, or Bloomingdale put anti-Semitic publications on his counters? Huyler would be equally entitled to force his chocolates on the stands of the New York Central Railroad.

I have no desire to limit the liberty of anyone, and I cannot conceive that any careful thinker should be so biased as to hold it just that I should be forced to buy, sell and profit by a publication which insults and derides the religion which is not only mine, but which was handed down to me by my parents?

Without venturing a personal opinion, or starting a controversy, I will say that the United States census shows that a preponderance of our population is Christian. If, under our system of democracy, the majority is to rule, my course will be widely upheld.

Is it not absurd to accuse me of interfering with the liberty of the press because I personally decline to sell this sheet by selling it? Do I muzzle the editor, stop the press or hold up the edition? Do these protesting subscribers realize the difference, or is it a case of mental blindness? It is all absurd. The so-called "Friends of Liberty" fail to distinguish between their liberties, which are not impinged upon, and the liberties of others, which they thoughtlessly seek to limit.

I expect to continue my business without interference, buying my living and paying my rental; making choice of the wares which I shall handle, and enjoying no greater rights than those of the very humblest citizen. The noise which has been made over my little stands, less than five feet wide, and averaging about twenty feet in length, is, and has been, out of all proportion to the importance of the publication which claims to be a such a head on the masses. The Thompson Committee belittled itself by giving the matter a hearing. From "Fame," a monthly journal published by Artemas Ward.

By Our Readers

FEARLESS publicity is the only remedy for wrong conditions, social, moral, or political. The subway stands have become the most important and necessary avenue of free communication in the greatest city in the world. Any such inhibition on the right of free speech and popular interchange of ideas, right or wrong, is a cowardly and underhanded blow at the onward progress of the race.

BLANK P. WALSH.

For private corporation to have such power over dissemination of intelligence is outrage. Newsstands must be impartial if freedom of the press is to mean anything. If THE MASSIS is good enough for me to read, I think it will not harm subway patrons.

HARRY KELLER.

I am opposed to arbitrary action on part of anyone in excluding MASSIS or any other magazine from sale by newsstands engaged in selling publications.

SENATOR HARRY LANE.

I read THE MASSIS regularly and have great confidence in the judgment of the editor recognizing the necessity of free speech for the education of the people of this country. I consider it an outrage to discriminate against you.

ALVA E. BELMONT.

It seems to me preposterous that THE MASSIS should be excluded from newsstands on the hypocritical grounds alleged, and I wish I could be among those "prominent citizens" Wednesday. I would have been only too glad to have been there and cheered for THE MASSIS. Hoping it all comes out all right.

CHARLES DANA GIBSON.

No journal of our country is imbued with higher idealism, intellectual sincerity, and courageous devotion to the truth as it conscientiously sees it than THE MASSIS. Whether or not they may agree with it, all well-informed, impartial citizens must admire its splendid integrity. I beg to submit my emphatic endorsement of its great public value.

PENNY MACRAVE.

I should heartily sympathize with any measures to coerce the company controlling the stands.

PROF. JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON,
Columbia University.

Certain business men in control of a private corporation are not the proper agents for exercising a censorship in matters of taste. If you will look at the publications now sold on those newsstands you will find any number which are more obscene, more unpatriotic, and more vulgar than anything that THE MASSIS has ever been. THE MASSIS has never commercialized licentiousness nor prostituted patriotism as some newspapers and magazines with wide circulation regularly do.

It is the fact that the company which suppressed THE MASSIS has not suppressed these other papers and periodicals, that leads men to the conclusion that THE MASSIS is excluded not for obscenity or lack of patriotism, but for its radicalism, its courage and its incorruptibility. It will be an evil day for this country when a group of business men who control an important means of distribution can exercise an irresponsible censorship because of religious or political prejudice.

WALTER LIPPMAN,

Associate Editor, THE NEW REPUBLIC.

I believe that THE MASSIS is of value to the community and ought to be placed on the newsstands. This is the age of frankness and sincerity. Although I do not believe all the principles enunciated by THE MASSIS, I certainly believe that any attempt such as the refusal of Messrs. Ward & Gow to allow the publication on their newsstands, is in principle an attempt to curb the liberty of the press, is small-minded and against the best American principles.

W. DE WITT WELLS,

Justice of the Municipal Court of the City of New York.

If the news vendors of New York can tell the people what not to read then some intelligent authority ought to choose the vendors.

CLARENCE DANFORTH.

That Ward & Gow should be judges of literature to be distributed to the public is as ridiculous as outrageous. I question the fitness of the proprietors of *La Parisienne*, etc., to determine for me what is immoral. I challenge under any condition their right. Such right, even when exercised by public authority, is dangerous. When exercised by private whim or prejudice is intolerable.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES,

Pastor Church of the Messiah.

I have read THE MASSIS from the beginning and do not consider it immoral or blasphemous. The remedy for alleged damage done thereby is to be sought in the courts. I deprecate as fundamentally illegal any American any interference with its circulation other than by due process of law.

REV. CHAS. P. FAIRBANKS,
Union Theological Seminary.

Restriction like barring MASSIS from subway is a violation of the right of free speech and so outrageous an assault on freedom of the press and decency in general, I can not believe it will succeed. There should be and I believe will be some remedy against such oppression and injustice. Wish you success.

BEN B. TINSLEY.

Am extremely sorry that I can not attend to this Wednesday and express in public my opinion. An unpardonable interference, the Ward & Gow censorship, with the liberty of the press. The greatest need of a community which tolerates such a business as THE MASSIS.

GEORGE W. KIRKMAN,

Acting Warden of Sing Sing Prison,
Formerly Dean of the Columbia University Law School.

Last number of MASSIS the most valuable contribution to sane thinking, should be widely read. A case in Russia?

PROF. VERA D. SHUMKINA,
Wellesley College.

I am very sorry indeed that I am obliged to leave town to-day and therefore, can not attend to this matter or the arbitrary exclusion of THE MASSIS from the subway newsstands. What a travesty upon the freedom of the press that the morals of New York City are entrusted to censorship by Ward & Gow.

FRANKLIN J.

In my opinion they have no more right to suppress THE MASSIS than they have to refuse to sell any individual one of the magazines displayed on the stands.

MICHAEL KASSERLEY.

The

NOVEMBER, 1916

15 CENTS

masses



HUGO
GELLERT

If You Were Editing A Magazine_____

that was
three leaps ahead of its printing bill
two leaps ahead of its paper bill and
one leap ahead of its enemies who want to
suppress it

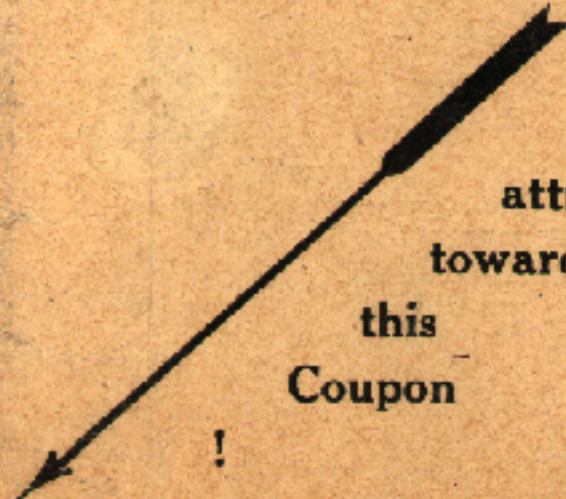
You'd admit that it was a joyful life though hectic.

And

if you are at all interested in having this
gay rebellious sheet continue to leap
along

You ought to feel (in behalf of some benighted soul
who doesn't know The Masses)

an
irresistible
attraction
towards
this
Coupon



Because (confidentially)

we need the Business

MASSES
Publishing
Company

33 West 14th St.
New York

Enclosed please find
\$1.50. Send the Masses
for one year to

Name

Address

THE

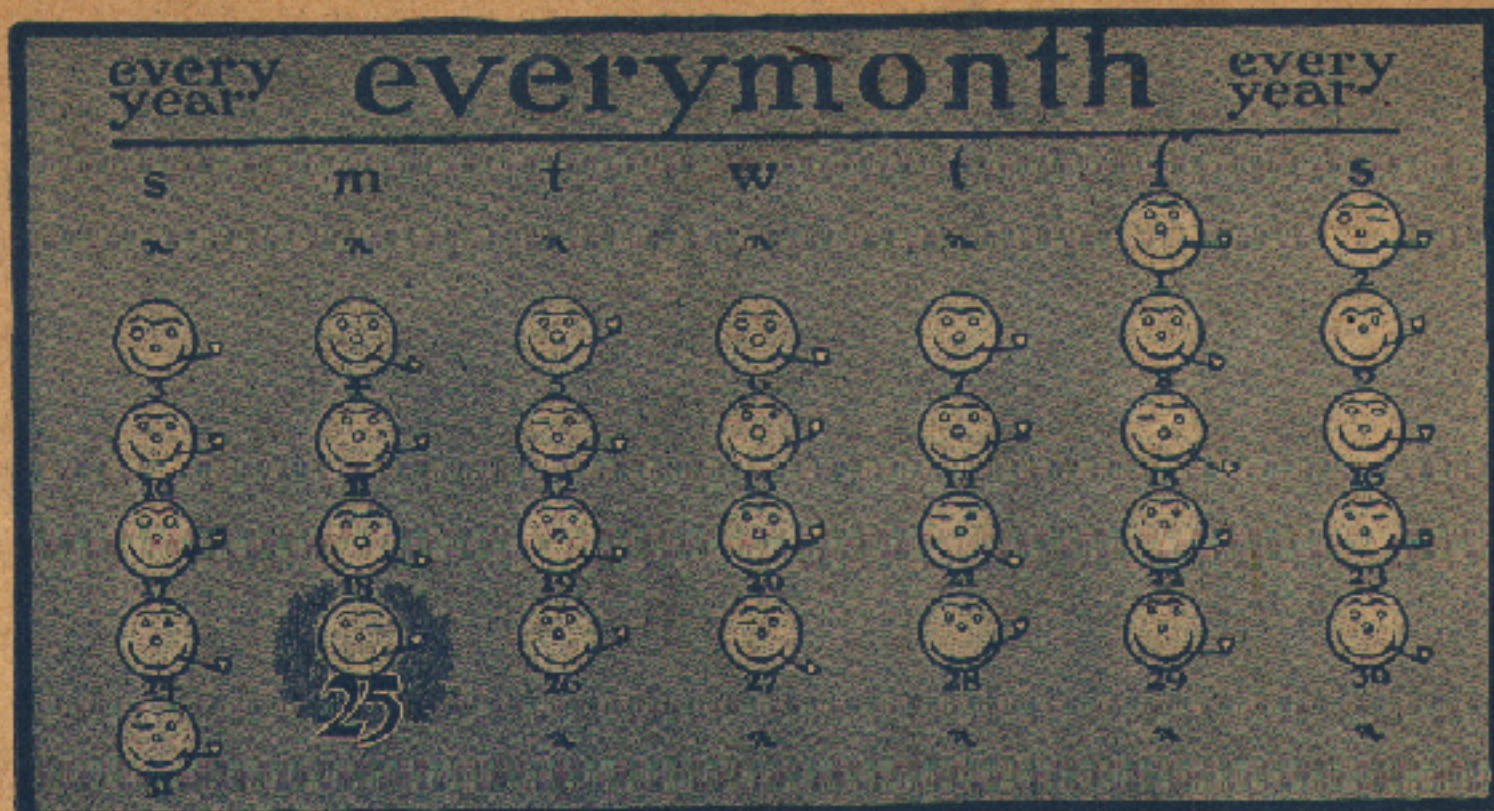
DECEMBER 1916

15 CENTS

MASSES



FRANK
WALT



happy days!

EVERY day's a happy day on which you smoke Tuxedo. But the *greatest* happiness is making *others* happy. That's why December twenty-fifth is the happiest day on the calendar—it's the day you give Tuxedo to all your friends.

Happy pipe-days—that's Tuxedo's gift to all men who smoke it! Because Tuxedo has *no* harshness or bite—just cool, rich tobacco taste, mellowed to delightful mildness and supremely agreeable in aroma. Tuxedo puts Holiday cheer into every hour and day of the year.

Tuxedo Christmas Humidor

This ideal gift for men is beautifully decorated with holly, ribbon and Christmas card, and packed in a handsome carton, for sending by mail, express or messenger. Price, complete— **90c**

Reserve yours today at your dealer's—
the demand is heavy.

Tuxedo is Sold in Many Convenient Sizes:

- In Glass Humidors.....50c and 90c
- In Tin Humidors.....40c and 80c
- In Curved Pocket Tin..... 10c
- In Moisture-proof Bag..... 5c

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Tuxedo
The Perfect Tobacco for Pipe and Cigarette

