

TO THE WORKER

Belongs the full value of what his labor produces. The object of Socialism is to secure that for him, and the mission of this paper is to propagate Socialism.

Studies in Socialism.

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GIRARD, KANSAS, OCTOBER, 1907. No. 42

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ISSUED QUARTERLY:—January, April, July and October of each year.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:
Studies in Socialism (published quarterly) per year \$ 1.00
50 copies, each issue, a year..... 5.00
100 copies, each issue, a year..... 10.00
1,000 copies, each issue, a year..... 100.00
Extra copies, a hundred..... .50
Entered as Girard, Kan., postoffice as second-class mail matter.

What Socialism Is For.

THE object of Socialism is to secure for every worker the full value of what his labor produces. The methods by which this end is to be accomplished have not all been worked out and fixed, for the simple reason that the details of a great movement cannot be provided for in advance when the conditions are in a continual state of change.

Capitalism, or the operation of the capitalist system, which denies to the worker the full value of his labor's product, is not the same thing today that it was yesterday, and it will not be the same thing tomorrow that it is today. For this reason the tactics of the Socialist movement vary to meet new conditions, and new details are worked out and positions taken to meet the front of the tactful enemy. Some of what appear to be fundamental tenets may have to be amended or revised, but the one purpose remains unchanged so long as there is such a thing as a Socialist movement. "Labor produces all wealth: wealth belongs to the producer thereof." This is the essence of Socialism and the rallying point of Socialist propaganda.

SOCIALISM is not based on the idea that Socialists are better than other people or that Socialism is to make the world better by making people better. The Socialist idea is to make people better by placing them in better relations to each other, and it recognizes the fact that the apparent goodness or badness of people is not so much a matter of individuality as it is of relationship. John Smith is a better man when surrounded by his family than when surrounded by gamblers and plug-uglies in some tough resort. John Smith will be a better man when he gets the exact equivalent of what his labor produces than he is when sweated by a profit-hungry employer. The Co-operative Commonwealth will be a happy home for the John Smiths and remove the evil effects of capitalism's gambling-houses of commerce and industry.

THE wages of a horse amounts to the hay, oats, corn, stable room and pasture he consumes. If his labor would produce no more than the things consumed by him he would be an unprofitable horse. The wages of human workers amounts to the food, clothing and shelter it buys. If a man's labor would produce no more than the value of his wages he would be unprofitable to his master—the man who hires him. It is the surplus that the horse and the man produce that make both profitable, and it is this surplus that working animals produce but do not consume that makes their masters wealthy. Can you get that through your coconut?

"You can't catch flies with vinegar," says a critic of the Socialist propaganda, who deprecates the "brutal way that Socialists have of teaching the class struggle," instead of harping on such platitudes as "brotherly love." But we are not catching flies, neither are we dealing with insects. We are up against the necessity of fighting with tigers that have as little taste for sugar as they have for vinegar. Their delight is human blood in the form of sweat, and the workers are tired of furnishing that kind of bait.

THE capitalists are never contented no matter how much they are making, but they preach contentment to the work people. Why shouldn't the work people be ambitious to better their condition as well as the fleecers? Especially so when all they ask is to have more of what they give their own life and labor to produce, while the capitalists want to increase their holdings, not out of their own production, but out of what the work people produce. What do you think about it?

A WORTHY religious publication asks: "How will the Socialist state induce the ne'er-do-wells to work at all, much more to work up to the limit of their ability; and what would it do with them if, as at present, they refuse to work at all? Nothing, brother, nothing at all. If they get hungry enough to produce the equivalent of what they would consume they will solve the problem for themselves, and if they prefer to starve rather than work, it is their privilege and an advantage to society.

SOCIALISTS are not looking for something in return for nothing. What they demand is that every man shall work according to his ability and inclination, and that he shall receive a reward in proportion to the quantity and quality of what he does.

POLITICAL action by the working class is what the rulers fear more than anything else. For that reason it is the thing that all workers should use in their struggle to better their conditions. Why fight with a switch when you have a club?

TEN men organized can be more effective than a hundred pulling every which way. Capitalists are organized. The work people should join the Socialist party, where all their force will be put against their masters in a way that will tell.

WE ARE ruled by a senate composed of corporation owners and their attorneys; by a congress composed of corporation owners and their attorneys; by governors who are corporation owners or their attorneys; by judges who are corporation owners and their attorneys. Of course, the people will get protection from corporations!

WE ARE told that the peaceful co-operation of men for their common benefit is an impossibility. And we are told that it is impossible because mankind are naturally selfish. But why should not people who are naturally selfish do the thing that would be to their advantage? It is merely the difference between the ignorant selfishness of the hog and the intelligent selfishness of people who learn that justice to all is the best for each.

IS PLUNDER property? Does a man own that which is stolen from another? Can one own that which he has not earned? How can anyone earn a thing without producing that thing or producing some other thing of equal value? How can a man be a property owner without being a property producer? He can do it, but he can do it only by force; and it is to hold unearned property that armies and navies are needed.

COMPETITION in business is like the competition in a game of poker. If the game goes on long enough there will be no competitors, and a monopolist will have all the money and property put into the game. Standard Oil has sat longest in the game—that's all there is to it, and the fellows who want to abolish competition and preserve the game of capitalism are like the baby who wants the winner to give back his winnings. Socialism does not recognize winnings; it demands for every earner his earnings.

CAPITAL has two kinds of ethics—one for the capitalist and one for the workingman. It is very wicked for workingmen to become discontented and to endeavor to improve their condition. They are told to remain content in the station to which Providence has assigned them. But the discontent of the capitalist and his efforts to get ahead are lauded to the skies. He is praised for his enterprise and initiative and energy. But it is useless to expect consistency in a system that preaches honesty and is based on robbery.

IT MAKES little difference to me whether it is a good capitalist or a bad capitalist who gets what my labor produces in excess of what I get in wages. The fact that someone, no matter who, gets what belongs to me is the thing to which I object. The morals of the man who robs me is a matter of indifference, but the fact that I am robbed is of the greatest moment. It is not a question of whether your master is what is commonly called good or what is commonly called bad; it is a question of whether you are willing to submit to a master of any kind, and it's a question for you to decide.

WHY do you suppose it is that the rich members of one church fraternize more readily with the rich members of another church than they do with the poor members of their own church? Why is it that the poor members of one church mingle socially with the poor members of another church with greater freedom than is possible with the rich members of their own church? There is a reason for this, and the reason is that the real lines of social division separate the rich and poor on the basis of their economic standing more clearly and more distinctly than differences of religion or faith of any kind. In the economic pursuit of the material means of life, or, in other words, in the way one makes a living, is to be found the fundamental basis of all social differences. When all work for what they get the basis of all differences will be removed. It will not make all people alike, neither will it force people personally incompatible to associate, but it will make more for fraternity than all the artificial professions of brotherly love.

SPECIAL-EIGHT PAGES.

The January number of STUDIES IN SOCIALISM will be a Special Literary and Propaganda Edition and will contain eight pages. No commercial advertising! No advance in price on quantities.
50 Cents a hundred
\$5.00 a thousand
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Will be mailed before December 10th, sure.

Save Your Life.

LABOR is the exercise of the labor power that exists in the body of every well-developed human being. That labor power may be either of the brain or of the muscle, or it may be composed of both. One can hardly conceive of any labor being performed without exerting the brain as well as the limbs.

It takes intelligence, as well as muscle, to dig good post holes; it takes muscle, as well as intelligence, to write a book or paint a picture. But both of these enter into the composition of labor power. The post hole and the book and the picture, when completed, contain a portion of their maker's life.

If another appropriates my product to his own use, without giving me a full equivalent in return, he is taking my life as effectively as though he were to cut my throat. To be sure, he takes it a little at a time, but that only prolongs the agony.

Socialism teaches that whatever of your life you put into the production of utilities should come back to you in the things you produce. If it goes to another in that form it amounts to the same as though he had taken your life by some other means.

EVERY time a capitalist evolves a scheme to part the worker from a little more of his product he prepares a nice little story to go with the scheme. To read this capitalist fiction is to believe that everything the capitalist does is for the benefit of the poor working man, who doesn't know what to do for himself. He devises a tariff for the sole benefit of the American laborer, and the Yankee dupe takes the bait. He takes control of industry for the sole purpose of providing wages for the working animal, and the workingman is filled with admiration and gratitude for his noble benefactor. He keeps the pay of the aforesaid down to the lowest possible amount so that the foolish worker will not spend his excessive income on beer and whiskey. Then he kindly drinks the booze himself and praises the abstinence of the worker, who is content with rain-water. The moral of which is that if you want your boss to say nice things about you, do just as he says and let him do as he pleases. If you don't, you rapidly become undesirable.

THE human worker possesses the magic power of producing more than is necessary to feed, clothe and shelter him. If permitted to retain and use the surplus it becomes the means of unfolding higher faculties and of thereby improving the individual and perfecting the race. But the capitalist system of production enables another to take this surplus, leaving the average worker only enough to keep him in working order and to breed another generation of workers to take his place when he is "all in." The capitalist who takes this surplus overeats, overdrinks and overdoes everything but work, which he doesn't do at all. The too much is often as bad for him as the too little always is for the worker. When the workers get ready to keep and use this surplus they can get it by applying the simple methods of Socialism to government and industry.

TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND people in London, according to dispatches, are starving. Bet they would throw up their hats and yell for the king if he were to pass on the street. They are as stupid as the Americans, who starve and vote for a system that enables the Rockefeller to own the whole American cheese, and declare we have the greatest nation on earth.

You think it is the fault of society or government that poverty and ignorance prevail in Russia, Turkey, Italy and Egypt. Then why, when poverty and ignorance prevail here, isn't it the fault of government? Over there the people think their governments are all right—which is one of the evidences of their ignorance. Why not here?

Extra copies of this issue of "Studies in Socialism" at the rate of 50 cents per 100. Order No. 42 "Studies in Socialism."

Labor Makes Value.

CHARLES M. SCHWAB, multimillionaire and member of the steel trust, is reported by the *Evening Post*, of San Francisco, as having made the following remarkable declaration in the course of an address before the Merchants' exchange of that city. Said Mr. Schwab:

"I have been over the situation. There is no manufactured article made in any part of the world or United States that is not made valuable by one item alone, and that item is labor. The value of a steel rail is nothing more than the value of labor put upon it. The ores and minerals of Minnesota have no intrinsic value alone, but it is the value of labor to bring it down to the lakes for shipment. There is absolutely not one thing that goes into the cost of a manufactured article but labor."

This is as true as it is unexpected, but what would be even more interesting would be Mr. Schwab's explanation of the right of capital to any part of this value, which he admits is created wholly by labor. In the statement quoted Mr. Schwab is in perfect agreement with Socialist economics and in perfect disagreement with those democrat and republican editors who are straining themselves as well as the credulity of their readers in frantic efforts to show that capital produces value.

UNDER capitalism the man who does the most work gets the least pay, and the man who does the least work gets the most pay. The various qualities of labor employed in and about a saw-mill illustrate the point. The rough necks who swing the cant-hook and tug all day the heavy logs of the heaviest work and get the highest wages. The sawyers, whose work is not a snap, but decidedly lighter than that of the log-rollers, get better pay. On up the list the pay is better till the man is reached who does little but strut around with a pencil back of his ear—he gets the highest pay of all. But back east on the tennis court of a college campus is a young man who never saw the saw-mill nor the saw that saws in the saw-mill. His father gave him a block of stock in the corporation that owns the mill and the young man draws more and consumes more of the value created in and around the mill than any of the men who work there. And you wonder why this is? It is because capitalism rewards men for what they have and not for what they do.

SOCIALISTS don't believe in "dividing up" what the industrious produce. It is the capitalists who do the dividing. They divide what a worker produces into two parts: one part is wages and the other is profits. They make the part called wages as small as possible and the part called profit as large as possible. Then they give the wages to the producer and keep the profits for themselves. The Socialists object to this dividing. They believe that each worker should receive all that his labor produces. They believe that the men who now get profits that others produce should get no more until such time as they go to work and make as much as they take. It is this scheme of dividing and taking that makes the employers rich and makes the workers poor. When the workers come to Socialism they will abolish the "divvy" and become wealthy, and those who are now wealthy will have to work for what they get the same as all others.

TREASON means, if it means anything, that a person is unfaithful to the people. And such being the case, are not the unfaithful public officials who have embezzled public funds and aided other enemies of the public to do it, traitors? Treason in high places is the order of the day. What greater treason to the people could there be than a congressman or senator conspiring to steal public lands or public funds from the people?

Any book on earth at the publisher's retail price. Address the Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas.

If it is good policy to elect your political ruler, why is it not wisdom to elect your industrial boss?

"SOCIALISM is a beautiful dream," we are told, but it cannot be realized in this life, with humanity as imperfect as it is. Well, how long do you think it will take to fit humanity for a beautiful dream while they live in this horrible nightmare? Wake up, the dawn of a new time is breaking.

THE capitalists can't down the work people in an open fight, either with force or with the ballot. So they deceive the work people by various traps laid for them by the use of the paid lawyers, politicians and pulpsters. They have played this game for centuries and have always kept the upper hand. Strategy is their game. Why be deceived by them forever?

THE object of Socialism is to secure to every man or woman who works the full value of what his or her labor creates. To be sure, this will be hard on those idlers who now consume the best of everything without doing any honest work to pay for it; but they will have an equal opportunity to make as much as they take and take as much as they make. Is that not fair for all?

WHY should a president, who was elected with money contributed by trusts, be opposed to trusts? And why should you believe such a president when he says he is against the people who paid to place him where he is? An administration that is elected by means of capitalist contributions is bound to serve the interests that elected him. Capitalists do not make investments without assurance of returns. Their investments in politics are not exceptions to the rule.

WHENEVER one man gets a dollar that he has not earned it is a sure thing that some other man has earned a dollar which he did not get. Whenever you see a man with more property than he has actually produced, his possession of that property is evidence that he has legally or otherwise robbed others. I plead guilty to legal robbery, but what chumps you work people are to let me and others beat you out of what your labor produces! Are you too stupid to see a point as plain as this?

THE more the rich accumulate, the higher they pile the loot, the more they use the courts and armies against the common herd, the more they corrupt legislatures, the more they say: "The public be damned," "To hell with habeas corpus; we'll give 'em post mortems," etc., the more they flaunt their ill-gotten wealth in the faces of the struggling poor—the sooner will come the deluge that will wipe capitalism off the earth. The workers of the United States do not want to be Mexicanized.

THE fellows who have been deceiving you for years tell you that the government can find men good and wise enough to "control" the railroads and other corporations, but cannot find men who will honestly and wisely operate them if the public owned them? Funny, isn't it? You see, if the industries are owned by the corporations the owners can afford to bribe the men who control them, hence they would like the job, but if the public owned the industries there would be no private owners to bribe and no money could be gotten out of the public treasury without showing on the books. Wise ducks, these politicians. And so honest!

ASK the next patriotic citizen you meet what patriotism is. He will probably reply that it is love for one's country. Then ask him if you must love everything in the country because you happened to be born here. Should you love the brothels and saloons and sweatshops? Should you love the unholy institution of child labor; the graft; the manufacture of adulterated food; the doped milk that poisons babies; the reeking tenements; the vice and corruption and the million evils caused by poverty? Socialists hate these things so heartily that they are doing all they can to destroy them, and for this reason every old stiff who loves his party better than his country is eternally yawning about the Socialist's lack of patriotism. Who is the patriot? It is the citizen who strives continually to make his country better, who would destroy any part of his country that is harmful to his countrymen, and who believes that his country is for his fellow man rather than that his fellow man is for his country.

All Things Change.

WHO has not heard some orator refer to the "eternal hills"? But the hills are not eternal. Like everything else, they are changing. Every day parts of the Rocky Mountains are detached and carried by lesser streams into the Missouri and Mississippi rivers to be scattered along the river beds or washed out into the Gulf of Mexico.

Nature is gradually tearing down the Rocky Mountains and distributing them in the form of sand in the river beds of the west or throwing them into the ocean. The "eternal hills" had a beginning when they were thrown up by some seismic disturbances of the long ago, and they will have an end when the disintegrating forces now at work have operated long enough.

In like manner all human institutions are changing. Patriotic Romans called their capital the "eternal city," ignoring the fact that it had a beginning and refusing to recognize its growth and decay and the building of the new where stood the old. As a nation, Rome is gone; as a city it is practically all made over.

And yet there are those who think that the United States republic will go on forever electing presidents to wage an eternal fight with an eternal Standard Oil company, and that the working class will eternally serve the eternal capitalist class. Such people are asleep or blind. They do not see the evidence of their own senses.

THE Socialist party is organized on a different basis from all other parties. As it combats capitalistic production, it could not get donations from capitalists to support the party, even should it so desire. Being avowedly for the working class, it depends for support entirely upon the workers. As many of the workers are familiar with the dues system of the labor unions, the dues system is used in supporting the Socialist party, the dues amounting to from ten to twenty-five cents a month. A certain portion of this goes to the national office, another portion to the state organization and the remainder is retained by the local organization, which is called a local. Many who do not pay dues vote the ticket, but party policies are regulated by dues-paying members. Any local may initiate a policy, and after it receives a certain support it is submitted to all the locals and decided by referendum vote. Candidates are nominated from dues-paying members, and on accepting the nomination file with the organization a signed resignation of the office, the object being to make it possible to recall one who may be judged to be untrue to the interests of the working class.

SOCIETY is not a mere aggregation of individual units any more than the human body is an aggregation of individual cells. Society is an organism, even as the human body is an organism. To deny the social organ of production, which is the working class, its proper nourishment, is equivalent to denying proper nourishment to the lungs or the heart or the muscles of a human body; and the effect of insufficient nutrition is destructive of the social body to the same extent that the same treatment is destructive of the human body.

WITHIN fifty years this country has built up an aristocracy greater than centuries have been able to produce in other countries. Perhaps you are proud to know that much of the wealth you have produced has gone to accomplish this end, and perhaps you are willing that your children and children's children should be fleeced as you have been to continue the process begun with your help and your approval. But sometimes the children of fool parents become wise.

"WHEN thieves fall out honest men get their dues," is an old saying that might have been true in olden times. When capitalists fall out (and one of them gets knocked out), the dues are not returned to the honest men to whom they are due, but are only transferred to the stronger of the two capitalists. Workingmen have no interest in the issues that arise between their masters.

THE capitalists have conferred a benefit on civilization by the organization of industry, but that is no reason why they should use that organization for the systematic robbery of the workers. The next stage in civilization calls for the use of the organization for the benefit of those who produce.

INFORMATION FOR THE INVESTIGATOR—A PAGE OF QUERIES AND ANSWERS

WHAT IS THE SOCIALIST IDEAL.

Do Socialists Believe in the Absolute Equality of All People.

Is perfect equality the ideal of the Socialist? Perfect equality among any number of people implies that they shall all be alike. The Socialist knows that this is both impossible and undesirable. The Socialist's ideal is not that all people shall be alike in every particular, but that all people shall have an equal opportunity to use the land, machinery and all means of making a living.

We expect people to differ in capacity, taste, disposition and many other things. It takes all kinds of people to make a world, although it is by no means necessary that part of those people revel in luxury while others equally or more deserving exist in want and misery.

A stock argument of silly opponents is the oft-repeated phrase that Socialists purpose the bringing of all down to a dead level. We would neither level people down nor level people up; but we would give each an opportunity to apply his labor to natural resources and let him make the most possible of what is in him.

It is likely that under such conditions of equal opportunity one will be able to produce more than another; some will do a better grade of work than others; in short, the proposed arrangement will enable each to reach the limit in the line for which he may be peculiarly fitted. Giving the fullest possible play to the talents of each is one of the things that will produce results that are impossible now, when thousands are compelled by circumstances to perform labor to which they are not adapted.

If in the Co-operative Commonwealth I work at the bench beside a man whose skill enables him to do a third more than I do, he will create a product that much greater than mine. Under such circumstances it will certainly be no injustice for him to get more than I do, since he will get the equivalent of what he socially produces and I will get the equivalent of what I socially produce. We will not be perfectly equal, but we will have an equal opportunity to what is ours—no more and no less.

Do not allow the enemies of Socialism to stuff you with the idea that Socialism would make all people alike. We couldn't if we would and wouldn't if we could. Even the monotonous drudgery of the capitalist system can't do that, although the tendency is in that direction. What the Socialist demands is perfect justice, not perfect sameness. Nothing would be gained by cutting off the seven-footer to make him conform to the average, or in stretching the five-footer up to a common level; but everything is gained by making conditions under which each can reach the maximum of usefulness and development.

WILL IT TAKE TOO MANY FOREMEN? Would You Hire More Superintendents Than You Would Need?

Wouldn't it require more bosses to keep things straight in the industries of the Co-operative Commonwealth than it does now?

It might require more bosses to keep things straight than it does now to keep things crooked. The business of a boss in an industry conducted under the capitalist system is not to keep things straight, but to make profit for the owner out of the workers.

The Neill-Reynolds official report on the condition of the meat-packing industry shows that the bosses of those plants kept things any way but straight. The boss owes his job to the owner. He is under no obligations to the workers or to the public that is to use what they make.

The bosses in democratically-controlled industry, such as will be in the Co-operative Commonwealth, will derive their authority from an entirely different source. As Socialism demands the democratic control of industries collectively owned, the men who work in the shops will be directly responsible to the men

they boss instead of to a profit-grabbing owner. Whether there will be more bosses than there are now will depend upon the needs and wishes of the men who elect them.

You can reasonably assume that other workers in the proposed industries will act much as you would. You will be an equal owner, and an equal participant in the products, of any industry to the extent that you perform an equal share of the necessary work. Would you favor an unnecessary number of bosses or foremen, thereby lessening the product and your share of it?

Everybody now working in a factory wishes to become a boss because the job affords more pay, less work and a degree of security impossible to the average workman; but when the industry is controlled from below instead of from above, the relations of the workmen to the boss will be reversed. The foreman now gets his job and his authority from the owner, either directly or indirectly through a superintendent; the foreman will then get his authority and position from the men whom he directs.

I can see no more reason for the working owners of the new system installing more bosses than are needed than for the present owners doing the same thing. It is more reasonable to suppose that there will not only be no more bosses than are necessary, but that there will be no more bossing done than is needed to get reasonable results. And, inasmuch as the men working under a boss, foreman or superintendent will largely or wholly be the judges of his conduct and qualifications, he will be compelled to treat his job as a public trust and not as a private snafu.

It may be that a scientifically-organized industry can be more satisfactorily operated with more bosses or foremen than are used under the present adjustment of things. There are more officers in a well-drilled army than in a mob, and there are more directors in an organization than a partly organized or wholly disorganized mass; but results are what count in determining methods, and it is reasonable to suppose that those who both own and do the work in a factory will see that it is not burdened with more bosses than the work demands.

THE PROCESS OF EXPROPRIATION United States Census Statistics on the Increasing Proportion of Renters.

Where do you get your authority for the statement that American farmers are becoming renters?

If it is official authority that you demand, you will find it in Vol. 2, United States Census Report of 1900. In addition to the statistical tables showing by the twelfth census that over 53% of American families live in rented homes, while less than 32% live in their own unincumbered homes, you will find a plate (No. 19) showing that the older-settled states have the greater per cent of renters, while the comparatively new states, like Oklahoma, have the greater per cent of families that own their homes.

Less than 35% of the families in the rich "Empire" state of New York have any claim to their homes, while less than 20% of them actually own their homes free of incumbrance. Over 60% of the families of the state live in rented homes.

In Louisiana 70% of the families live in rented property, and in Rhode Island more than 70% are renters. In the comparatively new state of South Dakota and territory of Oklahoma less than 30% of the homes are rented for the simple reason that the capitalist process has not operated long enough to expropriate the people who settled there on the virgin soil while land was cheap.

The percentage of renters is shown to be much greater in 1900 than at the preceding census in 1890, and it was greater then than ever before. This process of expropriation does not affect any one class or any few

classes of home-owners, but affects all branches of the working class, whether farmers or city laborers. Get the census report and read it for yourself.

INDUCEMENTS TO IMPROVE HOMES Could One Own Private Property in the Co-operative Commonwealth?

What private property could a man own in the Co-operative Commonwealth and what inducement would there be to improve a home if he couldn't own it.

Socialists believe that the things that are privately or individually used should be privately or individually owned, and that the things which are publicly or collectively used should be publicly or collectively owned.

All the things produced for private use, including food, clothing, homes, etc., should be the private property of those who have by their labor produced their equivalent value. But shops, factories, etc., which are the means of producing these articles of private utility, should belong to the many who depend upon them as a means of applying their labor.

One of the popular misconceptions of Socialism is the erroneous idea that Socialists believe in the public ownership of all property. We want collective ownership of land and machinery, not as an object in itself, but because it will enable the willing worker to apply his labor to nature's resources and to individually own the equivalent in value of all his labor socially produces.

Under the present system the owner of land or of a factory is enabled by such ownership to take part of the product of the laborers in the shop or on the farm. If a land renter, the tenant must give part of his product to the landlord in the form of rent; if a wage worker, the laborer gets only that part of his product represented by wages, while the balance goes to the owner in the form of profit.

Private ownership of publicly-used land, tools and machinery is the means by which the laborer is separated from part of his product; and private ownership also gives control of the land and of the job through which the worker must gain his living to the employer and to the employing class. To free the workers from this dependence on the favor of the masters—to make each laborer the owner of his job—is the object of Socialism.

To secure this end, the ownership of the things that the workers must use should be transferred from the non-using owners to the non-owning users. It is the things that the workers must use in making a living that should be collectively owned. When owned by the workers who use them, they give such workers the opportunity to produce wealth for their own consumption and secure to each producer the full social product of his efforts. This is the end and aim of the Socialist movement, and public ownership of land, machinery, etc., is only incidental to this end.

HOW WOULD THE BOSSES BE PAID? If Each Should Get the Full Product of His Toil How About Foremen?

If the Socialists would give the laborer the full product of his work, how would the necessary superintendents and foremen be paid for their services? How could the laborer get the full product of his labor when enough would be taken from him and other workers to pay the superintendents?

The superintendent and foremen in a factory are productive workers the same as the men who work at the bench or forge. Their work is as necessary to the product of the shop as that of the men who work under their direction.

Such being the case, it is the amount and quality of the work they do that will determine their remuneration, the same as the amount and quality of the work done by the bench hands or roustabouts determines theirs. It is the amount of necessary labor contributed by a worker to the production of a given article that determines his share of ownership in it or in its value. If there is any use for a superintendent in a shop, he will do useful work; and this useful work contributes to the making of whatever is made.

It is, therefore, evident that nothing would be taken from the product of other workers to pay the foremen or other directors in the industry. There would be a proportion of their labor power congealed in each article turned out by the working force under their control. If at any time a superintendent or other executive administrator should become unnecessary, his work would become useless and consequently possess no value, under which condition the workers would not doubt abolish his office; but so long as a personal directing power is needed, the work of men to perform this needed labor will be useful and contributory to the value of the things made.

If I were a tailor in a clothing

factory and should finish a coat I would not necessarily be entitled to the whole value of the coat, for the simple reason that others had applied their labor in producing the materials of which the coat was made. The labor of others would be congealed in the cloth, thread, buttons and other materials which I had not produced, but to which I had only added enough of my own effort to give them the form of a coat. More than this, there are others in the industry in which I work who would have contributed indirectly, but essentially, to my own part of the work. The cutter who cuts the parts of the coat from the goods, the boy who carries the materials from the various departments to my bench, even the fireman and engineer whose efforts produce the machine power used by me, the janitor who sweeps the floor and cleans the windows are all helpers, and necessary helpers, in the process and are, therefore, entitled to their portion of the product.

Everyone who contributes of his labor power, which includes the superintendent and his assistants, to the production of that coat is justly entitled to a share in its value. Even when the coat leaves my bench it cannot be said to be a finished product, for nothing is wholly produced until in the hands of the user. The handling of the coat by packers, draymen, railroad men and local distributors of clothing adds to its value in proportion to the amount of necessary human labor each contributes toward putting it into the hands of the user.

Superintendents are necessary to organized industry, and the necessary labor performed by them must be part of the cost and value of what is made under their direction. You should read the analysis of value in Vail's "Principles of Scientific Socialism," which will make this plainer than is possible in the limits of this column.

NEGRO WANTS TO KNOW ABOUT IT Would Socialism Give the Negro Same Opportunities as the White Man?

I am a negro, and would be a Socialist if I knew that Socialism would better the condition of my people. Would Socialism give the black man the same opportunities that it gives the white man, or would the negro remain in slavery, as he now is?—J. H. W. Granger, Tex.

The object of the Socialist movement is to give every worker the full value of what his labor creates; that is, we propose to organize all the workers into a political party to capture political power to use for their own benefit as workers. This applies to the workers of all countries and colors, and includes the negro as well as the white laborer.

I believe that the misfortunes of negroes are due more to their poverty than to their color. Socialism would make it possible for all, whether white, black, red or yellow, to work and to get all their labor would bring forth without dividing it with some capitalist or some set of capitalists, such as now absorb the greater part of what workingmen make.

Socialism is neither for nor against the negro race. It is for the negro workingman and all workingmen; it is against the negro capitalist and all capitalists. It is for a system of industry that would reward every man of any color for what useful work he does and would abolish the class of capitalist parasites who fatten on the labor of others.

Socialists make no hypocritical pretense of love for the negro or for any other race. We don't ask for a negro's vote unless he has reason to believe that the success of Socialism would be of material benefit to him. We know that Socialism in operation would be of immense benefit to every man who works for his living; and for this reason we call upon all workers to join in the demand that all wealth shall belong to the workers, because the workers create all wealth.

It is impossible to explain Socialism fully in the limited space of this column. You should get some of the pamphlets or books on the subject and learn from them the principles and program of the movement. The negro workingman needs Socialism even more than the white worker, and every intelligent negro who labors will sooner or later join in this movement, which will free both whites and blacks from the curse of wage slavery, which oppresses both now as chattel slavery once oppressed the blacks.

SHOULD ALL BE PAID THE SAME? Does Socialism Propose the Same Pay For Each and Every Worker?

In your criticism of the New York Observer which says "In general, Socialists claim that the state should satisfy the needs of each individual and that all who work in the household of the national income should have their share," you say "Socialism would not pay the same to all workers." This means an equal amount of work. In another place you say "Socialism would not pay the same to all workers." This means an equal amount of work. In another place you say "Socialism would not pay the same to all workers." This means an equal amount of work. In another place you say "Socialism would not pay the same to all workers." This means an equal amount of work.

human being may possess sufficient private property to cover all his needs and desires. Since there are all degrees in man's ability, from the capacity to earn, say, 5 cents to \$20 each day, how do you expect your Socialism to be possible unless the 5 cents will purchase every thing one could desire? I am a Socialist, but I believe in justice.—A. P. Beck.

There is nothing peculiar about your being a Socialist and believing in justice. There are several million people on earth today who are Socialists and who believe in justice, but their ideas of justice are decidedly different from those expressed by you in the letter above quoted.

You seem to think that each member of society should receive an equal amount of the social product, no matter how much or how little he has contributed to its production. You seem to think that if one worker exerts himself to the extent that he produces a value of twenty dollars by a day's work, and another is so lazy and trifling that he produces a value of only five cents, that the man who strains mind and muscle should turn over part of the product of his own effort to the five-cent producer. If this is your idea of justice you are in a bad way and your ideas are ripe for a good hard jolt.

If the worker who earns an equivalent of \$20 a day chooses to give part of it or all of it to another there is no particular reason why he should not do it, but the justice that is just will recognize the right of every worker to the full equivalent of what his labor produces. If the five-cent man gets any part of another's earnings it should be a free-will offering from the producer, and not a hold-up by the state for the benefit of the non-producer.

And this just recognition of the right of every worker to the full value of what his labor brings forth is not in any way inconsistent with the assertion that Socialism advocates conditions such that every human being may possess sufficient private property to cover all his needs and desires. The conditions mentioned are such as would give all who are willing to work an opportunity to apply their labor to the means of production, with the guarantee that whatever value might be added to any useful article through their labor would be theirs.

This is the only way by which the workers, as a class, can possess private property in excess of that demanded to feed and clothe and prepare them for more labor. The old motto of communism, which requires from each all the labor of which he is capable and gives to each all that he needs, seems to meet with your approval; but the Socialist position on requirements and remuneration is, that each shall work as he pleases, and receive remuneration in exact and direct proportion to the social value of what he does.

Socialism provides no place for molly-coddles. If the five-cent men are such by choice they will be under the necessity of restricting their consumption to the size of their product. If a man is a five-cent producer because he has been injured in the discharge of service, he has a just claim against society that is recognized in Socialist economics and that will provide for him so long as he survives.

If, under the proposed industrial system, the average worker in a steel

plant produces a ton of steel a day, and if the work is so dangerous that one workingman is permanently crippled every hundred days, then to the ninety-nine days' ordinary labor must be added the one day of special labor that can be properly paid for only by charging the maintenance of the injured workman for the balance of his natural lifetime, to the cost of the hundred tons of steel. If one laborer must give up all his labor power through an accident every hundred days, the labor power of his life's expectancy becomes a properly a charge against the hundred days' product as does the other ninety-nine days actually expended. This is not sentiment or charity; it is sound economics that also possess the unusual economic property of being just.

The probabilities are that under a sane system of industry the safeguards thrown about dangerous machinery and the means of prevention employed to prevent accidents of all kinds will reduce the casualties to such a degree that few workingmen will suffer from such injuries compared with the number who are now ground up in the profit mills. The conditions then will be such as to produce normal healthy workers and protect them in all their faculties, so that the man who is a slow producer will be so from choice rather than from necessity.

It is possible that the perfection of industry may some day make production so easy, and that the wholesome living and ideas generated among people who get what they earn will make work such a pleasure that people will work for the pleasure of making things somewhat as they now work to make a game of baseball, and that they will produce the means of life in the same abundance as water or air or sunshine.

If that day ever comes, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that it may come, the problem of distribution will have been solved and no individual need be jealous of what is strictly his. But the business of Socialism is to deal with a more immediate demand. That immediate demand is that no one be permitted to consume more than he produces until all who produce are guaranteed the right to consume the equivalent of their product. It will be difficult enough to accomplish this without figuring on an altruistic scheme, the consummation of which is necessarily so far in the future that but few can as yet conceive of it.

It is to be hoped that at some time human society can be more than just to its individuals. Nature is now more than just to some creatures upon which it lets its sun shine, although they are not worthy of it. The rain falls, the sun shines and the flowers bloom for the bad as well as the good. Nature is impartial in bestowing its benefactions because it has plenty of some things for everybody, and to spare. When mankind reaches that development when for the joy of making it produces the man-made means of life as abundantly as the sun produces sunshine, all will get more than justice; for justice at the best means a stingy measuring out to each of only that which each has earned.

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THE EVOLUTION OF INDUSTRY

The Scientific Basis of Socialism—A History of the Bread and Butter Question from the Time of the First Rude Tool Through Handicraft, Manufacture and the Factory, to the Capitalist System.

Reprinted from "Principles of Scientific Socialism," by Charles H. Kerr, by permission of the publishers, Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago.

FULLY developed machinery consists, as Marx pointed out, of three distinct factors—the motor mechanism, the transmitting mechanism, and the tool or working machine. It was with this last factor that the industrial revolution began; that is, the apparatus and tools used by the handicraftsman and manufacturing workman were fitted into the body of machines, so that the mechanism performed the work previously done by the workman. Here, then, is the real distinction; it consists in taking the tool from the handicraftsman and fitting it into a mechanism. This accomplished, a machine supplants the mere implement, and it is of no consequence whether the motive power is derived from man or from some other source. In fact, many machines, such as sewing and bread-making machines, are constructed to be operated either by human or by mechanical motive power. Of course, even in the manufacturing age, crude machines were invented and implements for which previously the motive power had been furnished by man, were operated by animal, water and wind power. But at this time machinery played a subordinate part as compared with the division of labor. These machines produced no revolution in industry, and are hardly worthy of the name. Marx, in "Capital," says:

"The machine, which is the starting point of the industrial revolution, supersedes the workman, who handles a single tool, by a mechanism operating with a number of similar tools, and set in motion by a single motive power, whatever the form of that power may be. Here we have the machine, but only as an elementary factor of production by machinery."

"Increase in the size of the machine, and in the number of its working tools, calls for a more massive mechanism to drive it; and this mechanism requires, in order to overcome its resistance, a mightier moving power than that of man."

Steam and Machinery.
This required motive power was furnished by Watt's steam engine, which furnished a power sufficient to drive a number of machines simultaneously. With the application of steam to manufacturing the industrial revolution was speedily effected. Along with this revolution in the tool came the revolution of labor: the skill of the workman was transferred to the machine. The division of labor in the factory consists of the distribution of workmen among specialized machines. Here the machine makes use of the workman instead, as in handicraft, of the workman making use of the tool. As soon as the tool is transformed into the machine, this instrument of labor competes with the laborer. The work formerly done by the skilled mechanic is now performed by the machine. The effect of these improvements is not only to render labor superfluous, but also to substitute the less skilled for the more skilled, the female for the male, the child for the adult.

Prof. Ely, in speaking of this industrial revolution, in "Socialism and Reform," says: "Capital, taking advantage of the inventions in industry and the improvement of means of communication and transportation brought about by these inventions, was able to expand production and to carry it on on a scale of increasing magnitude. This production upon a vast scale, based upon a far-reaching division of labor, became essentially social production. Armies of men work together in single or allied establishments, each one doing his own small part of a vast whole. Capitalistic production passed out of the shop and entered the factory. The master workman gave place to the captain of industry, and journeymen and apprentices to regiments of wage-earners."

Stages of Industrial Development.
Industry, then, has passed through three well-marked stages of development:

1. The Handicraft Stage, which was the period of small production. In the latter part of this period the laborer owned the few instruments of labor, and the results of his labor were his without deduction. No employer made a profit out of his labor. Both laborer and capitalist were combined in the same person. The only qualification that needs to be made is, that from the Middle Ages onward, under the guild regulations, a master workman might have two or three apprentices and as many journeymen. As the journeymen worked at daily wages, the master, of course, was enabled to make a small profit out of his labor, and so, perhaps, might be considered an embryonic or potential capitalist. But, as we have seen, where wage-labor existed it was only a by-matter; the journeymen worked, not so much for wages, as to fit themselves for mastership.

2. The Manufacturing Stage, which was the period of manufactures. In this stage, beginning in the middle of the sixteenth century, the capitalist proper appears, though only half-fledged. The chief characteristics of this era were the employment of artisans in manufactories and the division of labor. Wage-labor, hitherto the exception, now becomes the general rule. The reason that laborers were compelled to submit to wage conditions has already been considered. We reach here the stage of capitalist production, and the rise of profits proper which become the source of further capital, but the capitalist system is, as yet, undeveloped, and extends to relatively few industries.

3. The Factory Stage, which is the period of modern or grand industry. This stage, which began in the last third of the eighteenth century, is marked by a remarkable series of inventions and discoveries, which completely revolutionized industry. With the incoming of the machine the race for fortune and wealth began. The chief characteristics which mark the beginning of this age have already been considered.

These periods, however, like geological epochs, overlap each other. Thus, the handicraft and manufacturing industries still survive as relics of an antiquated age, but not, however, without many alterations due to the reaction of the factory system. Modern handicraft and manufacture have been greatly affected by the modern age in which they survive. They are reproduced, as it were, in the background of modern industry, though they are somewhat changed in character.

Process of Expropriation.
The whole history of economic development, then, is marked by the downfall of the small producer. The industrial revolution has marched steadily onward, leaving an ever-increasing number of propertyless proletarians in its wake. The small farm and factory has found it more and more difficult to compete with production on a large scale. The time is near at hand when all the small agriculturalists and industrialists will be divorced from the means of production and will help swell the proletariat class.

Not only can we see the doom of these two classes, but also the downfall of the small capitalist. The field is becoming narrowed as the triumphal march of concentration goes rapidly forward. As the great bulk of the population is dependent on the capitalist class, so the capitalist class as a whole is becoming dependent on a few who are veritable kings in the economic realm. The small merchant is also on the same downward grade. The department store is supplanting the small store.

This process of extermination has been greatly accelerated by the various phases which this modern mechanical era has assumed. We have seen how the era of manufacture was gradually transformed by the introduction of the division of labor, and so prepared for the next stage of development. In like manner the era of modern mechanical industry has been taking on several forms. In the beginning of this era we find both individual and limited partnership owners of the machinery of production. But as machinery developed and the waste of competition necessitated the massing of large capitals that production might be cheapened and rivals undersold, it has become more and more difficult for the individual capitalist to furnish the requisite means, and so the joint-stock company has arisen.

Evolution of the Capitalist.
The origin of the joint-stock company completed the evolution of the capitalist. We have seen how at first he was a manual laborer working with his men, but the possession of a little wealth raised him above manual labor, and he became a mental laborer, a manager, who received wages of superintendence. But the possession of more wealth raised him above even the labor of direction, and he handed this function over to an employe, thus becoming a mere interest or profit receiver. The capitalists united in a joint-stock company do not pretend to labor, but hire a manager in whose hands they place their capital, and whose business it is to make profits for the stockholders. The whole capitalist class, as such, have thus become superfluous; the services previously rendered by them being handed over to hired managers. Says Sidney Webb, in "Fabian Essays": "The older economists doubted whether anything but banking and insurance could be carried on by joint-stock enterprise; now every conceivable industry, down to baking and milk-selling, is successfully managed by the salaried officers of large corporations of idle shareholders. More than one-third of the whole business of England, measured by the capital employed, is now done by joint-stock companies, whose shareholders could be expropriated by the community with no more dislocation of the industries carried on by them than is caused by the daily purchase of shares on the Stock Exchange."

The Trust Appears.
The next phase of this evolution was the union of these companies into a trust. The appearance of the trust upon the industrial horizon, which has resulted from the concentration of business in fewer hands, is the most significant phenomenon of the present day. This gradual development of competing industries into monopolies is destined, at no distant future, to usher in the Co-operative Commonwealth. One who understands the causes which have led to the substitution of combination for competition will know the impossibility of ever returning to the latter. The choice must be made between monopoly under private control and monopoly under public control, for monopoly, in some form, is certain to obtain. As the corporation is more powerful than the individual, so the trust is more powerful than the corporation. Combination in one industry necessitates combination in all. The efficiency of capital in large masses is what has been called the law of industrial gravitation. Associated capital and machinery are necessary to effective and economical production. The return to the days of competition and small things would constitute a reversal of all progress. The business of the future must be done by organized capital; it is the only way the needs of the people can be met. The quicker this is realized the better. To all quack propositions we must offer a steady and unflinching resistance.

The question is, Shall we have organized capital in the hands of individuals, or in the hands of society? The choice is not between competition and combination, for the former is rapidly disappearing. Combination either of the few or of the many is inevitable. Combination is the socialistic way of doing business; competition is the individualistic way. Every trust virtually admits the truth of Socialism charges, that competition is wasteful, and that by combination the cost of production is greatly reduced and harmony restored in the industrial realm.

Capitalism Not the End.
Industry, as we have seen, has successively passed from the Handicraft Stage of production into the era of manufactures, and from thence into modern mechanical industry, and this era has evolved into the corporate or joint-

stock stage and is now rapidly taking on the form of monopoly. But this monopolistic stage, which we have entered, is not the end, for as individuals have combined into corporations and corporations into trusts, so trusts will combine into a Co-operative Commonwealth. This being logical is inevitable. In economic evolution there is no retrogression. It is only in universal combination that a complete consummation can be attained. Trusts must combine into a great trust—the Nation. There is no more possibility of our re-entering any of the past eras of production from which we have evolved than there is of the butterfly re-entering the chrysalis. The stage of handicraft and manufacturing, and even the competitive stage of modern mechanical industry has passed or is rapidly passing, into innocuous desuetude. As slavery gave way to feudalism and feudalism to capitalism, so capitalism must give way to Socialism. But everything in its own order, first the blade, then the ear, and after that the full corn in the ear. Socialism is the full corn in the ear, and will come as the final consummation of the industrial development.

Socialization of Industry.
Many express a fear of Socialism without realizing that one form of Socialism is already here—the plutocrat. This plutocratic Socialism—Socialism without democracy—is the only form we need to fear. The trust utilizes the methods of Socialism—combination, cooperation and co-ordination—to get the best results from man and nature without the Socialist aim and spirit. The trust is simply Socialism for the benefit of the few. The trust, however, has come, and come to stay. The only solution of the problem is that which has been pointed out—the socialization of the trust, that the benefits now monopolized by the few may become the inheritance of all. The choice must be made between plutocratic Socialism and democratic Socialism.

We have seen how the industrial revolution has wrought the downfall of the small producers and distributors, so that today the great instruments of production and distribution are social in character, though as yet under private control. We have also seen how the industrial revolution resulted in the loss of control by the workers of the instruments of production, and the reduction of the once independent handicraftsman and agriculturalist to the level of wage-slaves. The transformation of the limited implements of production into mighty powers resulted in turning them into social instruments, thus precluding individual ownership on the part of the workers. The vast cost of the new machinery and the large amount of capital required for the new methods of production, gave rise to a capitalist class—the owners of the instruments of production.

Power of Ownership.
The laborers must have access to the means of production or starve; but this access is obtainable only through the competitive wage. The ownership of the means of production gives men power over their fellows. Men being unable to employ themselves are obliged to sell their liberties for the opportunity of earning a mere existence. In the words of Bebel, "The basis of all oppression is economic dependence on the oppressor." This condition of oppression has been heightening with the development of capitalism. Just in proportion as the instruments of production have been monopolized by a few, social misery, industrial servitude and political dependence have increased. This monopoly of the implements of livelihood forms the basis of every kind of degradation. Hence the necessity of a speedy consummation of the industrial development. This is in order that we may attain economic freedom—the basis of all freedom. For if the laborer's servitude is caused through the appropriation by a class of the means of production, their emancipation can only be realized by their again becoming owners of the means of labor. Although individual ownership is impossible—owing to the subdivision of labor and the immense scale of production—still, the solution is not hopeless, for the change in the method of production points out to us the solution of the problem. We have seen that the industrial revolution has resulted in socializing the method of production; therefore the instruments of production should also become socialized to correspond with the socialized method. As tools are used in common they should be owned in common. The private ownership of the instruments of production is becoming more and more incompatible with the nature of these instruments. Their magnitude and social character mark them for social ownership and control. The whole conflict in the industrial realm today is due to a failure to recognize the social character and nature of the instruments and methods of production. Although the method of appropriation has changed, the method of appropriation of results remains unaltered. Social production, with capitalist owner-

WEAR THE PARTY BUTTON
Everywhere you go there are Socialists now. Wear the button and you will meet many of your brothers ready and anxious to render you or your family any comradely assistance in their power. It is the eloquent and powerful freemasonry of the Social Revolution. It is, perhaps unconsciously to many, the most universal and fraternal in the world today, and it promises to become steadily more and more so.

When I journey on the train, I notice an average of about three passengers to the car wearing red badges with the clasped hands zoning the world, and these words so ominous and threatening to capitalism, "Workers of the World Unite!" and many a charming chat have I had with comrades thus met.

Wear the button! It quakes the craven heart of the plutocrat and he fears the hallowed cause of Liberty yet lives. The plutocrat does not mind a democrat or republican. He is neither, but he patronizes them and slyly winks at both. He is himself, mostly, just plute and scorbute hog, but bet your sweet life it scares the hell out of him to see just a tiny little cheap celluloid Socialist button.

Wear the button! It encourages others. It lends the magic strength of union. It excites interest in Socialism. We crush the celluloid button, very pretty and durable, for a dollar a hundred, 25 cents a dozen. Carry a few in your pocket for new converts. The same design, gold plated, for 25 cents each, and in rolled gold for 50 cents.

ship of the instruments, means capitalist appropriation of the results of social labor. Property which originally rested upon individual labor now rests upon capitalist exploitation. Let us abolish this incongruity between social production and capitalist appropriation by restoring to the people the control of their economic interests. Although it is impossible for them as individuals to regain this control—for the industrial system of the future, as we have seen, must be systematized—nevertheless, they can bring these interests under collective control, substituting for the present irresponsible rule of the few, responsible public agents who will manage the affairs of society in the interests of society.

Trusts Prepare for Socialism.
Every industry that has reached its trust stage of development is eminently ripe for appropriation by the community. It is useless to say that an enterprise cannot be managed by society when it is being managed by a group of capitalists. The board of directors—who as a rule do not own the capital invested—can as readily be made responsible to society as to the shareholders. The directors in charge at the time of transition could be retained, if thought advisable, simply making them responsible to all the people instead of to the few favored stockholders. Socialism is thus seen to be practical as well as inevitable. The realization of this final stage of industrial development is nearer than many think.

But it may be asked, How is this transformation to be effected? We now come to the mission of the modern proletariat. By proletariat is meant those deprived of property in the instruments of production. It includes not only manual laborers, but the great bulk of the professional body, as a large majority of such are economic dependents. The "educated" or "intellectual" proletarians have rapidly increased within the last few years, and many of them have become able and courageous exponents of Socialism. The industrial evolution is thus furnishing the masses with the intellectual leaders needed.

Mission of the Workers.
The proletariat—the fourth estate—has a mission to perform, and that mission is the abolition of wage slavery. Says Buckle, "No great political improvement, no great reform, either legislative or executive, has ever been originated in any country by its rulers." Wendell Phillips corroborates this truth in the following language: "No reform, moral or intellectual, ever came from the upper classes of society. Each and all came from the protest of the martyrs and victims. The emancipation of the working people must be achieved by the working people themselves."

We have traced the transformation of the economic order since the Middle Ages, through its varied stages, and noted how the various classes—the feudal lords, the capitalists, etc.—have performed their parts in the evolution of the industrial order. We have also seen the proletarians gathered together in large factories, where they are organized and disciplined, but thus far they have remained chiefly a passive factor. At first they were small in numbers compared with the great middle class, and it was impossible, at that time, that their mission should be either comprehended or fulfilled. It was first necessary for the economic evolution to work itself out in the expropriation of large numbers of the middle class, and so increase the number of the propertyless, before the condition was propitious for the proletarians to work out their destiny.

Society an Organism.
Let us not forget that society is an organism and Socialism is the last expression of economic evolution. The time was not ripe for Socialism until the capitalist system had taken on its logical expression in the trust and syndicate. Until this stage no social or political upheaval could accomplish more than to upset thrones and behead monarchs. Such a revolution would accomplish nothing. We need to appreciate this truth when, as in these days, so many quack remedies are proposed, and among them the delusion that the cause of the proletariat could be helped by a grand physical revolution or outbreak of anarchy. Such ideas utterly fail to recognize the revolutionary character of economic changes. They are generally put forward by those who have become outraged by capitalist methods, but who are still groping in the dark for the true remedy; or, if they perceive the solution, have so imbibed reactionary doctrines that they fail to see the inconsistency of their position. It is not the first time that men have unknowingly held views that were mutually exclusive.

Now it was but natural that this economic condition, as it became more pronounced, should find political expression. That the proletariat should discover sooner or later, that his interest did not lie in the direction of his exploiters, was inevitable. And what more natural than that he should organize politically to secure his rights. The class-conscious proletarians are today thus organized under the banner of International Socialism, and the struggle for supremacy has already begun. Socialists wish to attain political supremacy as a means whereby they may usher in the Co-operative Commonwealth, thus realizing their economic ideals. Socialists realize the futility of fighting capitalism with its own weapons—capital with capital. The proletariat is unequipped in the economic field for encounter with the thoroughly organized forces of capitalism.

Power of the Working Class.
But in the political field the proletariat is supreme. Here he meets the capitalist as an equal, while as a class the proletariat overwhelmingly outnumber the capitalists, and their advantage is constantly increasing with the bankruptcy in the middle class and the narrowing of the capitalist class. The time has come for the manual and mental workers to unite and strike for liberty. Strike at the ballot-box, for the mastery of the public powers is the first step toward emancipation. Let us rejoice that this call for united action has been heard and is being obeyed. The proletarians of the various trades are being welded together and leavened by the spirit of brotherhood; they are forming a class-conscious power before whom the throngs of the world are beginning to tremble; they are uniting for political action to the end that they may conquer the public powers and convert the

THE BOOK OF THE HOUR

BY EUGENIE W. DEBS.

Revolutionary literature is about to gain a remarkable addition to its list, for "The Scarlet Shadow," Walter Hurt's great novel so recently announced, will issue from the press within a few days. It is an absorbing romance based upon the startling actualities of the class war in Colorado, which theme the author treats by methods entirely new.

Its historic features alone make this book a most noteworthy contribution to sociological literature. The story of the industrial struggle in the Rocky Mountains, culminating in the kidnaping conspiracy and the trial of William D. Haywood, told with the touch of a master in every line, is so intensely interesting that no criticism, however brilliant or flattering, can do it justice. Every detail is brought out daringly and in vivid relief. The true recital of the tragic scenes in and about the mining camps of Colorado during the last decade, makes this the most wonderful story of the age. It gives much amazing history heretofore withheld from the world—but gives it in the guise of fascinating fiction. From first to finish it is a maze of bewildering mystery, a tantalizing tangle of plot and counter-plot, through which closely crowds a multitude of thrilling incidents.

Here the god-gifted pen of Walter Hurt has found its true theme and its richest inspiration. His keen insight as a newspaper reporter, his classic ability as a writer, his patience and per-

sistence as a student of events, his fine philosophic perception, his extraordinary power of dramatic presentation, combined with his fervid imagination and his rare poetic fancy, have all found free play in this transcendent tragedy of toil.

In addition to its large worth as fictive literature, "The Scarlet Shadow" has permanent historic value. It should be read by the millions who are alive to the vital questions of the day and who are studying the mighty forces that are converting our capitalist monarchy into a Socialist Republic.

"The Book of the Hour"—that's what "The Scarlet Shadow" actually is. Thousands of eager subscribers already have filed their orders for it. Each day hundreds more are added to the list, all anxious lest they be not supplied before the edition is exhausted. Seldom has there been such interest in any book in advance of publication.

Comrades, I wish I could impress upon you fully the immense importance to the Cause of this great revolutionary romance. It is bound to prove one of the most forceful factors in the coming campaign. And its importance is intensified just at this time by the policy of persecution of Socialists by the masters. I am firmly convinced that, if sufficiently circulated, this book will make it forever impossible to put any man into jail because of his political opinions.

Send for it, and read it—and you'll never regret it.

nations of the world into Co-operative Commonwealths.

In all previous social revolutions class has superseded class. The class below has overthrown the class above, thus emancipating itself by subjecting others. But Socialism will abolish all classes by abolishing all forms of human exploitation. The emancipation of the proletariat will mean the emancipation of all.

Although Socialism would really benefit all classes, the initiative and propaganda must rest chiefly with the proletariat. The property holders, like the slaveholders of old, are blind to their higher interests. To be sure, there are a few here and there who are able to look beyond the horizon of their own class and perceive the doom of capitalist production. Of course, we can expect nothing from the large exploiters. While it is true that ultimately they would reap an advantage, still they would lose the power and distinction they enjoy today and would be obliged to render some useful service to society, all of which is decidedly distasteful to them.

The Middle Class.
But it is otherwise with the small producers and traders; they have nothing to lose and everything to gain by the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth. Under the present system they are hopelessly doomed to bankruptcy, and it is only a question of little time before they will join the ever-growing majority—the proletariat. But their ignorance of economic conditions, which leads them to hope for the preservation of their class, binds them to the sinking ship of small enterprise. We can hope for but little from the members of this class so long as they retain their economic foothold, but when they become expropriated and are thrown into the proletariat class, they furnish good material for Socialism. Their economic downfall is quite apt to set them thinking, and Socialism is being daily strengthened by such recruits.

Socialists, then, count on the expropriated masses against the few expropriators. When the Socialists have gained control of the political machinery, which presupposes that the great majority of the people want the change,

then the Co-operative Commonwealth will be proclaimed in the name of the people as a new legal system.

This would not be, as assumed by some, a difficult process; not nearly as difficult as was the passing from feudalism to capitalism. Karl Marx has well stated this in the following words: "The transformation of capitalistic private property, arising from individual labor, into capitalist private property is, naturally, a process, incomparably more protracted, violent and difficult than the transformation of capitalistic private property, already practically resting on socialized production, into socialized property. In the former case we had the expropriation of the mass of the people by a few usurpers; in the latter we have the expropriation of a few usurpers by the mass of the people."

The Program.
When the Socialists have wrested the power of government from the capitalist class they will at once proceed to transform private businesses into socially managed concerns. Just as rapidly as practicable, trust after trust and industry after industry would pass under public administration—the officials in charge being made responsible to the whole people—until all production and exchange are socialized and the consummation of the industrial evolution completed.

To recapitulate: The industrial evolution has taken on several stages of development, viz.: the era of small production, the era of manufacturing production and the era of modern mechanical production. This last era, marked by the introduction of the factory system, has taken on several phases of development. It began with the individual ownership of social tools, which was followed by the joint-stock or corporation ownership, then trust ownership, and finally this trust ownership will evolve into public ownership, thus completing the industrial evolution and establishing the Co-operative Commonwealth.

The "Principles of Scientific Socialism," from which the foregoing article is reprinted, can be obtained from the book department of the Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas, at one dollar in cloth cover or 35 cents in paper.

CLUBBING OFFERS

WITH OTHER PUBLICATIONS
We take and forward subscriptions to all other "undesirable" publications. The more the merrier say we, and the sooner will we see the accomplishment of the Socialist program—the sooner will the parasite and drone be scourged from the face of the earth.

We make the general proposition to send the Appeal to any address, and any other publication to the same or a different address, for the price of such publication when its subscription price amounts to One Dollar or more.

Then, too, we make following special clubbing offers:

OFFER NO. 1.
The Arena, regular price, a year.....\$2.50
The Appeal to Reason, regular price, a year.....50
Total.....\$3.00
From us, on this offer only \$2.00.

OFFER NO. 2.
The Chicago Daily Socialist, regular price, a year.....\$3.00
The Appeal to Reason, regular price, a year.....50
Total.....\$3.50
From us, on this offer, both for \$2.00
If The Arena also is desired, send, for all three, \$3.50.

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Wilshire's Magazine, regular price, a year.....\$1.10
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From us, on this offer, only 25 cents for both.
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The entire four publications, one year, for \$4.00.

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The National Rip-Saw, regular price, a year.....\$1.00
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The National Rip-Saw, the Appeal, and the Chicago Daily Socialist, or The Arena, for \$2.50.
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The Cosmopolitan Magazine, regular price, a year.....\$1.00
The Appeal to Reason, regular price, a year.....50
Total.....\$1.50
From us, on this offer, only \$1.00.
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All four of these amounting to \$5.00 for only \$4.00.
These four and The National Rip-Saw amounting to \$7.00, for only \$4.50.

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The Appeal to Reason, regular price per year.....\$2.50
The Arena, regular price per year.....2.50
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The Cosmopolitan Magazine, regular price per year.....1.00
Studies in Socialism, regular price per year.....1.00
Wayland's Monthly, regular price per year......50
International Socialist Review, regular price per year.....1.00

Nine of the best—worth.....\$20.70
From us, on this offer, for only \$9.00.
BE CAREFUL in ordering to state just which offer you accept.

EVERY WORKINGMAN A SOCIALIST AND EVERY SOCIALIST A MEMBER OF THE PARTY

TRAINED MEMBERSHIP NECESSARY

THE mission of the Socialist party is political action, and, through inculcation of democracy into economic organization and combination of political and industrial action, ultimate economic reorganization of society.

A disorganized movement cannot accomplish this mission because it cannot exercise organic action. It is essential that the constituent parts of our movement, both political and economic, be brought together in detailed arrangement similar to a modern machine, oiled and trained for the specific action necessary to install and maintain industrial action in accord with the program of the Co-operative Commonwealth or chaos results.

YOUR COUNSEL IS NEEDED.

AT no time in the history of the Socialist party has organization been so greatly needed as in the present. The future success of the party depends very much on its conduct in the coming campaign. If wild and fantastic theories, isms, or fusions, are indulged in it will be very much against us in the future. But, if our campaign is pressed earnestly and vigorously, with both eyes looking towards the future, warmer thoughts, better tone, and a more thorough, hopeful feeling will be brought out in the minds of thousands not now connected with the party.

We need the help of every class-conscious, intelligent Socialist, not so much for the pecuniary help, although that is sorely needed, as we do for guidance and control in the very best rules for party guidance.

ORGANIZE AS WELL AS AGITATE.

THE new move by the Appeal, Studies in Socialism, is up to date. Just what is needed. We cannot make further growth without further organization. Everybody is an agitator now and the people are ripe for a "new enthusiasm." The Socialist movement is the greatest and most intelligent work ever done by or for the workers on farm, in shop, mill, mine and factory.

WHY SHOULD WORKINGMEN JOIN THE PARTY?

PERSONALLY, it has always been a puzzle to me why union men and men of the working class especially should expect their masters to legislate for them, knowing full well that to do so can only spell ruin to the capitalist class. What good is done to your fellow working men and women by paying into your unions the whole year round and then going up to the ballot box on election day, like a sneak-thief, and voting for those who hired you as a wage slave for profit?

PARTY MEMBER IS STRONGER.

ORGANIZATION is king; without it we are a mob. Without funds we are impotent. Without organization we can put no ticket in the field, and, therefore, have no way of giving intelligent expression to our sentiments, without which the capitalists care not a rap.

WORK IN CONCORD.

NO general commanding an army would think of going into action without his colonels, captains, lieutenants and other officers. No manager of a corporation would for a minute think of conducting a mammoth business without his department officers; and the same is true on down even to the farmer who hires one man. Plans always have to be devised, and these are always made with due regard to the assistants entering into the work.

MAKES ONE EQUAL TEN.

THE Socialist organization is a growth. Every comrade added to the list of dues-paying members becomes a part of a solid wall of resistance whereby his force is many times doubled. The force of organization is

like cement, which binds shifting particles of sand into a solid stone; the capitalist system will weather an awful sandstorm and come out unscathed, but let this sand be bound together by organization into compact Socialist organizations all over this country and the difference will be just as great as it would be if you threw a handful of sand at an adversary or the same weight of material in a solid piece of granite.

Every Socialist is needed in the Socialist organization. If you are a Socialist and do not belong you are injuring the movement by both your absence and your example. The Socialist who thinks he can accomplish more outside than inside the organization has another think coming. In fact, such a position is directly contrary to the basic principles of Socialism, which stands primarily for organization, idea and co-operation, as against the idea of individual effort—not that individual effort is unnecessary, it is—but as a part of some plan, some order, some system, some organization.

The fact that there is no local in your vicinity is no excuse whatever for your not belonging to the party organization. Provisions have been made for this, and anyone, anywhere, can join as a member-at-large and keep in close touch with the organized work.

Ten Socialists in an organization are, in my estimation, more powerful than one hundred, or even one thousand, on the outside. Let us join the organization of our class and become a part of the solid wall, rather than remain as shifting sand. The wall is the only thing that can be depended upon, and the not distant future will try its strength to the utmost. The Socialist party organization is the only hope of emancipation for the working class.—G. H. Lockwood, State Secretary of Michigan.

SOCIALIZE YOUR EFFORTS.

THE greatest need at the present time in the Socialist movement is party organization. There is plenty of sentiment in favor of Socialism all over the United States, but there are only a few places where this sentiment is crystallized into a disciplined political force. The work done by Socialists in many states is rather more on the anarchistic plan than it is socialistic. Socialism means organization, order and discipline. Individual work is necessary for educational and propaganda purposes, but in order to show results in the political field we must have a strong political party organization.

We had a bitter experience in Colorado last fall from this lack of organization. When the campaign came on the party was practically without any organization, and had it not been for the \$5,000 subscribed by Socialists and unionists in nearly every state in the Union, and the assistance given us in the national office in sending us speakers during the campaign, and the thousands of copies donated by the Agitation League of the Appeal to Reason, together with the popularity of our candidate for governor, William D. Haywood, we would have made a very poor showing.

DO YOUR PART.

WHY should workingmen join the party? Personally, it has always been a puzzle to me why union men and men of the working class especially should expect their masters to legislate for them, knowing full well that to do so can only spell ruin to the capitalist class. What good is done to your fellow working men and women by paying into your unions the whole year round and then going up to the ballot box on election day, like a sneak-thief, and voting for those who hired you as a wage slave for profit?

STRENGTHEN THE ORGANIZATION.

WHEN we look at the tremendous need of organization, in the light of the wonderful opportunities being forced upon us by the culmination of the capitalist system; it seems as though words are weak and inadequate to express our thoughts as to the importance of exerting all our energies in the strengthening of the local, state and national organizations. It is undoubtedly true that the great majority of men in the organization have no real conception of what a live, efficient branch or local could accomplish.

JOIN THE PARTY AND PRACTICE CO-OPERATION.

A FEW men organized and working together in harmony can triumph over a multitude of people pulling in different directions and thereby wasting their strength and resources. By combining their pennies and each one contributing a little, the workmen of Missouri can raise enough money to carry the message of Socialism to every voter in the state. That is why the Socialists have a dues-paying system.

MEMBERSHIP MAKES ORGANIZATION.

WHAT is the need of a Socialist party? Why should Socialists join the party organization? Because we are waging war against the capitalist system, and for this purpose must have a compact and well-organized army.

MEMBERSHIP INCREASES EFFICIENCY.

OUR Socialist press reaches hundreds of thousands of people who are Socialists or semi-Socialists, and yet we have only 30,000 organized Socialists in the United States. What is the reason? The trouble is this: too many people who call themselves Socialists do not understand that it is necessary not only to be a Socialist in sympathy and theory, but in practice.

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APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE SOCIALIST PARTY

I, the undersigned, recognizing the class struggle between the capitalist class and the working class, and the necessity of the working class constituting themselves into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied classes, hereby declare that I have severed my relations with all other parties; that I endorse the platform and constitution of the SOCIALIST PARTY, and hereby apply for admission to membership in said party.

Name in full _____
Street Address _____
City or P. O. _____

LIST OF STATE SECRETARIES.

- Alabama, Thos. Freeman, Fairport.
- Arizona, J. G. Kneeb, Box 210, Globe.
- Arkansas, Dan Hogan, Huntington.
- California, H. C. Cook, 525 17th St., Oakland.
- Colorado, A. H. Ewens, 1029 A. B. St., Denver.
- Connecticut, A. W. Smith, 746 Chapel St., Hartford.
- Florida, H. L. Drake, 1025 St. Petersburg.
- Idaho, T. J. Conroy, Emmett.
- Illinois, J. S. Smith, 103 Randolph, Chicago.
- Indiana, S. M. Reynolds, 209 1/2 O. Terzè Haute.
- Iowa, Edw. J. Bolivar, Nevada.
- Kansas, A. O. Grigsby, Lawrence.
- Kentucky, F. H. Stebbins, 227 W. 10th, Newport.
- La., G. F. Walker, 1022 Granger, N. Orleans.
- Maine, W. E. Pease, 108 Linden St., Lewiston.
- Maryland, H. C. Lewis, 418 Eastside, Baltimore.
- Massachusetts, J. P. Conroy, 426 W. 4th, Boston.
- Mich., G. H. Lockwood, 1018 Eggleston, Kalamazoo.
- Minnesota, J. E. Nash, 52 S. 4th, Minneapolis.
- Missouri, O. Pauls, 324 Chestnut, St. Louis.
- Montana, J. D. Graham, Box 308, Helena.
- Nebraska, J. P. Ross, 41 3/4 S. Grouse Blk., Omaha.
- N. Hamp., W. W. Wilkins, Box 221, Claremont.
- N. York, W. F. Killingsworth, 92 Williams, Orange.
- New York, J. G. Chase, 239 E. 84th, N. Y.
- North Dakota, A. M. Brooks, Box 513, Fargo.
- Ohio, J. G. Wilber, 5409 W. 54th, Parma.
- Oklahoma, J. P. Ross, 41 3/4 S. Grouse Blk., Omaha.
- Oregon, T. A. Stadden, 309 Davis, Portland.
- Penn., R. H. Biegler, 628 Walnut, Reading.
- Texas, W. J. Bell, 104 W. E. 10th, El Paso.
- Utah, J. MacLachlan, Nat'l Bk. Bldg., Ogden.
- Vermont, A. Broadie, 22 Ayers, Barre.
- Washington, B. Kruger, 2705 1/2 Ave., Tacoma.
- West Virginia, G. H. Kline, McMechen.
- Wisconsin, E. H. Thomas, 244 6th, Milwaukee.
- Wyoming, W. L. O'Neil, 701 S. 4th, Laramie.

Speaking of Presidents, candidates in the members, and we comrades will elect one of our very own. Every new party member brings nearer the day of deliverance. The tools required for the job are a Red Card for yourself and a membership application blank for your friend and fellow worker. Easy, isn't it? Well, that's the way to win.

F. J. MAHLON BARNES, National Secretary,
269 Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

tem that the poor dupes don't realize they are only privates in the political army and wholly under the command of the "big guns." Neither do they realize the enormous dues they pay to support these parties.

I consider our organization is far superior to our discipline, as is evidenced by the weekly reports from the national headquarters. There seems to be among many old members petty jealousies, and hardly a week goes by but some one is spoiling for a "scrap." This is most certainly wrong. While we have our officials let us recognize them as such and be loyal to them, and when we are convinced we would like someone else in their place, we can use the ballot for the other fellow.—W. H. Wilkins, State Secretary Socialist Party of New Hampshire.

YOU SHOULD JOIN THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

BECAUSE the capitalists who own the jobs for which the workers compete, and the goods which all require, also own the old parties, including "reform leagues," etc. they will not abdicate. Hence hope in them is in vain. Because the Socialist party is the only party whose philosophy and tactics harmonize with industrial, social and political evolution it is, therefore, the party which will survive.

Because helping old parties is endorsing their acts and the cut-throat system they uphold, making them arrogant and brutal to their dupes, whom they cannot respect.

Because a strong Socialist party is a potent protest, threatens their power, to prolong which they will feign a desire for "the general welfare," make concessions which will relieve us and give us respect which our manhood inspires.

Because your example is followed by others, your presence encourages many to greater efforts, thus adding much more than your own strength.

Because working for so good a cause certainly expands and strengthens your mind, extending your mental horizon to true pleasure, a consciousness of right.

"One self-approving hour whole years outweighs."

Of stupid starers and of loud hussars."

Because you need the party and the party needs you.—Fred Hurst, State Secretary Socialist Party of Rhode Island.

STRENGTHEN THE ORGANIZATION.

WHEN we look at the tremendous need of organization, in the light of the wonderful opportunities being forced upon us by the culmination of the capitalist system; it seems as though words are weak and inadequate to express our thoughts as to the importance of exerting all our energies in the strengthening of the local, state and national organizations. It is undoubtedly true that the great majority of men in the organization have no real conception of what a live, efficient branch or local could accomplish.

To acquire proficiency, and prepare for the best work possible, every member should subscribe for as many of the Socialist papers and periodicals as his resources will allow, and keep thoroughly posted as to what is going on in the movement. This will inspire him to be active, and qualify him to be a propagandist, and, above all, convince him of the supreme importance of doing all he can to advance organization all along the line, for we are going to need it badly for the campaign of 1908 and the time to accomplish it is extremely short.

We are making some effort to perfect the organization in Pennsylvania through the agency of State Organizer Fred L. Schwartz, of Allegheny, who has been visiting locals for several months, spending a few days or a week at each place, and we find the results very satisfactory. The plan of having an organizer in the field has certainly proved satisfactory in our experience. It stimulates the locals, and through them the state organization and the individual members.—Robert R. Ringer, State Secretary Socialist Party of Pennsylvania.

JOIN THE PARTY AND PRACTICE CO-OPERATION.

A FEW men organized and working together in harmony can triumph over a multitude of people pulling in different directions and thereby wasting their strength and resources. By combining their pennies and each one contributing a little, the workmen of Missouri can raise enough money to carry the message of Socialism to every voter in the state. That is why the Socialists have a dues-paying system.

The Socialist party is controlled by the dues-paying membership and every member in it has a vote and voice in saying what shall be done. It is the duty of every Socialist in the state to join the party and quit wasting his time and money acting as an individual. Comrade, who that read this and do not belong to the party, how can you say that you believe in co-operation when you do not co-operate with your comrades in

MEMBERSHIP MAKES ORGANIZATION.

WHAT is the need of a Socialist party? Why should Socialists join the party organization? Because we are waging war against the capitalist system, and for this purpose must have a compact and well-organized army.

Because organization holds us in line with the International Socialist movement, with our most experienced comrades on the other side of the Atlantic, and thus secures us from wishy-washy populism on the one hand, and from sterile, unpractical, crazy impossibilism on the other hand.

Because organization alone can build up a constructive movement.

Because no Socialist paper, however popular, can take the place of a Socialist organization.

Because a Socialist organization, developing properly along local as well as national lines, can give the people propaganda which will interest them, treat

ing local issues from a Socialist standpoint, and thus arousing more attention than can be awakened by abstract theories or by national or international issues.

Because the Labor movement is a political as well as an economic and co-operative movement. We must secure the necessary political power by means of the ballot. To talk of revolutions or "general strikes" is nonsense, so long as we have not votes enough to elect one Socialist congressman. Through political action we must reach our aims. Therefore, we must have a political party organization.—E. H. Thomas, State Secretary Socialist Democratic Party of Wisconsin.

THE ORGANIZATION EDUCATES.

THE vital duty of the hour for Socialists is a thorough organization. We are moving along political lines, and to work effectually it is our duty to always have a ticket in the field in every political sub-division of the country at every election, so that the election returns will be a sure index to the growth of the political Socialist sentiment.

In the great future, when the victory is won for humanity, the dues-paying membership will constitute a roll of honor of which every Socialist may be proud. The possession of a paid-up membership card demonstrates that the holder is not only a Socialist voter, but also a regular contributor to the necessary expenses, to prevent the Socialist party from ending in a total and disgraceful financial collapse.

You cannot always have eminent speakers and soul-inspiring propagandists with you to instruct and arouse, but you can have the Socialist local all the time engaging in the same work, with a membership instructing themselves to occupy the rostrum as occasion requires. As an active, practical working force, to push the work of legislation and education all the time, you must have organization.

Hence let it be repeated, and repeated again, until the multitudes are aroused to its necessity, that the vital duty of the present hour for Socialists is to organize.—A. O. Grigsby, Secretary Socialist Party of Kansas.

Any book on earth at the publisher's retail price. Address the Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas.

CHRISTMAS SUGGESTIONS.

HERE is a way to make your Christmas money count double—once for pleasing your friends or squaring your social obligations, and once toward helping along the circulation of Socialist literature. Just use books for presents. If you are buying books for a Socialist, all you need to know is what he already has, since almost any Socialist would be glad to have anything we publish.

But if you have to select a book for someone not yet a Socialist, you may be glad of a few special suggestions, for you would rather have your friend enjoy the book than throw it in the fire.

The best book for a present this year for about seven people out of ten is **When Things Were Doing**, by C. A. Steere (\$1.00). It is a new story of the coming social revolution, full of action and full of humor, free from the military discipline idea that disfigures "Looking Backward," free from sentimentalism, free from dogmatism—just a jolly guess as to how things may happen some day when capitalism is ready to crumble. But don't give it to a prohibitionist, for the hero indulges, and don't give it to a man or woman who takes orthodox theology seriously; they would like something else better.

A fine book for the orthodox is **The Ancient Lowly**, by C. Osborne Ward (two volumes, \$2.00 each). If you cannot buy both volumes, and want to send one of them to a Christian, take the second. It explains how the beginnings of christianity were bound up with the labor movement. If you want a pretty booklet to send in place of a Christmas card to religious people, take **The Kingdom of Heaven Is at Hand**, by Dr. Woolridge, or **The Root of All Kinds of Evil**, by Rev. Stewart Sheldon (10 cents each).

Two novels which, while a little liberal in tone, rather than orthodox, would nevertheless present Socialism to religious people without shocking them, are **Brenholtz's The Recording Angel** and **Raymond's Rebels of the New South** (\$1.00 each).

If you want a handsome little book to send to almost any non-Socialist, with the hope of getting him to do a little reading and thinking, take either **The Socialists**, by John Spargo, or **Capitalist and Laborer**, by the same author. He has a winsome way of stating truths in a way that will not offend people to whom they are new (50 cents each).

If you have a friend who thinks he understands Socialism, and who, in your opinion, might well be jarred out of his complacency, send him **LaMonte's Socialism, Positive and Negative** (50 cents).

If you have a friend with a sense of humor and no deep affection for theology nor for conventional morality, send him one of all of Lafargue's 50-cent volumes—**Social and Philosophical Studies**, **The Right to Be Lazy** and **Other Studies**, and **The Sale of an Appetite**. The last named is an illustrated story, beautifully printed and bound.

Another handsome book for the same sort of friend is **Thoughts of a Fool**, by Evelyn Gladys (\$1.00).

Order from the Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas.

TAKE A STRAIGHT TIP

from me, and rest assured that you will make no mistake if you order "The Scarlet Shadow." Walter Hurt's great revolutionary novel, for a Christmas present for your friends. You could not select a more suitable gift—anything more appropriate or pleasing. It is an exceptionally beautiful book, especially fitted for a holiday present. It will, if desired, be sent direct to any address you may request, with notification of the name of the donor. This suggestion will simplify for you the perplexing question of Christmas presents, and at the same time promote the propaganda. Use order blank to be found elsewhere in this paper.

Extra copies of this issue of "Studies in Socialism" at the rate of 50 cents per 100. Order No. 42 "Studies in Socialism."

WHICH has been the most profitable to capitalists—chattel slavery or wage slavery? Under which have the greatest fortunes been built? You wage slaves are the most profitable. Isn't it about time that you woke up to your degraded condition?

WHICH would be worth most to you—a vote for who should be your foreman or superintendent, or a vote for congressman? Socialism will give you a vote as to who shall be your foreman, superintendents and managers in the industry in which you work. It is up to you to vote whether you have it or not.

WHAT is the difference to me whether I own you and furnish you with food, clothing, a house, medicine, and the actual needs of life, or whether I give you enough money to get these things and call it wages? And how many of you do not get these things in quantity to keep you comfortable. Wages is only another form of slavery.

A FEW days ago an incident came to my notice of a man offering to invest \$1,500 in the stock of a certain company, provided they would guarantee him a job. How things have changed! In the days of chattel slavery the owner of the job was willing to pay \$1,500 for a worker to do the job, now the worker is offering \$1,500 to get the job.

ARE you not a little unreasonable when you expect all the virtues in the working class, when the upper class are openly grafting and flouting their stolen luxuries in the face of the people? When United States senators, congressmen, governors and legislators, state and county officers, are stealing, and the papers are full of their crimes daily, should we expect the poor and needy to have all the virtues of a god? The rich have no need of wrong doing, but the necessities of the poor drive them to petty infractions of the law—and the law deals with them harshly, and deals with the rich with a soft and tender care.

IN the days of Spartacus the workers were compelled by the Roman soldiery to fight one another to the death in the gladiatorial arena for the amusement of the wealthy. Things have not changed much. Today the arena includes the whole world, in which the workers are compelled by hunger to fight one another to the death for the jobs, and the capitalists are amused as in the old Roman days. The workers of today fight one another on the industrial field and on the political field. Will they never heed those ringing words of that old Spartan hero: "If we must fight, let us fight for ourselves!"—Ez.

THEY tell you that Socialism is a weed of foreign birth, and, therefore, cannot take root in American soil. That may be partly true, but how about the Christian religion? Is it not of foreign birth? How about the sciences? Did not astronomy, mathematics, biology and even the alphabet we use immigrate to America from foreign lands? But why worry about Socialism if it is unfitted to this soil and climate and people? If the statement is true it can never flourish here and there is no occasion for all this anti-Socialist rag-chewing. The people who offer these flimsy objections to Socialism are the people who want to Mexicanize American industry.

CAPITALISM rewards crime and punishes genius. Such great criminals as Rockefeller, Morgan, Rogers, Harriman and the Vanderbilts are given tremendous fortunes, furnished with thousands of servant slaves, and worshipped as "our best people." The genius that made them wealthy is unknown and unrewarded. The thousands of inventions, out of which, and by reason of which, their great wealth was produced, were made by men whose names are never heard and who have died in poverty. There is no kind of genius, except the genius to steal, that is rewarded under the capitalism that rules. McDowell, the great musical composer, is, according to the Washington Times, dying in poverty in a little New England town. Men have become rich from the sale of what his genius produced, and the world has been delighted with his wonderful compositions, and this is their reward for genius! The rich and their hirelings tell you that Socialism will destroy incentive. What do you call this treatment of genius? They decry Socialism for the very things of which they themselves are guilty.

Every Socialist should read Walter Hurt's remarkable novel, "The Scarlet Shadow." It is the greatest story in the Socialist movement.—J. A. Wayland.

Send for "The Scarlet Shadow" and send at once. Use order blank to be found in another column.