

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.

J. A. WAYLAND

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Fred D. Warren
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HOW TO DO THREE THINGS

Arthur Morrow Lewis Tells How to Study Socialism,
How to Speak, and How to Sell Literature.

HOW TO STUDY SOCIALISM.

DO YOU desire to be a well-informed Socialist? Is it your ambition to be—at least in some measure—a Socialist scholar? You do! Well, now, listen carefully, and I may be able to save you years of wasted effort; years spent under the spell of a delusion.

Never pay any attention to any man who tries to tell you what will happen "under Socialism." If, in reading an article, the writer begins to explain about labor-checks, stop and lay it down. The one thing you may be sure of is that the writer has nothing to tell you worth knowing.

What will become of the farmer "under Socialism?" How shall we regulate the work of doctors "under Socialism?" How shall we fix the hours of labor "under Socialism?" Well, you never mind. You leave all that to the people who have it to do, and you try to find out what Socialism is.

If you wish to see the childish condition in which capitalism has kept the brain of the working class go to a Socialist meeting and wait until question time. What kind of money will you have under Socialism? Every question has in that fat, old phrase "under Socialism." Do you know what it all means? It means that the members of that audience have never been allowed to acquire the faintest rudiments of a scientific training. There is only one thing more pathetic than those questions, and that is to see the speaker take them up seriously and try to explain "how."

Peter Krapotkin gave us a book recently, entitled "Mutual Aid," in which he ventures an explanation of a historical event which has previously been shrouded in mystery—another name for ignorance. The event in question is the great migration of whole nations of barbarians from Asia into Europe, which resulted in the overthrow of the Roman Empire. The cause advanced by Krapotkin is, "desiccation." Desiccation, the dictionary will tell you, means "drying up." Their lakes and rivers dried up. Says Krapotkin: "When the inhabitants of Northwest Mongolia and East Turkestan saw that water was abandoning them they had no course open to them but to move down the broad valleys leading to the lowlands, and to thrust westward the inhabitants of the plains."

You don't see what that has to do with Socialism? That is because you do not know what Socialism is. You cannot understand how that explanation rejoiced the soul of Marx. That one idea is a greater contribution to Socialist thought than all the hazy guesses ever made as to what will happen "under Socialism."

And Krapotkin is not a Socialist. Neither is Loria; but when he explained the Crusades as buccaneering expeditions in search of booty to feed an unemployed soldiery, provide a good income to the merchants who supplied the ships, and glut the ravenous maw of a greedy church, he made a heavy contribution to that central principle of the Socialist philosophy—the economic interpretation of history.

Society develops according to certain laws. Where shall we seek those laws if not in the history of social development?

Therefore, to study Socialism to some purpose, one must study history of the past, which is full of things which did really happen, and about which it is impossible to acquire definite knowledge.

Read Caesar's Column, The Time Machine, The Crystal Button, Looking Backward, if you wish, but don't imagine they are Socialist textbooks. Merrie England, while much superior to these, is not an exposition of modern Socialism.

What constitutes modern Socialism? Two principles. Says Engels: "These two great discoveries, the materialistic conception of history and the revelation of the secret of capitalistic production through surplus value, we owe to Marx. With these discoveries Socialism became a science."

What does your labor-check philosopher know about either of these two principles?

The first of these principles is the most important and should be the object of the greater part of your studies. It is the law governing social evolution in all the past, and

will continue to do so after capitalism has disappeared. Surplus value is peculiar to the capitalist mode of production and will disappear with the class that is enriched by it. The first is Socialism in the domain of sociology—the science of society. The second is Socialism in the field of political economy.

To study Socialism most effectively it is necessary to learn something of the great generalizations of modern science. They are all vitally related to Socialist thought and have contributed heavily to its impregnable position in the world of ideas. The most important of these are the principle of natural selection discovered by Darwin and the theory of descent, of which it forms a part.

If you have the misfortune to live in a priest-ridden village where Darwin is sneered at, and you join in the sneers, don't humiliate Socialism by calling yourself a Socialist.

Frederick Engels, whose writings are a perpetual treasure-trove to the Socialist student, says, speaking of the materialistic conception of history: "This proposition, in my opinion, is destined to do for history what Darwin's theory has done for biology." And speaking by the graveside at Marx's funeral: "Just as Darwin discovered the law of development in organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of development in human society."

Says Enrico Ferri: "Germany, which has been the most fruitful field for the development of the Darwinian theories, is also the most fruitful field for the intelligent, systematic propaganda of Socialist ideas. And it is precisely for this reason that in Berlin, in the windows of the bookstores of the Socialist propaganda, the works of Charles Darwin occupy the place of honor beside those of Karl Marx." At the death of Darwin the "Sozialdemokrat" said: "The proletariat, who are struggling for their emancipation, will ever honor the memory of Charles Darwin."

Weismann, by his theory of heredity, proved that the effects of living in the vicious environment of the slum are not transmitted by heredity to children until they become second nature, thus vindicating the Socialist contention that a transformed environment would redeem these victims of capital in a single generation.

DeVries, by his theory of "Mutation," has shown the changes in the organic world do not take place by the slow accumulation of tiny changes, but by sudden leaps, thus destroying the opposition made on scientific grounds to the Socialist theory of a sudden revolutionary change in society.

Krapotkin, by his theory of "Mutual Aid," has shown that everywhere except in the very lowest forms of life, not competition, but co-operation, is the main factor in progressive evolution.

Thus every new development in scientific research has added to the evidence for Socialism, until the thorough student of Socialism today is able, in proclaiming his faith, to say as Lassalle said years ago: "I have behind me the science and the learning of my day."

HOW TO SPEAK ON SOCIALISM.

MANY are afraid they can never learn to speak because they get stage-fright before an audience. Every successful speaker will tell you that he went through that experience very often in the beginning. To be able to get up before an audience, without experience, and consequently without knowing how you are going to make out, and not feel uneasy or afraid, is not a sign of great ability; it is clear proof of unusual stupidity. It is a case of fools rush in, etc.

Only a few people can ever be great lecturers. A great many may become good speakers, and a majority of people may learn to make a useful, sensible speech.

Don't try to begin at the top. Don't try to make your first speech resemble a masterpiece of oratory. Never mind about "the cannonading of the sea"; let it cannonade. You talk about something you are familiar with. Tell about Mary Smith, who lost her hand in the cogs of machinery that was unprotected because a guard would have reduced the dividends of the stockholders one-twentieth of one per cent per annum.

Tell it in the same language you use when you engage in conversation. If you saw the account in the paper and you think you might forget some important part of it because you are going to say something else also, you might make the following notes on a sheet of paper and lay it on the desk or table near which you are going to speak: (1) Mary Smith; (2) lost hand; (3) cog wheel; (4) machine without guards; (5) guards would reduce dividends.

Of course, the language you use in your conversation is not the best language for the platform, but it is the best language to begin with because it is the only language you can be sure of. Your language will improve rapidly if you study hard. Speakers who use the same language today that did duty for them five years ago have ceased to study, and they have reached the summit of their destiny as lecturers.

But there is something of far greater importance than even language—ideas. In order to get ideas you must go to the books that contain them. The speaker, reading a book, always has an audience in his eye corner, and he gets meaning out of it that the ordinary reader never sees. Take a book which you have read through in the ordinary way, for your own information, and read it now with a view to telling an audience where the author stood on the important points he deals with, and you will be astonished at the things you will see now that completely escaped you. Of course, when you tell the audience what he said you must not expect them to take your say so for it. You may be honest, but mistaken, and you must remove all doubt by quoting the author's words. What does that mean? That means work of a kind that is of the greatest value to a speaker. You must look through page after page to find the passage in which the author states most clearly, concisely, and forcefully the position he holds.

This matter of reading is vital; only the great reader can ever become a great speaker. On this point I will quote the following incident from the sixth chapter of my "Art of Lecturing":

"I had just concluded a lecture at Grand Junction, Colo., over a year ago, when a burly railroad man stepped forward and introduced himself. I forgot his name, but remember well what he said. Here it is about word for word:

"I was an engineer years ago, as I am today, but in those days Debs was my fireman. Having a little better job than he, I naturally thought I was a little smarter man. We used to sleep in the same room. We would both turn in all tired from a long trip, and I would be asleep before you could count ten. After I had slept three or four hours I would wake up about two in the morning and there would be Debs with a candle, shaded so as not to disturb me, reading away as if everything depended on his understanding all there was in it. Many a time he only got one or two hours' rest before going to work again."

"I told him he was a d—d fool, and I thought he was. I still believe there was a d—d fool in that room, but I know now that it wasn't Debs."

If you are speaking out-doors always put what you have to say, as far as possible, in story form. If you allow yourself to be swayed by some of the local comrades and try to explain Socialism by formulas and definitions, all but a handful of the faithful will remember other engagements. Of course, somebody will complain that you didn't tell what Socialism was, but you had better give him a pamphlet at your own expense than talk without an audience. In a hall it is different. That audience has gathered to hear a lecture and they expect to hear definitions and generalizations. Of course, I don't mean that your street talk must be a string of funny stories, or stories at all in the ordinary sense. But it must be a relation of events, interpreted from the Socialist point of view. Always begin easy, if speaking in a hall. Speak deliberately, weighing your sentences, increasing your speed as you come to the persuasive part at the close. Your voice will soon learn to rise and fall automatically according to your own emotions; only, never begin in a high tone.

Don't bend your arms from the elbow, pump-handle fashion; always move them from the shoulder, turning your palms outward.

Always finish a little too soon rather than speak too long, and never exceed the time set by a com-

"STUDIES IN SOCIALISM."

I send out this issue of "Studies in Socialism" confident that it will be a powerful factor in turning the working people of the United States from their political idols to Socialism. Further, it will familiarize them with the literature of the movement through which the investigator may acquire information relative to its principles and program.

The last issue reached over 100,000 copies. We should make this one 200,000. The subscription rate is low—barely covering cost of white paper and postage—and you should therefore order as many copies as you can use to good advantage. If you take a bundle of 500 for a year, 2,000 copies in all, you will receive at once the \$2.00 Socialist watch charm as a premium.

The rate is 2 cents a year when fifty copies of each of the four issues are subscribed for.

\$1.00 pays for 50 copies each issue for one year.

\$2.00 pays for 100 copies each issue for one year.

\$5.00 pays for 250 copies each issue for one year.

\$10.00 pays for 500 copies each issue for one year, and the \$2.00 Socialist watch charm.

Extra copies, a hundred, 50c.

mittee or announced by yourself.

Don't despise small audiences; if you talk to them lazily and listlessly they will get smaller. If you wade in and work as if you had a crowded theater, some day you may have one. Work hard at your books. It is especially true in speaking that "genius is a capacity for hard work." Get a good dictionary somehow and whenever you come across a new word look it up and get familiar with it; presently it will come to your aid on the platform as naturally and easily as if you had known it from childhood.

Don't put on airs. A speaker should be a big, broad man, not a conceited prig.

At the same time don't allow anybody to underestimate the value of what you are teaching because of any backwardness on your part.

Be sure you are right, consult the best authorities, get a thorough mastery of your subject, then let the audience feel that you know what you are talking about, and not just dishing out whatever happens to float through your head or along your tongue.

With many lecturers the trouble is to get a good subject, but if you speak on anything relating to Socialism, that difficulty disappears. Of all the questions that ever engaged the thoughts of men, none is better fitted to inspire a speaker than the great question of the future destiny of the human race.

Socialism touches that destiny at every point, and constitutes the greatest theme that ever throbbled in the brain of man.

HOW TO SELL SOCIALIST LITERATURE

EVERYBODY tries to avoid the man who has something to sell. The salesman's problem is so great that it often costs much more to get a thing sold than to produce it. Many people believe it is about impossible to sell a Socialist book to a stranger who is not a Socialist.

I have repeatedly disproven this theory on the street corner. One night here in Chicago I took Frank Slick, of the National Office, and without a word to anybody we took a bundle of books out to a street corner and started a meeting. We opened at 20 minutes before nine and closed at 30 minutes after, having sold over \$18 worth of literature during the last fifteen minutes. So far as we were able to learn, not more than three Socialists were in the crowd from beginning to end.

Of course, that was the result of four years' hard training in that field, and it would be foolish to say that it is at all easy. But between that and nothing there is plenty of room for various degrees of efficiency, and any speaker who can hold an audience at all can learn to sell literature, if he will really try.

I know two speakers who, through adopting my methods, are able to speak all through the summer and make a fair salary by their literature sales alone, and both of these are handicapped by speaking broken English. Any speaker who can get a crowd of 100 in a town of 20,000, and hold it an hour, could learn in a few months to sell \$50 a month and double that rate in a year. This would treble his effectiveness as a propagandist and abolish the financial problem for the organization which engages him.

Don't begin by holding up a pamphlet and asking the audience to buy it. That means certain failure. And yet that is precisely what the average speaker does. Perhaps the

best way to explain my method is to give an example. By this method I have sold over \$40 at one meeting and over \$70 at two successive meetings, on two successive days, out-doors.

Suppose, after you have been speaking forty minutes, and your audience is at its best, you begin a "book talk." That does not mean that you are to stop talking Socialism. Quite the opposite. A really good book talk is a splendid way of teaching Socialism, apart altogether from the question of the sale. Neither does it mean driving your audience away. I have several book talks which I use to get a crowd when the night is bad and other resources seem likely to fail. You may reduce your crowd a little at first, as I did, but if you follow the plan I am now about to outline you will soon get the opposite result.

Now we begin: "Sixty years ago the theories of Socialism underwent a complete change. All Socialists prior to that time regarded Socialism as a plan worked out in the brain of some clever man. They are now called Utopian Socialists. But this kind of Socialism was contrary to science in general and evolution in particular. It was soon observed that evolution traveled along a path of its own and paid no respect to anybody's plans. And so, as the evolution theory advanced, Utopian Socialism lost ground, until, by the forties, it had almost disappeared. Owen's Communities and Fourier's Familistères had all gone to pieces and the outlook for the working class seemed hopeless.

Then came two of the greatest thinkers the world ever produced—Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. These twin stars of working-class emancipation blazed out a new path. They were both saturated with the scientific spirit, and instead of mapping out a chart for evolution to go by they set themselves the task of finding out where evolution was going to, and shaping their opinions accordingly. Instead of making laws to control society, they sought the laws by which society is controlled.

"This is the beginning of scientific Socialism. There are shoals of good arguments against the old abandoned Utopian Socialism, but nobody has, so far, been able to produce one of any weight against this modern view."

Is there anything the matter with that as Socialist propaganda? It maintains interest by being cast in a narrative form. How many in the crowd know up to this point that in about three minutes they will be going anxiously through their clothes in search of a copy of the Communist Manifesto and, if they cannot find it, will be looking through the crowd for a friend to borrow it from.

Let us proceed: "In the year 1848 a book was written by these two men working together. That book was the first clear expression of the new position. That book is as important for sociology as the Origin of Species by Darwin is for biology. That book has had an immense circulation in every leading language. It has a place on the shelves of every real scholar. It is to be found in every public library of any standing throughout the country, and on the Chicago catalogue card there is this note: 'This document has largely shaped the course of modern Socialist parties.' Every man or woman wishing to be informed on the vital problems of his day should by all means have a copy of this epoch-making book."

By this time most of the non-Socialists in the audience are wondering where they can get it, and hoping you will not forget to tell them. And now you should have your helpers ready to meet the rush. For a crowd of 150 you should have two, or, if possible, three or four of the comrades standing near you waiting your orders. And under no circumstances should they try to sell a single copy until the proper time arrives. These comrades should have, say about ten copies each, with a supply handy to draw from. Now you take a copy from one of these, hold it up, announce the price, and explain that the men will pass among them and supply copies to those who wish to have one. If you have done your work well you will be surprised at the result. At Kansas City, at my second meeting, when I reached this point with a 50-cent book and announced that I had only twenty-six copies with me, there was something closely resembling a free fight around the stand, and in a few seconds they were all gone and a hot dispute began as to who had the best claim to the one in my hand. Nobody got a copy who had the mis-

THE PURPOSE OF SOCIALISM

An English Definition that Applies to the International
Movement Here and Everywhere.

THE following definition of Socialism is an editorial clipped from a Socialist paper, Justice, published in London. Since Socialism is an international movement and is working for the same results in all countries the definition is just as good in this country as in England:

"Socialism is a theory of a system of human society based on the common ownership of the means of production and the carrying on of the work of production by all for the benefit of all. In other words, Socialism means that the land, the railways, the shipping, the mines, the factories, and all such things as are necessary for the production of the necessaries and comforts of life should be public property, just as our public roads, our public parks, and our public libraries are public property today, so that all these things should be used by the whole people to produce the goods that the whole of the people require.

"Socialists say that this is no utopian dream, but the necessary natural outcome of the development of society. It used to be supposed that anything like the collective carrying on of any enterprise was impossible because it was thought that the personal supervision and control of the owner was absolutely necessary to the success of any such enterprise. But we see today that the greatest undertakings are those which are owned by joint stock companies, in which the personal supervision of the proprietors is quite impossible, and in which the whole business is managed and carried on by paid officials, who might just as well be paid by the community to carry on the enterprise in the interest of the general body of the people as be paid by a few wealthy men to carry it on for their profit.

"Today goods are not produced to satisfy human needs; they are simply produced to provide profit for the class which owns the means of production. It is only for the sake of this profit that the property-owning class owns these means of production. As a consequence, we have shoddy and adulterated goods produced. Also, as this profit is simply the difference between the value of the work which the working people do and the amount they receive in wages, the actual producers never receive the equivalent of what they produce, and therefore are never able to buy it back again. It happens, therefore, that, as the machinery of production increases and

fortune to be more than ten feet from the stand.

Don't get discouraged if you don't see the rush, because many a time sales go on rapidly without being noticeable from the platform.

One night on Chicago avenue National Secretary Barnes was handling the matter of dealing out supplies to those who went through the crowd. I made the book speech and on my naming the price, which was Barnes' cue, he started his three men out. They were out about five minutes, and things seemed so quiet we both got discouraged, especially Barnes. Then the salesmen returned minus forty-eight 50-cent books and turned over to the astonished national secretary \$24 in cash.

Remember, when you have announced the price and started the sellers out, don't allow the meeting to flag. This is a critical moment and unless you specially exert yourself to keep up the interest your meeting may begin to break up. Men passing back and forth in it has a tendency to disturb at best. They should not do any loud calling, but just hold a copy above the shoulder, level with the head, so that those wishing to buy can see it, and perhaps mention the title in a subdued tone that can be heard two men away. Not only must you keep up your exertions on the platform, but you must keep on speaking of the book until all the buyers have been supplied.

A good thing to do is to open the book and point out to the audience some especially important passage, recommending those who buy it to read that passage with particular care. A good passage for this purpose, in the Manifesto, is the one in the preface by Engels, beginning: "The Manifesto being our joint production, etc." where Engels states its fundamental proposition,

workmen are able to turn out more goods, they are thrown out of work, and they, with their wives and children, are in want and misery, not because there is any scarcity of the things they need, but because there is more of them than those who have produced them can buy.

"Under the present system, therefore, the very increase of wealth is too often a curse to the wealth producers, simply because those who produce have no ownership in the means of production, and no control over the things produced.

"Under Socialism, as the means of production would belong to the whole people, the whole people would have control of the things produced. Every increase of wealth then would benefit the whole community. Under the present system increased wealth means increased luxury for the few and increased penury and suffering for the many. In a Socialist community increased production would mean more leisure, more opportunities for recreation for everybody.

"By the discoveries of science, the inventions of genius, and their application to industry, man has acquired such power over Nature that he can now produce wealth of all kinds as plentifully as water. There is no sound reason why poverty and want should exist anywhere on this earth. All that is needed is to establish a more equitable method of distributing the wealth already produced, in such profusion. That is what Socialism proposes to do. The work of production is organized, socialized; it is necessary to socialize distribution as well.

"What is to be done to supplant the present system by Socialism; to substitute fraternal co-operation for the cut-throat competition of today? The first thing necessary is to organize the workers into a class-conscious party; that is, a party recognizing that as a class the workers are enslaved through the possession of the means of production by another class; recognizing, too, that between these two classes there is an antagonism of interest, a perpetual struggle, a constant class war, which must go on until the workers become possessed of political power and use that power to become masters of the whole material means of production. When that has been achieved, the war of classes will be at an end, because the division of mankind into classes will have disappeared, the emancipation of the working class will have been accomplished, and Socialism will be here."

"The Materialist Conception of History."

When the demand has been filled you may speak a while longer on some general topic, and then take the collection or sell another book.

WHEN you take a load of farm products to town you take the buyer's price, not yours; when you take the load of supplies back home you pay the seller's price, not yours. This has always been true and always will remain true under the industrial system that prevails and for which the farmers vote. The farmers can't see the cheat and the skippers don't want them to see it. So long as the farmers support the capitalist system the farmers will get poorer and poorer, and the speculators will get richer and richer. Under Socialism the farmer would have as large an income for an equal number of hours' labor as any other citizen of the nation.

INSTEAD of working, as most of you do, with imperfect tools, inconvenient workshops and too little specialization of labor, if you had perfect tools, workshops and the finest specialization, you could produce twice or three times as much as you do, couldn't you? Well, under Socialism you would have all these things and would, therefore, receive more than you now produce. Wealth that is not produced cannot be had by you or anyone else. Let's have a better system—one that will enable you to produce more and have all that you do produce. Are you not willing?

The capitalists plunder the workers and then divide the spoils—and many a merry fight they have over the division—but call it what they will, interest, rent or profit, it all comes out of the men who produce all wealth—the workers.

A PAGE OF INFORMATION FOR INVESTIGATORS--QUESTIONS ABOUT SOCIALISM AND ANSWERS

WHAT CONSTITUTES A SOCIALIST? As Necessary to Be a Member of the Party as to Vote the Party Ticket.

If a man has voted the Socialist ticket for three years and has had, during that time, no connection or affiliation with any other party, he is a Socialist, though he does not hold a membership card in the party organization.

Such a man would not be a Socialist in the full sense of the term, for it is just as important that he take part in the nomination of the Socialist ticket as it is for him to vote it. Since he could have no part in the nomination of the ticket unless a member of the party in good standing the man who remains outside the party lacks just that much of being a real active Socialist.

You should note the fact that mere voting, while important in itself, is only one of the means of furthering the Cause and of preparing the working class for its mission of capturing political power and using it as a means of establishing the Co-operative Commonwealth. Voting the ticket is no conclusive evidence in itself that the person so voting is even intentionally a Socialist. I might cite numerous instances where large numbers of non-Socialists have voted the ticket simply as a protest against some other ticket, and not in antagonism to the capitalist system, which is the logical foe of Socialism.

The educational work of the movement is fully as important as the voting, which at this time amounts to little more, if any, than an indication of the growth of Socialist sentiment. And by education I mean not only the propaganda, not only the awakening of a more or less definite interest in the principles of Socialism, but also, and what is of greater moment, the education of the Socialists themselves in the history of the labor movement, the economics of the working class, and in the tactics through which the workers may be enabled to accomplish a class solidarity, and develop the power to overcome the obstacles that stand in the way of their progress and the realization of their object.

Let every workman be a Socialist, and to be an effective Socialist let him be a member of the party, where he can aid with his counsel the perfection of the movement and participate in nominating as well as in voting for Socialist candidates.

SOCIALISTS ARE NOT REFORMERS. The Social Revolution is the Only Means of Solving the Labor Problem.

It is true that the Socialist party of the United States condemns "reform" on the ground that reforms which make the capitalist system endurable serve to perpetuate it. If the Socialist movement is evolutionary, as well as revolutionary, why do not labor reforms, which are educational in their character, contribute to the success of the movement. Many members of the party say that we are not yet ready for Socialism, but that we are ripe for reform. What, then, lies at the bottom of this? We have in New Zealand, by means of state and national labor parties!

The Socialist party does not condemn reform, but it has no time to waste on patching up a system that is rotten and tottering to its fall. The Socialist party expends no energy in opposing reform measures and none in advocating them. While Socialism takes into account the evolutionary nature of economic development the Socialist party is not evolutionary. It is revolutionary, and would not be worth while were it not.

If, as you state, we are not ready for Socialism, the thing to do is to get ready for Socialism. The country has always been "ripe for reform." Republican administrations have overthrown democratic administrations for the purpose of reforming them. Then the democrats have taken advantage of popular unrest to reform the government by placing democrats in office. This reform has proven very satisfactory to the politicians, but the benefit to the working class has not been so apparent.

Reform measures are not at the bottom of the issues involved. They are, on the contrary, merely superficial. To get at the bottom of the rottenness and graft it is necessary to strike at the fundamental evil of permitting the owners of property to exploit the owners of labor power. The bottom and beginning of graft is in the capitalist system of production, which enables the capitalist to absorb the surplus product of the man who works. Labor produces all wealth; all wealth belongs to the producer thereof. All this patchwork of reforming the capitalist system recognizes the right of the capitalist who does not produce to the product of the worker who does produce.

but the same private interests that corrupt and bribe everywhere got in their work as successfully on a labor reform mayor as they do on the stand-patters of the old parties.

The Socialist party includes in its list of immediate demands, as set forth in the national platform, all the measures that can be of advantage to the working class while they are fighting for the real thing. More than this, the workers will get more concessions from the enemy by standing firm for the full program of Socialism than by aiming short of the final goal. Concessions are made by the ruling power only for the purpose of retaining as many privileges as possible. For this reason the more the workers demand the greater will be the concessions.

The work of the Socialist party is to prepare the working class to assume the duties that the inevitable failure of capitalism will impose upon them. This is an educational work compared with which the so-called education of reform is a farce. There is no time for dallying with reforms. The revolution is at hand. Last winter the railroads under capitalist management were unable to haul coal enough to keep the people warm. Railroad officials now say that they will probably be unable to handle a sufficient amount of fuel this winter. The capitalists are unable to operate the trolley lines of San Francisco, they are unable to handle the telegraphic business of the nation. The only peaceable way out of the chaos threatened is for the workers to take charge of these industries and operate them, not for the purpose of producing dividends and profits, but for the purpose of furnishing fuel, carrying the traveling public and transmitting messages.

It did not settle the chattel slave question for well-meaning but short-sighted reformers to secure more bacon and less whipping for the victims of the system. Even the reform measure of restricting chattel slavery to those states where it was apparently profitable and firmly established was but temporary in its effect. The evolution of industry had reached a point where chattel slavery could not do the necessary labor in carrying on the work of production. In like manner the capitalist system of industry and government has outlived its day and must be replaced with a new system that is up to date—one that can house, feed and clothe the people and pay those who do the work.

NOT COURT BUT MAJORITY SUPREME. Real Democracy Has No Place for Courts That Set Aside Enacted Laws.

Would the Socialist commonwealth abolish the right of the judiciary to pass on the constitutionality or unconstitutionality of the laws passed by the legislatures or other law making bodies?

The Socialist's conception of the Co-operative Commonwealth is a pure democracy in which the will of the majority will be the supreme law. In a real democracy, which has never to this time existed though numerous imitations have been so-called, the will of the majority must not only determine the legislation or making of laws, but it must also say the final word in the interpretation and enforcement of all laws, rules and regulations.

It is evident from the foregoing that society under Socialism would never permit a judge or a court to set aside the will of the majority, as expressed in legal enactments. A court which has the power to set aside and annul the acts of a legislature is essentially aristocratic, though little more so than a so-called representative legislature. Legislatures or delegated bodies of law makers may be utilized in a democracy to formulate or prepare measures, but if the society to be governed by its enactments is entitled to be called democratic it will retain the right to accept or reject by majority vote the committee-like work of the delegate body. And the will of the majority so expressed must be final.

It is one of the fictions of the present government of the United States that it is composed of three departments: The legislative or law-making department, the judicial or law interpreting department, and the executive or law-enforcing department. This fiction has resulted in the same absurdity with which the old Roman triumvirate and the French consulate resolved themselves into one-man rule. As Bonaparte made short work of the two consuls associated with him, so has the judiciary and executive

united in practically annulling the legislative function in the government of the United States, and the executive is rapidly putting the judiciary under his influence.

To get an idea of how the executive, judicial and legislative power can be retained in the hands of the people, and be exercised by them, you should study what is known as the Initiative and Referendum and the Imperative Mandate. The Initiative is a proposed provision by which a percentage of voters may have any measure submitted to popular vote and by majority accepted or rejected. The Referendum is a proposed provision by which all measures, whether initiated by petition or by a legislative body, may be accepted or rejected by majority vote. The Imperative Mandate is a proposed provision by which any executive officer may be removed and a successor elected at any time that his acts prove unsatisfactory to the majority.

Though it is not for us to say what may be done with reference to details in the Socialist republic, it is likely that measures similar to these will be in force, and they preclude the possibility of either a judge or a president absorbing the authority of others or concentrating power in individual hands to the detriment of the many.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RED FLAG. Red the Proletarian Color Throughout the World's History.

I understand that the red flag is the flag of Socialism. If this is true, why is it that the anarchists have also adopted it?

I do not know that the Socialist movement has ever officially adopted the red flag. Whatever right the Socialists have to this symbol seems to have been inherited from the labor movements of the past rather than derived from any formal adoption. In the struggles of the working class against the rapacity of its masters, as far back as there is any historical record, red was the proletarian or working-class color.

The aristocrats of all ages have used blue as emblematic of their blue blood as distinguished from the red blood of the common people, and white as emblematic of their freedom of contact with the soil or the grime of labor. For this reason red has come to be the distinctive symbol of labor the world over, and, therefore, a fitting emblem for an international working-class movement.

I have heard that the red flag is the flag of anarchy only through the columns of capitalist newspapers that also insist on Socialism and anarchy being one and the same thing. Flags are mere expressions of sentiment and the average anarchist is not very sentimental. However, there is nothing to prevent the anarchist from using a red flag if he chooses any more than there is to prevent an auctioneer from doing the same thing. Red flags are placed on powder magazines and are used as danger signals on railroads, and in these places have no political significance, though closely connected with the proletariat, whose goods are auctioned and with the railroad laborer who puts the color to practical use in the pursuit of his daily toil.

The use of the red flag as symbolical of the cause of the workers seems to have always been more spontaneous than formal. For some reason, possibly psychological, possibly because of its resistance to tarnishment by dirt, red has always been a favorite color with the toilers, whether engaged in peaceful occupations or in armed resistance to tyrants.

Pulaski, the Polish patriot who gave up his life fighting in the American revolution for the freedom of the colonies, was presented with a crimson banner by the women of Bethlehem, Pa., which his troops carried on their expedition against the British in the Carolinas and which was wrapped about him when he died from wounds received at Savannah. At that time there was no flag officially adopted by the American patriots, and the colonists often used the red flag under which the workers of Europe had rallied for centuries.

It is the historical associations of the red flag that make it dear to those whose sentiment is international rather than limited to the land of their birth. Socialists are indifferent to the imaginary lines that separate nations and are conscious of the common interest and common cause of all workers, no matter what their nationality or what the color of their skin.

When Karl Marx urged the workmen of all countries to unite into a class-conscious movement for economic freedom he expressed in words what in color is expressed by red. When the people of Paris took up the song of the workmen from

Marseilles and made the French capital ring with "Ye Sons of Toil, awake to glory!" they set the red flag to music; and when Pulaski, though born a Pole, gave his life for the cause of American freedom and requested that the red flag be made his shroud he expressed the same sentiment that the struggling workers of all nations in all times read in the folds of the crimson banner.

For the same reason that the international workers love the red flag their oppressors hate it. They hate it as they hate the slave who has the courage to stand as a man and claim his own. The red flag has the same effect on them that it has on a bull. They prefer that the working class should rever the coat-of-arms of the aristocratic rulers—they are not so particular what one just so the allegiance is to some faction of the ruling class. It is a common thing for the flags of all nations to be displayed on gala days in the streets of American and European cities, but the presence of the red flag among these emblems of Russia's czar and Germany's emperor would be resented to the limit. The eternal propriety of things that assume their place and function without artificial action of potentates and parliaments removes the red flag from those of all nations that decorate battlefields on such occasions.

Contrary to the insinuations and misrepresentations of those who hate it, the red flag is the flag of peace, the flag of industry, the flag of international brotherhood, and consequently the flag of all people and of all movements that seek peace and the supremacy of industry over the barbarism of war. Socialists use it, but have no exclusive right to it. It expresses a feeling and is symbolical of a thought that is too big for any number of people to monopolize.

WHO WOULD SUPPORT GOVERNMENT? What Provision Would be Made for Men Unable to Work.

I understand that Socialism would give each worker the full value of what he would produce. If this is true, how would the revenue be derived with which to support widows, orphans and men unable to work, or from whence would the funds come with which to defray the expenses of government?

It is the purpose of Socialism to secure for every worker the full value of his product. It would do this through a new government or system of industry organized and supported, as well as controlled, by the workers themselves. If the social organization under which a man lives is worth anything to him he should pay his proper portion of the cost of maintaining it the same as he should pay for any other service. Taxes have hitherto been so excessive and so exclusively used as a means of producing revenue for class parasites that it may be somewhat difficult to conceive of a just tax honestly used to pay the labor cost of a labor government; but that is one of the possibilities that Socialists would realize.

A real government, properly administering the public or collective affairs of a people, is a utility, the value of which may be determined by the labor expended in maintaining and operating it. When a producer shares in the benefits to be derived from such a government it is proper that he should render to it a value equal to the value received. This much for the maintenance of the proposed system.

If widows, orphans and men unable to work are supported it will necessarily be by those who do work. This may be either through the collectivity or by individual contributions; and the propriety of how it is done necessarily depends upon how and why the unfortunate get into such a condition. If through an accident in the course of duty a workman becomes crippled so he is unable to do more work or his ability to produce is impaired, this loss to him should be charged to the cost of the product upon which he labored which would provide the funds for his maintenance. If born a cripple or imbecile he is morally a charge upon the society which produced him through its failure to provide conditions under which he would have been properly born and developed.

I know of no reason why a widow, under a sane system of production, could not maintain herself as well as a widower, or why either could not maintain himself or herself as well as others unless incapacitated by some other condition. Widows

hood is not necessarily a condition of helplessness even under the present crazy conditions of capitalism. It should always be borne in mind, however, that it is not for us of today to say how people will solve their problems tomorrow. It may be that the people of the Co-operative Commonwealth will see fit to tax themselves to support the weak and incapable. It may be that the imbecile will be cared for by individual contributions. This is only one of a thousand and one details that must be provided for when the time comes, but for which we have neither the capacity nor authority to provide at this time.

In the last analysis the productive worker pays for everything now, and has always done so, so that the burdens of the kind under discussion cannot be any more grievous in the future than they have been in the past so far as the working class is concerned. It should be noted, however, that the support by the workers of those who are able but shirk is one great burden that Socialism in action will remove forever and leave the producing class better able to provide for the imbecile than at present.

The charitable institutions of today consume far less in their cheap and shoddy relief of the infirm than do the idle parasites who fatten on the labor of others because they own what others must use. It is not the pauper in the poorhouse, wearing the cheapest clothing and eating the plainest fare, who consumes the substance of the industrious; it is the pauper who, through the inheritance of houses and lands, stocks and bonds, mines and mills, draws an enormous revenue from the labor of thousands, who wines and dines, travels and tours, rides and riots in, by and with the best of everything, that grinds the faces of them that toil and makes a hell out of a world that should be a paradise.

Speaking of widows, there is a widow in Chicago who owns a castle on the shore of Lake Michigan which she is said to occupy on an average of about a month out of each year. It requires a regiment of servants to prepare this palace for her use and serve her when not in the care of a similar retinue elsewhere. It is safe to say that this woman never earned a dollar, though possessed of superior ability. The Chicago fire, which impoverished thousands of other widows, is the secret of her success. Under capitalism the misfortunes of many make the possibilities for the few. Under Socialism the opportunity for each to labor and get the full value resulting from that labor will effect such an equitable distribution of the means of life and of the responsibilities of citizenship that there will be neither castle-dwelling, globe-trotting widows of fabulous wealth nor half-starved widowed bread-winners struggling against fate to keep the wolf from the door of a hungry family.

CAUSE OF SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR. Was It the Love of Freedom or Love of the Almighty Dollar.

What were the economic causes which brought about the war with Spain?

Cuba was the prize for which the Spanish-American war was fought. The island was rich in natural resources, the development of which would yield profits to the capital invested as well as supply a market for the growing surplus of American manufacture.

The population of the island consisted of approximately 1,000,000 Cubans, 400,000 negroes and persons of mixed blood, and 200,000 Spaniards. The Spanish inhabitants owned all the monopolies and large businesses and the greater part of the small businesses, by means of which they kept the native population in a condition of poverty that provoked rebellion.

For several years before the blowing up of the Maine the Cubans had waged war on the Spanish in an effort to oust their economic and military oppressors and establish a government of their own. In this they were so successful that they practically controlled the eastern half of the island, with the exception of the coast cities, and distributed or threatened the agriculture of the entire island.

Business was at a standstill. The Spanish trading class wanted nothing so much as peace, so they might proceed with the extraction of profits from the Cuban workers. But Spain was too weak and too corrupt to enforce the peace desired, while the success of the revolutionists, even if productive of peaceful conditions, would have dethroned Spanish capital at the same time that it would have overthrown Spanish government. The butcheries of General Weyler had so exasperated the oppressed Cubans that half-way measures of reform had become an impossibility. It is generally conceded

that when Blanco succeeded Weyler in that governorship he did all he could under the circumstances to reform the Spanish government of the island, but it was too late.

The war of revolution had not only begun, but was being carried forward with a success that made the restoration of peace under Spanish rule an impossibility. Over 200,000 Spanish soldiers had been sent to Cuba, only about 60,000 of whom were fit for military service.

So much for the economic conditions, all of which demanded peace at any cost. And the only way to secure peace short of a long and destructive internal war was through the intervention of some other nation.

To be sure, the agitation carried on by the Cuban junta in this country had generated much public sympathy for the natives and universal condemnation of Weyler; but this sentiment was not confined to this period. It had been in evidence ever since the former rebellion many years before. There was more or less agitation for the annexation of Cuba twenty-five years before the last rebellion assumed its dangerous proportions. Americans who went to the aid of the Cuban patriots were captured and executed by the Spanish, and every sentimental reason that ever existed for American interference was in evidence a quarter of a century before interference came.

But at that time the United States was busy developing the resources of its own territory. The great west offered opportunities for the investment of capital in such great enterprises as the Union Pacific railroad, to say nothing of state, county, municipal and school bonds and loans on appreciating farm lands. Capital felt no need of a foreign market because the foreign people were coming to America and making a sufficient market on the hitherto unoccupied territory west of the Mississippi.

But the economic conditions had changed. Improved methods of production were turning out commodities in a volume that demanded an outlet. The west had borrowed so much from the capitalists of the east that the debt became a burden which populism threatened to repudiate in some way, or to some extent, by the debasing of the currency through silver coinage.

The capital of the United States was under the necessity of finding new fields in which to operate. Visions of Havana franchises and fertile sugar plantations rose before the profit-hungry ruling class of this country, whose money is barren in a supplied market but breeds with rapidity under the conditions that have existed in Cuba since the war.

Considerations of justice and humanity had long clamored for intervention, but they appealed to a deaf ear until the economic conditions were ripe for the striking of the blow. It is possible that some Spaniard, fired with the kind of patriotism that prompts alleged patriots to kill somebody, caused the blowing up of the Maine. It is also possible that any other of the parties interested in intervention might, in desperation, have resorted to that means of bringing it about. Least probable of all is it that the Spanish government would have resorted to such means to slightly cripple the fighting power of a government that was only a prospective enemy and was at the time on friendly terms with her. Subsequent history proves that Spain, as a nation and as a government, had little to gain and everything to lose by the destruction of the American warship.

In this connection an article that appeared in *World's Work* for January, 1902, is significant. The article was written by Frederick Emory, chief of the bureau of foreign commerce of the department of commerce, who, as an official of the United States government and in close touch with economic conditions, was competent to speak on the subject. Said Mr. Emory:

"Underlying the popular sentiment, which might have evaporated in time, which forced the United States to take up arms against Spanish rule in Cuba, were our economic relations with the West Indies and the South American republics. So strong was this commercial interest that had there been no emotional cause, such as the alleged enormities of Spanish rule or the destruction of the Maine, we would have, doubtless, taken steps in the end to abate with a strong hand what seemed to be an economic nuisance. * * * The Spanish-American war was but an incident of a general movement of expansion which had its root in the changed environment of an industrial capacity far beyond our domestic powers of consumption. It was seen to be necessary for us not only to find foreign purchasers for

our goods, but to provide the means of making access to foreign markets easy, economical and safe."

The point is illustrated by the well-known reference made by Chauncey Depew to the invasion of Cuba. Concessions and franchises convention at Philadelphia in 1900, Mr. Depew said: "What are our armies hammering at the walls of Peking and marching through the jungles of the Philippines for? It is to find a market for our two billions of surplus products."

Under the United States protectorate American capital flowed into were secured and utilized to an extent that transformed the country; but when at the polls the native population by the force of numbers would have captured the government and would have interfered with capitalist graft, the election was deliberately stolen and another revolt precipitated.

But the shrewd Yankee capitalist had prepared for such a contingency. The treaty had expressly provided for interference in case of such a condition, and today Cuba is dominated by the government of the United States, which is itself but the instrument of the capitalist class to enforce tribute from the workers of all the territory it governs.

To be sure, there was a widespread sympathy and desire for Cuban freedom throughout the United States, but the political power which was necessary to crystallize that sentiment into action was in the possession of the capitalist class and was not used until such time as it became to their advantage to do so. Outrages equally atrocious have been and are yet perpetrated against the Armenians, the Russian Jews, the Mexican peons, the negroes of the Congo and against the union miners of Colorado; but the ruling class is interested in the exploitation of the Congo negroes and the American miners, and is indifferent to the woes of the Russian Jews and the Armenian Christians, because economic conditions offer no profits as a reward for intervention in those instances. Political power and economic supremacy go hand in hand. It matters not whether the trade follows the flag or the flag follows the trade; but all history shows that they go together, and that the economic ruler is the power behind the throne of the political ruler.

WOULD THERE BE OVERPRODUCTION? An Impossibility So Long As People Get Less Than Enough.

Under the operation of industry as Socialists would have it, would there be a surplus of product, and if so, what would become of it?

If people were disposed to make things in excess of their needs, and pile them up to no purpose, such might be the case; and if they would do so, I do not see that any harm could result from it. It is true that under the capitalist system we have what is called overproduction. But the conditions are now entirely different to what they would be in a society where industry would be socialized, and furthermore the problem of overproduction, as it sometimes exists where the capitalist system of production prevails, is in reality not caused by overproduction, but by underconsumption. The world has never produced more than its people needed though it has often produced more than its needy people could buy.

DON'T LET IT PASS

Into the hands of the vandals and vipers of capitalism, who would mutilate it and destroy its message—THE SCARLET SHADOW, I mean—Walter Hunt's remarkable novel of the Social Revolution, which pictures like a vivid panorama the vile conspiracy of the Colorado mine owners to murder Haywood and his comrades.

We must, at any cost, keep this great propaganda weapon within our grasp, nor let its keen edge be dulled by the enemy. We must see to it that this powerful book does not suffer the fate of "The Jungle," whose usefulness was immensely impaired by revision after it passed from our control. And remember that book was lost to the Cause solely for the reason that the comrades did not order a sufficient number to enable us to bring it out.

You'll want this book, anyway, entirely aside from its vast importance to Socialism. You can't afford to miss reading it. I think I know a good thing when I see it, and I'll tell you now that this is the most dramatic novel of the decade—a masterpiece of fletive construction and a marvel of romantic interest. From first chapter to finish, it is a veritable whirlwind of thrilling action and a quick crowding of exciting incidents that enthralls the reader and holds his interest as with grappling-hooks. Its only fault is that it will cause you to lose sleep—once you've begun to read it, you won't be able to lay it down till you reach the end.

When you have read this book you will pronounce it a prodigy of revolutionary romance and will thank me for having helped to make it possible for you to read it.

I'm very much in earnest about this thing, comrades, and I ask you to help me, without fail, to realize my hopes for a big success for this most important book. Use order blank appearing elsewhere in this paper.

ESPERANTO

The American Esperanto Book, which is the best in the world for both beginners and students, handsomely bound in ox-blood library cloth, 316 pages, \$1.00. The Esperanto Magazine, monthly, per year 1.00. The Appeal to Reason, weekly, per year50. Total \$2.50. Will send the above for \$1.50.

STANDARD SOCIALIST BOOKS.

THESE handy volumes, of a size convenient either for the pocket or the shelf, and handsomely bound in cloth, make up a library that includes nearly all of the most important works on Socialism, except those of such great length that they have to go into larger volumes. The Library of Science for the Workers is bound in style uniform with the Standard Socialist Series except for the stamping, and two books of fiction, "The Rebel at Large" and "God's Children," are also in uniform style, so that thirty-two beautiful volumes can be had in this one shape. The price is fifty cents a volume, although many of the volumes contain more matter than books on social science sold by capitalist publishers at \$1.50.

FIFTY CENTS EACH.

- 1. Karl Marx, Biographical Memoirs by Wilhelm Liebknecht.**
Karl Marx is recognized by common consent as the greatest of Socialist writers, and with his friend and associate, Frederick Engels, he was the first to give definite form to the thoughts which lie at the foundation of International Socialism. Some knowledge of his personality is therefore worth while for any Socialist student, and this book by Liebknecht is beyond comparison the best picture of Marx that has been written or can be written. Liebknecht, its author, himself one of the greatest figures of the new-born Socialist movement, was a constant companion of Marx through years of his exile in England, and it is with these years that the book deals in most detail.
The book is full of humor and pathos; it brings the reader very close to the strong and lovable personality of Marx, and it throws a side light on many passages in his writings. The translation is admirable, and the book will by its simple literary excellence delight readers who know nothing of Socialism.
- 2. Collectivism and Industrial Evolution.**
By Emile Vandervelde. Translated by Charles H. Kerr.
This is in many respects the best book to make the position of International Socialists clear to one who has done little or no previous reading on the subject. It gives, first, a summary of the industrial changes of the last half century, by which in all the most advanced nations the small producer has been crushed out or pushed into a subordinate position, while the main process of production has passed under the control of corporations and trusts. In the second part, Vandervelde tells of the Socialist movement toward the socialization of the means of production and exchange under the control of the working class. The closing chapters examine, in perhaps as satisfactory a fashion as is possible, the puzzling questions of how the machinery of production can be best reorganized, and how the labor of each producer can be rewarded, when the co-operative commonwealth is established.
- 3. The American Farmer.** By A. M. Simons.
The economic position of the farmer is a subject which was for a long time neglected in our literature. In America this position is peculiarly American and any attempt to apply the European literature on the subject to American conditions must only lead to confusion. This volume, published in February, 1902, has met with the most unbounded praise by the highest critics in Europe and America, and two years later we issued a revised edition in which the author brought the book strictly up to date, using the latest statistics of the census of 1900 and thoroughly covering several new points which had been raised. A third edition was issued in 1906, a fourth in 1907, and the demand for the book is more rapid than at the time of its first publication. It is written in a style which appeals alike to the farmer and wage laborer and is a book which no student of economics should fail to read.
- 4. The Last Days of the Ruskin Co-operative.** By Isaac Broome.
The colony at Ruskin, Tennessee, was the last experiment of any importance by people calling themselves Socialists to establish a co-operative commonwealth on a small scale. Modern Socialists understand that their aims can only be realized by the victory of the working class in the class struggle against the capitalists. To new inquirers who imagine that something can be accomplished by colony schemes, this book by Professor Broome will convey useful information. It is a readable story, illustrated with engravings from photographs.
- 5. The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.** By Friedrich Engels.
This little book of 217 pages is the best popular summary in any language of the vital facts discovered by Lewis H. Morgan and elaborated in "Ancient Society." For the complete proof of the facts students must go to the larger work, but the beginner will find in this book of Engels all the most essential data for arriving at a new and clearer conception of social development. Engels shows that wealth and poverty are not eternal, but new and transient. He shows how society from the earliest stage of savagery to the present has developed its institutions and ideas corresponding to its manner of production. And the inevitable conclusion is that the new methods of production that now prevail will develop a new social order in which the working class shall be the only class.
- 6. The Social Revolution.** By Karl Kautsky.
Karl Kautsky is the editor of the *Neue Zeit*, the recognized mouthpiece of the German Socialists in Germany. This book is divided into two parts. Part I explains the difference between reform and revolution, and why Socialists are revolutionists. Part II tells of "The Day After the Revolution," and discusses the necessary measures to be taken by the working class upon first obtaining control of the government. Kautsky offers the most satisfactory answers yet made to a number of vexed questions.
- 7. Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.** By Frederick Engels.
This is one of the few books that must be read by any one wishing to understand modern Socialism. It explains how the meaning of the word Socialism has changed, so that instead of standing for a vague ideal of social change to be brought about by kind-

hearted capitalists, it stands for the struggle of the working class to overthrow and do away with the class of owners, and thus to own the tools of production and get the full product of their labor. Engels' introduction to this book, not included in other American editions, is one of the best short statements of the Socialist theory of historical materialism.

- 8. Feuerbach: The Roots of the Socialist Philosophy.** By Frederick Engels.
Feuerbach, a German philosopher of 1848, now almost forgotten, was one of the first writers to explain the origin of ideas, religious ideas included, in terms of materialism. He was revolutionary enough to be cordially hated by the supporters of the established order in state and church, but he never became a thoroughgoing materialist; his system was as confused and contradictory as that of the "Christian Socialists" of today. This book was written by Engels in 1888, long after the death of Feuerbach, and it is a clear, logical, criticism of this confused philosophy, together with a condemned statement of the evolutionary position.
- 9. American Pauperism and the Abolition of Poverty.** By Isador Ladoff.
This book is a thorough and most-suggestive study of the last United States census from the point of view of the Socialist. It brings together the facts that prove how the people who do the work are crushed and maimed by the present social system. It shows how the industrial organization of the United States has already evolved to a point where practically all the brain work as well as the hand work is done by wage workers, in all the important departments of manufacturing. Thus the author shows the inevitability of social revolution by which those who do the work shall become the ruling class, and by abolishing the class of owners shall establish industrial democracy.
- 10. Britain for the British (America for the Americans).** By Robert Blatchford.
Robert Blatchford is the author of "Merrie England," the most popular book of modern times, nearly two million copies of which have been sold. This book is in many ways good propaganda, but it has the defect of failing to emphasize the need of a distinctively working class revolutionary party. "Britain for the British" is as delightfully simple as the author's earlier book, and moreover shows in a telling fashion "why the old parties will not do."
- 11. Manifesto of the Communist Party.** By Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.
Also included in the same volume, **No Compromise; No Political Trading.** By Wilhelm Liebknecht.
This manifesto, first published in 1848, is still recognized the world over as the clearest statement of the principles of the International Socialist party. It has been translated into the language of every country where capitalism exists, and it is being circulated more rapidly today than ever before. "No Compromise" treats of Socialist tactics, and expresses the maturest judgment of Liebknecht, who was a close associate of Marx and Engels in the early days of Socialism, and who gave his life to the political rather than the philosophic side of the work.
- 12. The Positive School of Criminology.** By Enrico Ferri.
The author of this book is at once one of the foremost men in the ranks of the proletarian revolution and of modern science. His previous work on criminology is the text-book in every university where that subject is taught in the United States. He takes up the evolution of treatment and philosophy of crime, shows how it has been affected by economic conditions, and finally enters into an analysis of the causes of crime in present society. He shows how crime can be treated preventively and scientifically to secure its abolition and not simply to vent revenge upon the criminal.
- 13. The World's Revolutions.** By Ernest Untermann.
In the first chapter, "The Individual and the Universe," we have a vivid picture, drawn from the personal experiences of the writer, of a shipwrecked mariner on an island in the South Pacific. With this incident as a text, it is shown how even so isolated an individual as this lone sailor would appear to be united by the closest ties, not only to all mankind, past and present, but to the whole cosmical scheme in the uttermost ends of the universe.
The chapter on "Primitive Human Revolutions" is a simple, striking description of the great pre-historic revolutions, both physical and human. Here we watch the dawn of invention and see the beginning of social institutions.
Chapter 3 brings before us the class struggles of Ancient Rome. Chapter 4 treats biblical history in the light of modern materialism and throws light upon many previously obscure points. The author proceeds to show why the Roman Empire fell to pieces to make way for the feudalism of the middle ages, which in turn began to disintegrate under the influence of the beginning of capitalism.
In Chapters 6 and 7 "The American Revolution and Its Reflex in France" and "Bourgeois Revolutions in Europe" are explained from the viewpoint of dialectic materialism, and the last chapter treats of the "Proletarian World Movement," and sums up all the forces that have gone to lay the foundations of that revolution and make it inevitable, and offers a suggestion of its goal.
- 14. The Socialists, Who They Are and What They Stand For.** By John Spargo.
We know of no other book in the whole literature of Socialism that will make so good a first impression on the average American reader. The style is clear and simple, the arrangement of the subject is such as to make the book easy reading, the type is unusually large, and altogether this is just the book to arrest the attention of the half indifferent reader and interest him so that he will read books that require more study. Moreover, the Socialist who wishes to fit himself for talking, either in private or in public, will find many of the best arguments for Socialism briefly and clearly stated in this book. It has run through several editions and is still selling rapidly.

- 15. Social and Philosophical Studies.** By Paul Lafargue. Translated by Charles H. Kerr.
Paul Lafargue is one of the most prominent Socialists in France, and one of the most brilliant writers in the entire Socialist movement. His present work consists of a series of keenly critical studies of the causes of religion and abstract ideas. Lafargue takes the position made familiar by Spencer in pointing out that the idea of God doubtless originated in the attempts of the savage to explain the unknown elements in his daily experience. But Lafargue brings this theory down to date in a new fashion when he shows that the capitalist has the same need of an unknown power to explain the events of his daily life. On the contrary, Lafargue tells us that the proletarian works more directly from cause to effect, and consequently more readily understands the materialistic interpretation of things. Further on Lafargue demonstrates that the ideas of goodness and property are inextricably interwoven—in other words that historically the good man is the man with the "goods."
- 16. What's So and What Isn't.** By John M. Work.
"No, Socialism is not paternalism. Capitalism is paternalism." In crisp sentences like these the author discusses the stock objections urged against Socialism and shows their fallacy. Socialism is divided into many short chapters and makes easy reading. It is just the thing to put into the hands of one who has read some good statement of the general principles of Socialism, and who is disturbed over the objections that are raised.
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- 17. Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History.** By Karl Kautsky.
This book gives in the first place a historical review of the various systems of ethics which have prevailed, from the ancient Greek philosophers and the Christian church, down to Kant and Darwin. But the greater portion of the book is taken up with a study of the ethics of Marxism. The materialist conception of history is analyzed as furnishing the basis for ethics. The author shows how changes in methods of production have transformed ethical relations, and how these relations must be still further transformed in the same way. Thus he explains the decay of capitalist morality, over which preachers wail in vain, and the rise of the new ethical standards that weld the workers together in this time of struggle. On the contrary, he points out that the ethics of the future will be the outcome of the new economic conditions due to the victory of the proletariat and the abolition of the exploiting class.
- 18. Class Struggles in America.** By A. M. Simons.
Histories of the United States have thus far been written in the interest of the ruling class, the capitalists. Here is a history, short enough to read in an evening, which explains the facts of American history in the light of the principles of Socialism. The explanation is so simple that you will wonder why any one should question it, yet it gives a totally different idea of the history and the present condition of the United States from that obtained from school books. There are also in this book many facts not generally known—facts which may not at first be believed, but for every such fact the author gives complete proof; he does not ask the reader to take his word. These proofs are in the shape of foot notes referring to books which can be found in all large libraries. A careful study of these references in connection with the book will give a new understanding of American history.
- 19. Socialism, Positive and Negative.** By Robert Rives La Monte.
This volume consists of several essays written at different times, "Science and Socialism," which first appeared in the *International Socialist Review* for September, 1900, is one of the clearest popular explanations ever written of the materialistic conception of history, the law of surplus value, and the class struggle. It states the position undoubtedly held by the great majority of Socialists today. "Marxism and Ethics," first published in *Whitire's Magazine* for November, 1905, is an interpretation of the ethics now taking shape in the working-class under pressure of the class struggle, which is ever growing fiercer. "The Ethical Basis of Socialism," a daring and brilliant attempt to carry out the logic of Marxism to its necessary conclusions in the fields of religion, custom and law. La Monte points out how some who think themselves scientific Socialists have brought with them considerable intellectual baggage from the "Doll's House" of conventional ideas. In his paper on "The Biogenetic Law" he shows how each individual in his own mental development is likely, if of middle class origin, to retrace the history of the development of Socialism from Utopian science, while if a proletarian he develops from an unreasoning hatred of all things capitalistic into a broad and sane view of things as they are evolving. La Monte is one of the brightest and most interesting of our writers, and this book will be a mental stimulus to thousands.
- 20. Capitalist and Laborer.** Also in same volume, **Modern Socialism.** By John Spargo.
The progress of Socialist thought is beginning to force the defenders of capitalism to make some serious attempt at meeting our arguments. The most notable of these attempts in recent years are those of Prof. Goldwin Smith, the veteran scholar and economist of Canada, and W. H. Mallock, the recognized English socialist writer. To a student who is sincerely in doubt as to the claims of Socialism, we advise a reading of the attacks by these writers with John Spargo's reply. This reply will be easily understood without a full reading of their arguments, since these are in the main a repetition of the objections to Socialism with which the capitalist newspapers are filled. Spargo's style is delightfully simple and direct, and the book will make excellent propaganda.
- 21. The Right to Be Lazy and Other Studies.** By Paul Lafargue. Translated by Charles H. Kerr.
The first study in this book is the most famous of all Lafargue's works. It is a satire on the "Right to Work," which in 1848 was asserted as a demand on the part of the working class. Lafargue shows that what the laborers would demand if they had more sense

is not more work, but more of the things that their work produces. A free translation of this essay, somewhat expurgated and softened by the translator, Dr. Harriet E. Lothrop, is issued in the shape of a ten-cent pamphlet. This translation is for those who wish to have just what Lafargue said in his own inimitable way. With it are printed "Socialism and the Intellectuals," "The Woman Question," "The Bankruptcy of Capitalism," "The Rights of the Horse and the Rights of Man," and "The Socialist Ideal." Lafargue can make the driest subjects interesting, but in this book he treats of subjects which are, to use Bernard Shaw's phrase, decidedly "succulent."

- 22. Revolution and Counter-Revolution, or Germany in 1848.** By Karl Marx.
A series of letters written to the New York Tribune from London by Karl Marx in 1851 and 1852, treating of the German revolution of 1848, have been collected by his daughter, Eleanor Marx Aveling, and published for the first time in a book form.
The letters were written to the Tribune while Marx was in exile, and they give a history from Marx's point of view of the events which succeeded the revolution of 1848, and which resulted in the failure of the insurrection through the counter-revolution which followed.
Karl Marx, by reason of the part which he played in the revolutionary events of Europe in the middle of the last century, and by reason of the peculiar power he possesses of analyzing social movements, was well qualified to speak of the interesting happenings in Germany.
In this series of letters he endeavors to go into the deeper, underlying causes which were responsible for the insurrectionary movements which took place at the time under consideration, and to account, by other means than by the mere weakness of certain leaders, for the failure of the German attempt at social reform.
We are used to reading of the heroic part played by the students in the revolution. This is what Marx said about them:
"The students, particularly those representatives of intellect, as they liked to call themselves, were the first to quit their standard, unless they were retained by the bestial of officer's rank, for which they of course had very seldom any qualifications."
Allowing for the personal interest which he had in the event and his natural bias against the class of shop keepers upon whose cowardice he places most of the blame for the failure, the letters present a very clear picture of the eventual time of 1848.—*San Francisco Sunday Call.*
- 23. Anarchism and Socialism.** By George Plechanoff. Translated by Eleanor Marx Aveling, with an American introduction by Robert Rives La Monte.
This little book, first published in England in 1895, is now reprinted because developments in the Socialist movement of the United States have made it timely and invaluable. Of anarchism proper we have never had anything in America to speak of; the American working men have never taken the anarchists seriously, and that is the main reason why, with our limited resources, we have not sooner published this book, valuable as it is. The world-wide movement of revolutionary trade unionism has lately, however, shown itself in America, and some of the former members of the Socialist party, have misunderstood the spirit of the international movement, and have wasted a large part of their energy in antagonizing political action in general and the Socialist party in particular. The absurdity of this course of action is so fully and admirably shown in this book of Plechanoff that it becomes a tract for the times, and should be circulated, vigorously wherever industrial unionism is a force to reckon with. By this we do not mean that industrial unionism should be opposed, but that it should be brought into harmony with the Socialist party or better, perhaps, the party into harmony with it.
- 24. Manifesto de la Komunista Partio.**
The Manifesto translated into Esperanto by Arthur Baker.
In this edition the English version is printed on opposite pages. American students of Esperanto will be glad to have as a supplementary text book a work which deserves and repays minute study. We quote two paragraphs from the Translator's Foreword:
"In the development of this world-wide struggle the international language, Esperanto, must necessarily bear an important part. Just as the telegraph, the railroad and the steamship enabled modern nations quickly to decide the issues of war between Russian capital and Japanese capital, so Esperanto will hasten by many years the decision of the contest between All Labor and All Capital."
Although the original Communist Manifesto was written in German, the English edition, prepared by Engels, co-author with Marx, has been used as the basis of this translation and is herein reproduced on pages parallel with the Esperanto. Thus there is brought to the Esperanto student the opportunity to become familiar with the fundamental of the great political and economic struggle; and to the political student the occasion, while renewing acquaintance with a document he can never know too well, to learn the language in which our children shall write the Constitution of the World.
- 25. Evolution, Social and Organic.** By Arthur Morrow Lewis.
Mr. Lewis' lectures in Chicago last winter and spring were a delightful surprise to the Socialists of the city and surrounding towns. The audiences, starting with less than a hundred, steadily increased until they filled one of the largest of Chicago's theaters, the Garrick. Many were disappointed at being unable to obtain the lectures in permanent form. A new series of lectures is now in progress at the Garrick, the order of subjects for which has already been announced. We expect to publish nearly or quite all of these in book form, but at present can announce only one volume, which will appear in January under the above title. This volume begins with the foundation of Greek philosophy by Thales, and traces the gradual unfolding of the theory of Evolution, down to the latest contributions of modern thought.
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- 1. The Evolution of Man.** By Wilhelm Boelsche. Illustrated.
"The Evolution of Man" tells in full detail, in a clear, simple style, illustrated by pictures, just how the descent of man can be traced back through monkeys, marsupials, amphibians, fishes, worms and lower forms of life, down to the animals composed each of a single cell. Moreover, it proves that there is no such fixed line as was formerly thought to exist between the organic and the inorganic, but that the same life force molds the crystal that molds the cell. It is not only simple, it is up-to-date and gives the latest discoveries in science. It is THE book on the subject.
 - 2. Germs of Mind in Plants.** By E. H. France. Illustrated.
A cardinal point in the philosophical systems favored by the ruling classes is that the mind of man is something unique in the universe, governed by laws of its own that have no particular connection with physical laws. Modern science has proved that not only animals, but also plants, receive impressions from the outside world and use those impressions to modify their movements for their own advantage, exactly as human beings do. These facts are told in this book in so charming and entertaining a style that the reader is carried along and does not realize until later the revolutionary significance of the facts.
 - 3. The End of the World.** By Dr. M. Wilhelm Meyer. Illustrated.
This book answers in the light of the discoveries of modern science the questions frequently asked as to the probable end of human life on this planet. Moreover, it goes a step further in making clear the relations of man's life to the universe life. We have already seen that "mind" is but another form of "life." Dr. Meyer shows that not only animals and plants, but even worlds and suns have their birth, growth, maturity, reproduction, decay and death, and that death is but the preparation for a new cycle of life.
 - 4. Science and Evolution.** By Ernest Untermann.
A history of the evolution of the theory of evolution, from the earliest scientific writings that have been preserved, those of the Greek philosophers, down to the present time. The author shows how the ruling classes, living on the labor of others, have always supported some form of theology or mysticism, while the working classes have developed the theory of evolution, which is rounded out to its logical completion by the work of Marx, Engels and Dietzgen. The author frankly recognizes that no writer can avoid being influenced by his class environment, and he himself speaks distinctly as a proletarian and Socialist. "Science and Evolution" is an essential link in the chain of evidence proving the conclusions drawn by Socialists from the facts of science.
 - 5. The Triumph of Life.** By Wilhelm Boelsche. Illustrated.
The German critics agree that this book is even more interesting than "The Evolution of Man," by the same author. It tells of the struggle of life against its physical environment, and introduces a wealth of scientific detail charmingly set forth. The German original contains no illustrations, but our edition is fully illustrated with pictures that aid materially in an understanding of the text.
 - 6. Life and Death, a Chapter from the Science of Life.** By Dr. E. Teichmann.
A study of how life begins and how it ends. It does not duplicate any other book in this series, but is a special investigation into the laws which govern the reproduction of life. It also deals with the methods by which the life of each separate individual is brought to an end, and shows that in an overwhelming majority of cases throughout the whole animal kingdom death is violent rather than "natural." Even among human beings a really "natural" death is rare. The author suggests that with improved conditions of living most premature deaths may be prevented, and that in that event the fear of death, which causes so much of the misery of the world, may disappear.
 - 7. The Making of the World.** By Dr. M. Wilhelm Meyer. Illustrated.
This is a companion volume to "The End of the World," and traces the processes through which new suns and new worlds come into being to take the place of those that have grown old and died. It is an essential link in the chain of evidence proving that the human mind is not something apart from nature, but only another manifestation of the one force that pervades all "matter." The book has twenty-four illustrations of telescopic photographs, which make the truth of the statements in the book evident to every reader.
- BOOKS IN PAPER COVER.**
- The Republic of Plato.** Translated by Alexander Kerr. Paper, 75 cents.
Professor Kerr has given the English language an adequate and excellent translation of "The Republic," that

sketch of the ideal state outlined by the great philosopher. "The Republic" is interesting to students of sociology, in that it is, perhaps, the first in that series of books, including Sir Thomas More's "Utopia" and Bellamy's "Looking Backward."—*Indianapolis Sentinel.*
This translation is published in five handsomely printed pamphlets, each sold separately at 15 cents. Book V also contains an introduction by the translator, including a summary of the five books.

The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte. By Karl Marx. Paper, 25 cents.
This is a masterly history in which Marx himself applies his newly-discovered theory of historical materialism to the famous "coup d'etat" by which Louis Bonaparte overthrew the "republic" and made himself emperor of France. It is a true history of France for the years 1848-1851, and its keen analysis of the struggles of social classes throws a flood of light on the problems with which American Socialists have to deal.

Socialism vs. Single Tax: A Debate. Paper, 25 cents.
This is a stenographic report of a debate held at Twelfth Street Turner Hall, Chicago, December 20, 1893. The debaters were Ernest Untermann, Seymour Stedman and A. M. Simons on the side of Socialism, and Louis F. Post, Henry H. Harding and John Z. White on the side of Single Tax. The book contains portraits of Karl Marx, Henry George and the six debaters.

Socialist Songs, Dialogues and Recitations. Compiled by Josephine R. Cole. Paper, 25 cents.
This book has been prepared in answer to a long-continued demand for a collection of "pieces" suitable for evening entertainments, and of a style not too difficult to be learned and recited by children. The book will be found indispensable to any Socialist local or group of comrades who wish to arrange a meeting to combine entertainment with propaganda. Every selection teaches Socialism in an indirect way, so as to interest the casual listener without arousing prejudice at the start.
It will also be found useful for children from Socialist families who have to recite "pieces" at the public schools.

Capital and Labor. By a Blacklisted Machinist. Paper, 25 cents.
This book contains no new ideas as to the Socialist philosophy, but it does state that philosophy in a way that will attract and not repel the average trade unionist. We know of no other book on Socialism that the average workman would be quite so likely to buy if put in front of him, or to read after buying it, or to act on after reading it.

The Art of Lecturing. By Arthur M. Lewis. Paper, 25 cents.
The phenomenal success of Mr. Lewis' Chicago lectures is the wonder of professionalists. He has for many months been deluged with requests to start a "speakers' class" or "school of oratory" or some other means of communicating the methods and principles by which his success was achieved. As he had no time for a class, and the requests continued increasing, he decided to meet the wishes of his correspondents by writing a series of articles for the *Daily Socialist*. They appeared on its editorial page, and attracted wide attention. Now, in response to many requests these articles are issued in book form. They are thoroughly practical, containing just the suggestions needed by any one desiring to speak in public on Socialism.

Modern Socialism. By Charles H. Vad. Paper, 25 cents.
This is the same book advertised in another column at 75 cents in cloth binding. It is one of the best popular summaries of the principles of Socialism.

The Civil War in France. By Karl Marx. Paper, 25 cents.
In 1871, just after the Franco-Prussian war, the workmen of Paris took possession of the government and carried it on for several months. They were finally overpowered by military force, and the capitalist government massacred thousands of laborers in cold blood. They also circulated throughout the civilized world false statements charging the workmen with crimes like those of which they were themselves guilty. This short history of the Commune by Marx was issued within a few days after the events described as a vindication of the Communards. It is full of lessons for the coming revolution.

Science and the Workingmen. By Ferdinand Lassalle. Paper, 25 cents.
This pamphlet is Lassalle's argument in his own defense before the Criminal court of Berlin on the charge of having publicly incited the unpropertied classes to hatred and contempt of the propertied classes. The translation is by Prof. Thorstein Veblen, formerly of the University of Chicago.

The Passing of Capitalism. By Isador Ladoff. Paper, 25 cents.
Thirty-five short essays on the principles of Socialism and their application to current problems. (Also published in cloth at 50 cents.)

Man or Dollar, Which? By a Newspaper Man. Paper, 25 cents.
This is an attempt to picture the Co-operative Commonwealth in a novel. It is open to some of the same objections as "Looking Backward," but is interesting and suggestive.

Under the Lash. A Drama in five acts. By C. F. Quinn. Paper, 25 cents.
A play adapted to production by amateurs, which was successfully put on the stage in Chicago at the time of its publication.

The Pullman Strike. By W. H. Cardwaine. Paper, 25 cents.
A contemporary history by an eyewitness of the great strike at Pullman in 1904. It is full of interesting material for the student of industrial evolution in America.

What Are We Here For? By F. Dundas Todd. Paper, 50 cents.
This is a work on ethics written in an easy and popular style by a writer who is in hearty sympathy with the Socialist ideal, but writes as an educator rather than a proletarian. It will be found delightfully suggestive by those who are just beginning to free themselves from traditional theological conceptions.

Beyond the Black Ocean. By Rev. T. McGredy. Paper, 50 cents.
This edition is given in every respect to the dollar edition advertised in another column, except that the binding is paper instead of cloth.

INTERNATIONAL LIBRARY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE.

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THIS new library, the first volume of which was published in January, 1906, is made up of books of the highest value to Socialists and students of Socialism. In outward form these books are unusually attractive, they are printed on antique finish book paper, in large, clear type, page 7 3/4 by 5 1/2 inches, and bound in extra cloth with tasteful, uniform stamping.

- 1. The Changing Order: A Study of Democracy.** By Oscar Lovell Triggs, Ph. D.
"Democracy" signifies the uprise of the people, the "masses," their complete utterance and exercise in politics, art, education, religion, and all other forms of human activity. These words from the author's introduction outline the scope of the book. It is a series of essays, more or less connected, which analyze the new tendency toward collectivism, industrial democracy, and the probable results of the tendency in the various spheres of human effort. Professor Triggs was for years one of the best-known lecturers in the University of Chicago, but his ideas were too revolutionary to be acceptable there, and he was thrown out. He is not identified with the Socialist movement, and offers his book not as an exposition of Socialist principles, but as a suggestive analysis of social tendencies by a critic without leaning.
- 2. Better-World Philosophy.** A Sociological synthesis. By J. Howard Moore.
I know of no book that so truly begins at the beginning of things, determined to know the truth, however harsh or naked it may appear, and then to build thereon an honest and effective optimism. I think that all our future philosophy will have to begin where Professor Moore begins; not with metaphysical speculations, like the philosophers of old, but with the fearful facts of our life, and out of its fearful facts, out of the human toil and chance and struggle, forecast principles and prophecies that shall make the facts of life more beautiful than our most beautiful dreams.—George D. Herron.
- 3. The Universal Kinship.** By J. Howard Moore.
"The Universal Kinship" has furnished me several days of deep pleasure and satisfaction. It has compelled me to save the labor of stating my own long-cherished opinions, reflections and resentments by doing it tacidly and fervently for me.—Mark Twain.
"I do not know of any book dealing with evolution that I have read with such keen interest. Mr. Moore has a broad grasp and shows masterly knowledge of the subject. And, within the interest never flags. The book reads like a novel. One is constantly keyed up and expectant. Mr. Moore is to be congratulated on the magnificent way in which he has made alive the dull, heavy processes of the big books. And, then, there is his style. He uses splendid, simple English and shows a fine appreciation of the values of words. He uses always the right word."—Jack London, author of "The Call of the Wild," etc.
"It is impossible for me to express my appreciation of your mastery work. It is simply great, and every Socialist and student of sociology should read it. I have carried it in my grip over the past few thousand miles and its essence is in my heart, and it has been a source of genuine inspiration to me."—Eugene V. Debs.
- 4. Principles of Scientific Socialism.** By Charles H. Vail.
The most successful summary of Marxian Socialism ever written by an American author. It opens with a brief sketch of industrial evolution, then explains the theory of surplus value, and then enters into a comprehensive discussion of the advantages of Socialism. The reviewer of the Chicago Daily News, of course an opponent, praises this book as "logical, sincere and restrained."
- 5. Some of the Philosophical Essays.** By Joseph Dietzgen.
This book is a collection of articles written by Joseph Dietzgen during the early stages of the German Socialist movement. In one article on "Scientific Socialism" he gives a philosophic explanation of the principles of Marxian Socialism. In his six sermons on "The Religion of Social Democracy" he follows out the idea that the teachings of Socialism contain the material for a practical regulation of human life in accord with scientific principles. In the two following sermons on "The Ethics of Social Democracy" he shows that morality is based on common needs and that standards of ethics change with changes in the material conditions of peoples. An essay on "Social Democratic Philosophy" demonstrates that human salvation depends on material work, not on theological moonshine, and that Socialists, therefore, look for salvation not so much to religion or ethical preaching as to the organic growth of social development. In "The Limits of Cognition" and "The Inconceivable" he draws the veil from the contradictory notions of official theology and science concerning the nature of the human faculty of thought, and shows that this faculty has only natural, not supernatural limits.
The philosophy of Socialism, as explained by Marx, falls naturally into two parts, one dealing with economics and the other with the philosophy of history. Marx planned to deal with the philosophical side, but death seized him before he could do the work. In this book Joseph Dietzgen has thoroughly elaborated this phase of the subject.
Although this is a book to require close reading, the author himself was a workman and knew how to make his language acceptable to his fellow workers.
- 6. Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History.** By Antonio Labriola. Translated by Charles H. Kerr. Second edition.
This work is beyond comparison the best statement in any language of the Socialist principle of historical materialism, first briefly outlined in the Communist Manifesto. Labriola's opening essay, "In Memory of the Manifesto," is an historical study which first explains the economic and resulting political conditions which made possible the writing of the Communist Manifesto; followed by an analysis of the way in

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which the ideas of the Manifesto have spread.

The book is not intended for children nor for careless readers. It requires close study, but it also repays close study. The principle with which this book deals is the root of the Socialist philosophy. To understand this book is to make this principle, the principle of historical materialism, a vital part of one's mental furniture.

This work is without doubt the most satisfactory work that has thus far appeared on the relations of the sexes under the coming social order, and on national sex ethics during the period of transition. Those who imagine that Socialism is a propaganda against the family and in favor of promiscuity will be disappointed in this book, since they will find nothing in it to confirm their notion.

The problem of the relation of the sexes is too subtle for the writer who is merely a scientist; he must be a poet as well, or he will be incapable of observing the facts with which his science must deal. On the other hand, if he is merely a poet he will be unable to make a rational use of the facts he has gathered and his conclusions will be confusing rather than suggestive.

Mr. Rappaport bases his entire work on the theory of historical materialism and illustrates it with a wealth of facts from both ancient and modern sources.

One of its most important and interesting topics is the origin and development of economic and political classes, the difference between the two, and the nature and effect of the class struggle.

Not less clear and interesting are the chapters devoted to the evolution of the economic structure of human society and the different forms of political government which it has successively created.

The influence of economic institutions on the social status of woman and the organization of the family.

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The evolution of state and government.

The absurdities and failures of the present economic system.

The increase in the number of divorces; its cause and effect.

The probabilities of the future, and Socialism as the inevitable result of evolution.

The book is written in a plain and popular style, so that nobody of ordinary intelligence will find any difficulty in understanding it. According to the *London Courier-Journal* it is "an excellent history and criticism, the Archaic cult is extremely valuable and fundamental in character and the Chicago Socialist says it is certainly to be for many years a valuable weapon in the armory of the Socialist student."

This volume contains the three principal works of Joseph Dietzen. The first of these, "The Nature of Human Brain Work," is a most remarkable and original study of the data of modern science on the relation of the forces operating in the human brain to the other forces of the universe.

The second work included in this volume is "Letters on Logic." It is a series of familiar and simple letters to the author's son, Eugene, by whom the volume is edited. The letters deal with logic, but not in the sense of the formal phrases and mental gymnastics with which the word is often associated.

The third work, "The Positive Outcome of Philosophy," from which the whole volume takes its title, is THE one comprehensive, logical and satisfactory treatise on the relation of international Socialism and its philosophy to the whole of modern science as interpreted by evolution.

10. **Socialism and Philosophy.** By Antonio Labriola. Translated from the Italian by Ernest Untermann.

a later work, published in Italian and French, which now appears under the title of "Socialism and Philosophy."

It is a series of familiar letters addressed to G. Sorel, the writer of the introduction to the first French edition of "Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History." (This preface appears as an appendix to the present work.) Sorel was at the time he wrote these ideas of historical materialism, but since executed some fantastic changes of front, and was at last accounts a sort of impossibilist-anarchist, advocating the general strike.

11. **The Physical Basis of Mind and Morals.** By M. H. Fitch.

The author of this book approaches his subject, not as a Socialist, but from the standpoint of physical science. It is a striking confirmation of the correctness of the Socialist position that he like most other unbiased students of evolution reaches virtually our own conclusions.

12. **Revolutionary Essays.** By Peter E. Burrows.

The keynote of this book is in these lines from the title page: "God is human; the whole human race is God. Socialism is the way of life."

13. **Marxian Economics.** By Ernest Untermann.

This work gives a full and yet very clear view of the contents of all three volumes of "Capital" and shows us the organic connection between the three volumes, the unity and consistency of Marx's theory of value and the way in which this theory stands the test of actual application to the conditions of capitalist production and competition.

14. **The Rise of the American Proletarian.** By Austin Lewis.

There is a question thundering at our doors which we are evading with the denial of its right to existence. Yet parry it as we may with our "eat, drink and be merry," one day we shall awake to find the conquerors within the gates, for while we feast the working army is steadily digging new channels of thought, and like Cyrus of old shall pass under the very walls of our modern Babylon, and the rule of luxury and vice be no more until the next cycle of civilization is upon us.

15. **The Theoretical System of Karl Marx.** By Louis B. Boudin.

This reprint in book form of the half-dozen articles by Louis B. Boudin, which appeared in the *International Socialist Review*, is intended for, and very well adapted to, students' use. Marx is probably more generally misquoted and misinterpreted than any world writer outside the Bible by those who profess to follow him.

growing balls of property, knowing full well that to stop to draw the breath of true living for even a moment means a disintegration into the original elements of the systems, which are as vapors of the lives of the workers.

16. **Landmarks of Scientific Socialism (Anti-Duehring).** By Frederick Engels. Translated by Austin Lewis.

It was thirty-two years ago that one Dr. Eugene Duehring, private docent at Berlin University, proclaimed the fact that he had been converted to Socialism—not the ordinary, well-known philosophy of society promulgated by Marx and Engels, but a strange and wonderful theory of his own invention or discovery.

17. **The Republic.** By N. P. Androsen.

The author of this work has chosen a name which invites comparison with Plato's masterpiece. But we think it safe to say for him that he challenges this comparison not because he dreams of rivaling the *Republic*, but rather because of great Athenian, but rather because our age has an ethical problem to solve which is strangely like that of the dawn of civilization of Europe.

18. **God and My Neighbor.** By Robert Blatchford.

To those unfamiliar with the writings of the old and present day critics of the Bible and orthodox Christian faith, this book would come almost as a revelation. It is hard to classify it, whether to describe it as the utterance of the resentment of a soul which has realized the shams of theology, or the expressions of a mind that has become convinced that orthodox theology is and always has been inimical to the welfare of the worker; or whether it is the deliverance of one who has outgrown religion of any sort and who sees only the suffering of his fellows, and is passionately desirous of doing something to alleviate their woes.

19. **How I Acquired My Millions.** By W. A. Gorey.

An exceedingly clever satire in the form of an autobiography of a millionaire. The true nature of incomes arising from rent, interest and profits is made as clear that even a careless reader may be impressed.

20. **Socialism and Farmers.** By A. M. Simons.

Proves that the farmer, instead of being independent as he supposes himself, is in fact a piece-worker at the mercy of capitalists who control the means of bringing his product into the form in which it can be consumed and to the place where it is needed at the time when it is needed.

21. **After Capitalism, What?** By Rev. William Thurston Brown.

This is a study of the evolution theory applied to social science. The author traces man through savagery and barbarism to civilization and shows how we have now developed to the point where the working classes, oppressed by capitalism, can consciously assist in the evolutionary process that is bringing in a better social order.

22. **Rational Prohibition.** By Walter L. Young.

23. **Socialism vs. Anarchy.** By A. M. Simons.

POCKET LIBRARY. Of Socialism. FIVE CENTS EACH.

THE books listed under this heading, with the exception of Numbers 48, 49, 51, 52, 54, 55, 56, 58 and 60, are all of a uniform size, fitted either to the pocket or to an ordinary business envelope, and light enough so that one can be enclosed with a letter of two or three pages without requiring an extra postage stamp.

1. **Woman and the Social Problem.** By May Wood Simons.

Explains that the political and domestic subjection of women is due to their economic subjection to the men of the capitalist class, that political liberty alone would be of no real benefit to women, and that their complete emancipation can only be brought about through Socialism.

2. **The Evolution of the Class Struggle.** By W. H. Noyes.

3. **Imprudent Marriages.** By Robert Blatchford.

4. **The Ax at the Root.** By Rev. William Thurston Brown.

5. **Realism in Literature and Art.** By Clarence S. Darrow.

6. **Single Tax vs. Socialism.** By A. M. Simons.

7. **Wage Labor and Capital.** By Karl Marx.

8. **The Man Under the Machine.** By A. M. Simons.

9. **The Mission of the Working Class.** By Rev. Charles H. Vail.

10. **Morals and Socialism.** By Charles H. Kerr.

11. **Socialist Songs.** By William Morris and Others.

12. **After Capitalism, What?** By Rev. William Thurston Brown.

13. **Rational Prohibition.** By Walter L. Young.

14. **Socialism and Farmers.** By A. M. Simons.

that the Socialists already control the principal cities of France, Paris excepted. This booklet is translated from official reports and tells what is actually being done.

17. **Socialism and Trade Unionism.** By Daniel Lynch, and Max S. Hayes.

18. **Plutocracy vs. Nationalism, Which?** By Edward Bellamy.

19. **The Religion of Today.** By Rev. William Thurston Brown.

20. **Why I Am a Socialist.** By George D. Herron.

21. **The Trust Question. Its Political and Economic Aspects.** By Rev. Charles H. Vail.

22. **Science and Socialism.** By Robert Rives La Monte.

23. **The Ax at the Root.** By Rev. William Thurston Brown.

24. **What the Socialists Would Do If They Won in This City.** By A. M. Simons.

25. **The Folly of Being "Good."** By Charles H. Kerr.

26. **Intemperance and Poverty.** By T. W. Young.

27. **The Relation of Religion to Social Ethics.** By Rev. William Thurston Brown.

28. **Socialism and the Home.** By May Walden.

29. **Trusts and Imperialism.** By H. Gaylord Wilshire.

30. **A Sketch of Social Evolution.** By H. W. Boyd Mackay.

31. **Socialism vs. Anarchy.** By A. M. Simons.

32. **Industrial Democracy.** By J. W. Kelley.

powerful arguments for Socialism ever written.

37. **The Kingdom of God and Socialism.** By Rev. Robert M. Webster.

38. **Easy Lessons in Socialism.** By William H. Leffingwell.

39. **Socialism and the Organized Labor Movement.** By May Wood Simons.

40. **The Capitalists' Union or Labor Unions, Which?** Published by Union 7386, American Federation of Labor, for affiliated unions.

41. **The Socialist Catechism.** By Charles E. Cline.

42. **Civic Evils.** By Dr. C. H. Reed.

43. **Our Bourgeois Literature: The Reason and the Remedy.** By Upton Sinclair.

44. **The Scab.** By Jack London.

45. **Confessions of a Drone.** By Joseph Medill Patterson.

46. **Was It Gracia's Fault?** By Frank Everett Plummer and Others.

47. **The Economic Foundation of Art.** By A. M. Simons.

48. **Science and Life.** By Enrico Ferri.

49. **A Socialist View of Mr. Rockefeller.** By John Spargo.

50. **Marx on Cheapness.** Translated by Robert Rives La Monte.

51. **From Revolution to Revolution.** By George D. Herron.

52. **Government Ownership of Railways.** By F. G. R. Gordon.

SOCIAL SCIENCE SERIES.

THE books listed under this heading are the cream of a fine library published in a handsome, uniform binding by a prominent London publishing house. The library contains over a hundred volumes. We have selected a eighteen which we can thoroughly recommend to every student of Socialism. Here is the list:

Work and Wages. By Prof. J. Thorold Rogers. \$1.00.

England's Ideal. By Edward Carpenter. \$1.00.

The Religion of Socialism. By E. Belfort Bax. \$1.00.

The Quintessence of Socialism. By Dr. A. Schaeffle. \$1.00.

The Evolution of Property from Savagery to Civilization. By Paul Lafargue \$1.00.

The Student's Marx. By Edward Aveling. D. Sc. \$1.00.

Parasitism, Organic and Social. By Jean Massart and Emile Vandervelde. \$1.00.

The Origin and Growth of Village Communities in India. By H. H. Baden-Powell. \$1.00.

The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844. By Frederick Engels. \$1.25.

The Economic Foundations of Society. By Achille Loria. \$1.25.

53. **Historical and Economic.** By J. E. Sinclair.

54. **Oration on Voltaire.** By Victor Hugo.

55. **Socialism and Slavery.** By H. M. Hyndman.

56. **Why Physicians Should be Socialists.** By Thomas J. Hagerly.

57. **What Socialists Think.** By Charles H. Kerr.

all the members of the Socialist party agree. It is especially designed for those who have as yet read nothing on the subject.

BOOKS IN CLOTH BINDING.

The American Esperanto Book. Compiled and edited by Arthur Baker. \$1.00.

Next to a good language, a good text-book of a good language is in some respects the most useful thing in the realm of learning. Now, despite the very ignorant and meanly petty editorial in a recent Examiner (which journal now seems to be one of the elect of the reactionary papers), Esperanto is a good language and a very useful "international medium of record and communication"; and Arthur Baker's American Esperanto Book, recently issued by C. H. Kerr & Company, is the best all-around American handbook of Esperanto ever published. O'Connor's "Student's Complete Textbook of Esperanto" appears to be the most popular handbook in this country as well as in Canada and England, but it is very inferior to Baker's book in some fundamental phases.

For instance, in the matter of the pronunciation of Esperanto (and we think the "universal language" is less efficient in its orthography than in its grammar or syntax), O'Connor's text is incomplete and apparently inadequate, while Baker's handbook seems much more accurate and much more helpful.

This book will probably prove one of Kerr's best sellers, for the popularity of Esperanto, just beginning in the United States (proverbially a rear-guard nation in the march of intellectual evolution), is going to grow by great strides in the next decade. One of the signs of the popularity of the new "neutral language" is seen in the fact that all of the projected world's fairs now provide for a special Esperanto day.

Apart from the utility of Esperanto as the best international language, as well as an international lever for prying loose the old "national" barbed wire and bondage, every Socialist ought to boost for Esperanto on this ground, if no other; Esperanto is a logical language; will do much for logical thinking, language being merely (or largely) a "mode of thinking." And all that makes for logical thinking or sound reasoning makes inevitably for Socialism.

All in all the issuing of a really good Esperanto book (even though unfortunately Baker's text is not modeled after the most progressive methods for language-teaching, such as I have used in teaching Latin and French), will do as much for Socialism as will the publishing of most books on Socialism itself.—William McDevitt.

Woman Under Socialism. By August Bebel. Cloth, \$1.00.

It is the most famous Socialist book by a living writer, and its author is today the most influential member of the Social Democratic party of Germany.

Every woman who wishes to improve the social position of her own sex will be intensely interested in Bebel's work, no matter what may have been her previous opinions about Socialism. The book deals with live questions and will be full of interest to new inquirers, while at the same time it contains an abundance of material of the utmost value to students.

A word of explanation is necessary in view of the fact that a cheaper edition of the book was advertised several years ago. That edition, published in San Francisco, was a translation of an early edition of Bebel's work, containing only about half the matter in the present edition. In any case it is now out of print, and we understand that the plates were destroyed in the San Francisco fire.

We have arranged for a limited supply of this book, and may not be able to keep it on our list permanently. Those wishing to make sure of copies should, therefore, order at once.

When Things Were Doing. By C. A. Steere. Cloth, \$1.00.

Nobody knows, and nobody with any sense pretends to know, how the Co-operative Commonwealth is going to begin, nor how its details will be arranged. But we all have our "pipe dreams" about it; we enjoy them and they do no harm so long as we do not take them too seriously.

Comrade Steere in this story first draws a graphic picture of a real flesh-and-blood Socialist, with good red blood, too, and with certain very human failings, and then makes him dream a dream of the future.

It is a thoroughly delightful dream if we take it as a dream and nothing more, and if we do not, the fault is the reader's, not the author's. "When Things Were Doing" is one of the best possible antidotes to "Looking Backward." Belamy's book, first published twenty years ago, was written before there were any Socialists in America worth mentioning, and it has kept us busy explaining that we are not trying to establish the paternalistic petit-bourgeois paradise that he pictures so artlessly and sincerely.

"When Things Were Doing" is a story of the struggle and the measures it will take to run things.

Every Socialist with a sense of humor will enjoy the book, and if he hasn't this important quality the book may develop it so that he will enjoy a second reading. And the story is just the thing to hand to a friend who is not yet a Socialist. It is full of go from start to finish, and the story is told with a breezy humor that is contagious. If you want to wake a man up and jar him loose, start him with "When Things Were Doing."

The Recording Angel. By Edwin Arnold Brenholtz. \$1.00.

I have just finished reading Comrade Brenholtz's latest book, "The Recording Angel," published by Charles H. Kerr & Company. It stands alone in a class by itself as a book heralding the New Time. Brenholtz has a genius that will entitle him later on to be known as the Walt Whitman of the Social Revolution. He is a Socialist in whom there is no guile—a comrade whose hand it is a pleasure to clasp. His book should be in the library of every Socialist—it can be loaned and returned to good advantage among your neighbors. I would suggest that you start a circulating library with "The Recording Angel" as the first volume.—Appeal to Reason (editorial).

Rebels of the New South. By Walter Marion Raymond. \$1.00.

"This is a book new in every respect—style, expression, subject. It has the boldness of a Du Maurier, the originality of Anselme Rives, the dash of Dixon." The negro dialect is bright and always natural. The expressions used are worthy of a Joel Chandler Harris.—Richmond (Va.) News-Leader.

"The good people are all southern Socialists, while the villains gravitate northward and become republicans. The best feature of the book is its negro dialect, which is artistic in its way."—Chicago Post.

Beyond the Black Ocean: The Story of a Social Revolution. By Rev. T. McGrady. \$1.00.

Eugene V. Debs says: "This novel by Father McGrady is the most original and startling the Socialist movement has yet produced. It exposes the causes for the evils that afflict modern society, and points to Socialism as the only remedy. It is intensely dramatic and will interest thousands who have attempted no serious study of social problems."

Walt Whitman, The Poet of the Wider Selfhood. By Milla Tupper Maynard. \$1.00.

Reverently critical throughout, it passes lightly over the faults, and points out with loving care the beauties in Whitman's poems.—Chicago Tribune.

To all lovers of Whitman this little gem of literature from the pen of a western authoress will prove doubly dear. Not only is it one of the very few analyses of the man and poet written and published in America, but it is the only one ever attempted by a woman.—Denver Post in half-page review.

Thoughts of a Fool. By Evelyn Gladys. \$1.00.

This is a series of reflections on life's problems, discursive, as thought is discursive, effervescent with wit, often pregnant with profound philosophy. The author imagines that she is not a Socialist. There is a passage in which she sets up a straw man, called Socialism, and causes it to cut but a sorry figure. Eliminate this passage, however, and you have the most brilliant defense of the ideals of the Co-operative Commonwealth which American literature contains.—Lillian Hiller Udell.

Gracia, a Social Tragedy. By Frank Everett Plummer. \$1.25.

This book, now in its fifteenth edition, is a story in blank verse of the ever-near tragedy by which a girl's sweetest and healthiest instincts may lead her to "ruin" under the social institutions built up by capitalism. The story is vivid, intense and dramatic, and the pictures are photographic art studies posed from life, which add distinctly to the impression produced by the story. The social questions involved are discussed in a booklet entitled "Was it Gracia's Fault?" which will be mailed to any address for a five-cent stamp.

Modern Socialism. By Charles H. Vail. 75 cents.

This volume is one of the books which every Socialist worker should have at hand. It is exceptionally adapted for a first book in serious study after a few propaganda leaflets have been read to arouse interest. The relation of Socialism to several modern problems like the liquor traffic, poverty, labor-saving machinery, taxation and illiteracy is pointed out, showing that all of these are really but different names for the same problem, for which Socialism alone offers a solution. Three other interesting chapters deal with "Industrial Depressions and Crises," "The Condition of Labor, Past and Present" and "Capitalism and Economic Waste." This book also contains a most complete set of answers to popular misconceptions and objections concerning Socialism.

Fifteen different points are taken up, including the difficulties that arise concerning equality, families, state Socialism, publications, destruction of liberty, motives to industry, confiscation, corruptness of politics and the relation of Socialism and anarchism. There is a very full index, which makes it possible to find any point desired at once.

The Ancient Lowly: A History of the Ancient Working People. By C. Osborne Ward. Cloth, two large volumes, \$4.00. Either volume sold separately at \$2.00.

Before written history began society was already divided into exploiting and exploited classes, master and slave, lord and subject, ruler and ruled. And from the first the ruling class has written the histories, written them in accordance with its own interests and from its own point of view. To arrive at the real story of the life of the oppressed classes in ancient times was a task of almost incredible difficulties. To this work Osborne Ward gave a lifetime of diligent research, and his discoveries are embodied in the two volumes, entitled "The Ancient Lowly." He has gathered together into a connected narrative practically everything pertaining to the subject in the published literature of Greece and Rome, including in his inquiry many rare works only to be consulted in the great European libraries. But he did not stop here. Many of the most important records of the ancient labor unions are preserved only in the form of stone tablets that have withstood the destructive forces of the centuries and the author traveled on foot many hundreds of miles around the Mediterranean sea, deciphering these inscriptions. Perhaps the most startling of his conclusions is that Christianity was originally a movement of organized labor. The persecution of the early Christians is shown to have arisen from the age-long class struggle between exploiters and exploited. And the most dangerous thing about the book from the capitalist viewpoint is that the author does not merely make assertions; he proves them.

The Equilibration of Human Aptitudes and Powers of Adaptation. By C. Osborne Ward. Cloth, 333 pages, \$1.50.

Contents: Mechanism of Society, dwarfing effect on the individual of competition; Piracy of Aptitudes; Plagiarism of Genius; Concordia Faciunt; Fundamental Errors; objections to Socialism refuted; General Averages, how the rewards of individuals will adjust themselves under collectivism; Comparative Claims, paternalism in behalf of privileged classes contrasted with co-operation by and for the workers.

A Labor Catechism of Political Economy. A Study for the People. By C. Osborne Ward. Cloth, 304 pages, \$1.00.

This book is written in the form of question and answer, and discusses in ample detail a great number of the problems incident to the transition from capitalism to the Co-operative Commonwealth. The first edition appeared in 1877, long before the existence of an American Socialist movement, and it reflects to some extent the economic conditions of the time and place of its production, but the author was a careful student of the writings of European Socialists, and most of what he has written makes excellent propaganda today.

The Socialization of Humanity. By Charles Kendall Franklin. Cloth, \$2.00.

The Socialization of Humanity, a System of Monistic Philosophy, is a refreshingly concise, clear outlook at a vast subject, which the author has handled with marvelous comprehensive-ness and in a manner to win the warmest admiration and appreciation of all intelligent thinkers. It is a sane and candid consideration of the history of humanity as we know it, a summing up of essential results, their causes, and their legitimate outcome—all written from a standpoint so deeply and so surely based that the book becomes a thing of absolute value to humanity in its evolutionary struggle to understand itself, its origin and its future. The human soul is so immeasurably weary of striving to find a definite footing for consciousness among the relative things of the finite that any book dealing so ably with things absolute as does this one is sure of attention and appreciation from all who have arrived at the point where broad conceptions are restful and nourishing.—Boston Ideas.

Towards Democracy. By Edward Carpenter. Extra cloth, gilt top, 507 pages, \$2.50.

Edward Carpenter has thus far been known to American readers mainly through "Love's Coming of Age." His fame as a writer rests, however, mainly upon his poems, which are collected in the volume entitled "Towards Democracy."

Carpenter discards for the most part conventional rhymes and rhythms and adopts the form first brought into notice by Walt Whitman. There is, however, little of the roughness which characterizes Whitman's diction; on the contrary, every page of Carpenter's poems sparkles with an exquisite beauty of form.

The central emotion through the poems is the feeling of what we technically call "class-consciousness," which with the triumph of the working class and the abolition of parasites will become race-consciousness.

Our edition of "Towards Democracy" is complete in four parts containing 141 pages not found in the earlier editions.

Ancient Society. By Lewis H. Morgan. LL. D. Cloth, 586 pages, \$1.50.

On his title page the author modestly describes this book as "Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery Through Barbarism to Civilization." But though it is a work of wonderful scholarship, it is more than that. It is a revolutionary book which proves that wealth and poverty are NOT eternally inevitable, but a passing incident in the history of the human race.

The wage system, under which the capitalist takes all the earnings of the wage worker except a bare living is very new. In most countries it is less than a hundred years old; even in England, where it first started, it is only two or three hundred years old.

Before it was the feudal system, where most of the people were serfs, working on land belonging to a lord and giving the lord most of what they earned in return for permission to stay on the land. But that system started not much more than a thousand years ago.

Before that was the system of chattel slavery, where those who did the work were the personal property of the owning classes and could be flogged, tortured or killed if they did not labor in a way to satisfy their masters. But that system is only a few thousand years old.

Not long ago there was a very simple and conclusive answer to this question. It was that Adam was created exactly 4,004 years before the Christian era, so that there was no time before the beginning of slavery to account for.

But the study of the rocks that make up the earth's crust has within the last fifty years proved beyond a doubt that man has lived on the earth for a million years, perhaps much longer, but at least this length of time.

How did men live through all those countless years? It is a great question and in answer to it a great book has been written.

There is just one American who is recognized by the universities of Europe as one of the world's great scientists. That American is Lewis H. Morgan, and his title to greatness is found in a book first published thirty years ago. Its title is: "Ancient Society, or, Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery Through Barbarism to Civilization."

There had been previous studies of the life of man before the days of written history, but Morgan's work revolutionized this science as completely as Darwin's works revolutionized biology or Marx's "Capital" revolutionized economics.

The underlying principle of Morgan's book is the law of historical materialism, the family of international Socialists, namely, that always and everywhere the way people have supplied themselves with food and the other necessities of life has determined their way of living and their way of thinking.

Recognizing this principle, Morgan divided the various stages of human development, according to the development reached in industrial arts, into savagery, barbarism and civilization. Again he subdivides savagery into its lower, middle and upper stages, and divides civilization into its lower, middle and upper stages. The book is a masterpiece of scientific method and is a key to the understanding of the past and a guide to the future.

Part III. tells of the Growth of the Idea of the Family, and it is the classic statement of a long series of vitally important facts without which no intelligent discussion of the "Woman Question" is possible. It traces the successive forms of marriage that have existed, each corresponding to a certain industrial stage. It proves that the laws governing the relations of the sexes have constantly been changing in response to industrial changes, and thus explains why it is that they are changing still. It shows the historical reason for the "double standard of morals" for men and women, over which amiable reformers have wailed in vain. It points the way to a cleaner, freer, happier life for women in the future, through the triumph of the working class. All this is shown indirectly through historical facts; the reader is left to draw his own conclusions.

Part IV. tells of the Growth of the Idea of Property and is more distinctly related than any other portion of the book to the usual propaganda of Socialism. The greatest obstacle to the spread of Socialist ideas is the dull, hopeless conviction on the part of the mass of toilers that things always have gone on about as now, with rich and poor, owners and workers, exploiters and exploited, and that, therefore, they probably will go on so till the end of time. But this is a terrible mistake, or rather it was a mistake. It has been so thoroughly disproved that to repeat it now is a damnable lie. Here in this closing part of Morgan's work are the facts which prove it to be a lie.

Morgan's Ancient Society was published thirty years ago. A generation of scientists have fought over it and the author's position has been sustained at every essential point. But the book has not yet been read by the class to whom it means the most, the class of those who live by their work.

The price has always been \$4 a copy, a price no laborer could afford to pay. Consequently the book, while famous among European scholars, has been unknown among American workmen.

The copyright has now expired, and a Socialist co-operative publishing house is publishing a new edition, from new plates, at a price which is not intended to bring in profits, but to give the widest possible circulation to the book.

The retail price is now only \$1.50, no Socialist library should be without it.

American Communities and Co-operative Colonies. By William Alfred Hinds. Second revision. Cloth, 600 pages, \$1.50.

Of the first revision of this work, published five years ago, Morris Hillquit said in his "History of Socialism in the United States," it is "altogether the most elaborate and complete account of American communities." The present or rewritten many of the descriptions in high praise. The author has amplified or rewritten many of the descriptions in the earlier edition, to make them more complete and up to date. He has added accounts of two new co-operative experiments in Massachusetts, one in Wisconsin, one in Michigan, one in Georgia, one in Illinois, one in New Jersey, one in Washington, D. C., two in New York and three in California. The number of illustrations has been doubled, sources of information on most of the experiments have been added, together with a full index in which are included the names of persons who have founded colonies or have been prominent in promoting the colony movement. There are not less than 170 pages of new matter. Of the newly described colonies, the following will attract most attention:

The House of David, at Benton Harbor, Mich., with its membership of over 700, and their peculiar doctrines and customs.

The Roycrofters of East Aurora, N. Y., of which Elbert Hubbard of world-wide notoriety is the founder.

The Helicon Home Colony of Englewood, N. J., with its plans for solving the "servant problem," and making a children's heaven, founded by Upton Sinclair, author of "The Jungle."

A Polish Brook Farm in California, founded more than twenty years ago by Madame Modjeska, and her Polish friends, including the author of "Quo Vadis."

Admitting that the greater number of colony experiments have utterly failed to realize the hopes of their founders, and that political Socialism now largely absorbs and will continue to absorb the interest of those striving for better social conditions, the author of "American Communities" tells us of existing experiments that have continued for 64, 120, 175 years, affirms that such colonies antedated political Socialism, and that their history forms an integral part of the general history of Socialism. He is fully persuaded that they are yet to be greatly multiplied, for as soon, he says, as political Socialism becomes dominant in any country "there will be a grand hustle for congenial conditions and associations," which can best be realized in communities and co-operative colonies.

We may concede all this while still holding that the active agents in the overthrow of capitalism must be the revolutionary trade unions and the Socialist party, or whatever party is the political expression of the united struggle of the working class. We recommend and circulate this book of Mr. Hinds because it is full of interesting and valuable data regarding the economic conditions which must be reckoned with in the work of tearing down and rebuilding. Ready about Dec. 10, 1907.

Capital: A Critique of Political Economy. By Karl Marx. Volume I. The Process of Capitalist Production. Cloth, 869 pages, \$2.00. Volume II. The Process of Circulation of Capital. Cloth, 618 pages, \$2.00. Either volume sold separately.

This is the greatest work of the great writer on Socialism. It is a key to the understanding of the past and a guide to the future.

Part II. of the book is the classic statement of a long series of vitally important facts without which no intelligent discussion of the "Woman Question" is possible. It traces the successive forms of marriage that have existed, each corresponding to a certain industrial stage. It proves that the laws governing the relations of the sexes have constantly been changing in response to industrial changes, and thus explains why it is that they are changing still. It shows the historical reason for the "double standard of morals" for men and women, over which amiable reformers have wailed in vain. It points the way to a cleaner, freer, happier life for women in the future, through the triumph of the working class. All this is shown indirectly through historical facts; the reader is left to draw his own conclusions.

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American Communities and Co-operative Colonies. By William Alfred Hinds. Second revision. Cloth, 600 pages, \$1.50.

to the understanding of the social system under which we are living, by which goods are made for profit and the people who own things draw incomes from the unpaid labor of the people who do the work.

"Capital" is the text-book of the Revolution, but it is not a Utopia, it does not picture an imaginary society—that is to be. It pictures and analyzes the society that now is, and it points out unerringly the forces developing within this society that will inevitably bring it to an end.

Marx wrote with a complete understanding and mastery of the classical political economy of England, as developed by Adam Smith, David Ricardo and John Stuart Mill. He accepted the principles established by these writers, and applied them to the new and revolutionary facts involved in the development of machine production, which has separated the laborer from the ownership and control of his tools and materials.

"Capital" is not a first book for beginners in the study of Socialism, but it is an absolutely essential book for any one who wishes to discuss Socialism intelligently, either as a propagandist or an opponent.

Up to 1906 we imported and sold the London edition of the first volume, since the only American edition was an inferior piece of printing. In December, 1906, we published our first edition of 2,000 copies of this volume, and in less than a year these have been sold and a second edition is ready, while the sale is more rapid than ever before. In July, 1907, we published Ernest Untermann's translation of the second volume, never before accessible to English readers.

There seem to be a mistaken impression among many Socialists to the effect that this volume is harder reading and less interesting than the first. On this point we will quote a capitalist newspaper, not likely to be unduly biased in Marx's favor—the Providence Journal. It says:

"The value of the peculiar ideas evolved by Karl Marx on the subject of political economy may be questioned, but the man was undoubtedly possessed of the power to win exceptional personal loyalty and devotion from minds of a very high order, among whom his co-worker and literary executor, Frederick Engels, must be accounted first. Marx grows in stature by the reflected dignity of so able a man's self-obliterating toil in his service. Engels spent years in editing the mass of manuscripts left by his master in a disheartening state of careless confusion. And even when he felt his own strength failing he clung to life and husbanded his strength because no one else could work with his understanding of what Marx meant to say.

"The present volume is a tireless and exhaustive pursuit of the Marxian dogma of surplus value through all the intricacies of the maze of the circulation of capital, and incidentally a caustic review and critique of previous writers and writing, particularly the classic English authorities on the subject. It is the second volume of 'Capital,' which has sometimes been called the Bible of Socialism, and reaches only preliminary conclusions, which will be used as bases for the final arguments in the forthcoming third volume. It will be remembered that 'surplus value' is the cornerstone, indeed the whole foundation, of the structure reared by Marx and Engels. Marx brings previous theorists who have tried to account for the phenomena of capital functioning in the world of productive industry and circulating in trade sharply to book for their inability or unwillingness to see as he does the origin of its power in labor. And it must be admitted that he bulks large among the group of economists that have been accounted great, not because he establishes his contention, but by sheer thought power and mastery of expression.

"All any one expects from the ordinary lecturer on political economy is a neat exhibit of previously selected specimens accurately labeled and columns of tabulated facts, with his carefully considered opinion as to what it all means. But Marx shows the capital at work among living men, favoring some and using the bodies—and souls—of others as fulcrums for its tremendous levers, with no personal malignity, but simply because so it must be in order to move the world. His mind is great enough to comprehend the millionfold multitudinous, correlated activities of actual human life under modern conditions; and his gift of expression is so marvelous that he makes even a listless perfunctory reader not only aware of this complexity of vital dynamic activity in one place at one time, but perfectly conscious of it as a part of the general historic movement of all human life.—The flowing, flowing, flowing of the world."

"For this reason it is good to have the work available in English. Students of society, and teachers, and let it be whispered—writers of books on political economy, will derive no harm from a serious study of the method and style and commanding ability of the great Socialist as revealed in his masterpiece. The translation of this volume is transparently clear. There are no indications that it was not first written in English."

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The International Socialist Review, a monthly magazine published at \$2.00 per volume, 10 cents a copy, is the recognized medium of communication for the exchange of ideas among the strongest Socialist writers and thinkers of America and Europe. Moreover, it records each month the events of greatest importance in the labor movement of all countries. Its bound volumes, therefore, constitute the best obtainable history of the Socialist movement of the world from 1900 to 1907. The price of the first volume has been raised on account of the supply being nearly exhausted. Only a few more complete sets of the Review can be had at any price, and no Socialist library is complete without these volumes.

Principles of Scientific Socialism. By Charles H. Vail. Paper, 50 cents.

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This is printed from the same plates as the cloth library edition which we sell at 30 cents, but is on thin paper with narrow margins, and is offered in this style for the benefit of those who wish copies to give away. It is one of the few books which are simply indispensable to anyone wishing to understand modern Socialism.

Socialism, What It Is and What It Seeks to Accomplish. By Wilhelm Liebknecht.

This little book is an exposition of the Socialist philosophy written in a clear and concise manner and gives a historical sketch of the growth of Socialism in Germany. It is easy reading and well adapted to propaganda purposes.

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Merrie England. By Robert Blatchford.

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The Day of Judgment. By George D. Herron.

This book treats of the impending collapse of capitalism and the crisis with which the working class will be confronted when that collapse comes. It shows that it is of the utmost importance for the life of the future that Socialists of the world be ready to act strongly and wisely when the crisis comes.

Life of Frederick Engels. By Karl Kautsky.

Engels was the close associate of Marx in the early days when Socialism was just taking shape as a world movement, and this sketch of his life contains many facts which help in understanding what the Socialist movement is today.

Recent Progress of the Socialist and Labor Movements in the United States. By Morris Hillquit.

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The Passing of Capitalism and the Mission of Socialism. By Isador Ladoff.

The thirty-five chapters contained in the book are of such a diverse nature, though all dealing with the subject of Socialism, that it is impossible to give a comprehensive description of the book in so small a space. Comrade Ladoff's book is the first that has appeared in America championing the Bernstein theories. We recommend it to our readers with the assurance that a careful study of it will well repay for their time.—James Oneal, in The Toiler.

God's Children. A Modern Allegory. By James Allman.

I received my copy of "God's Children" on last night's mail—read it before I went to bed. It is great. It ought to have a great sale, and I believe it will. It will surely do a world of good.—William E. Dixon, Northboro, Mass.

Under the title of "God's Children" James Allman has written an allegory, designed as a presentation of modern conditions which are considered to be so very prosperous. Nothing escapes his caustic criticisms, and it must be confessed that there is much truth in what he has written. The work is really one upon Socialism, the arguments for which are very well presented.—Toledo Blade.

The author is a man of more than ordinary literary ability and his little work, "God's Children," is a credit to the Socialist movement.—Labor, St. Louis.

A charming story, well told, and which can be read by young and old with equal profit.—Appeal to Reason.

The Rebel at Large. By May Beals.

"The Rebel at Large" is not a colonial tale nor a southern wartime romance, but the title of a collection of seventeen stories by May Beals, written avowedly to carry forward the message and spirit of Socialism. They voice the patience and pathos in the lot of the oppressed of earth, and stir a revolt against industrial

ARE YOU A SOCIALIST?

No? Are you, then, a capitalist? No? Ah, you are a working man. A working man, but not a Socialist? You do not believe in these wild ideas about sharing out, do you? But it would surprise you to know that Socialists do not propose sharing out in the way you suppose. They protest against the sharing out which goes on today, by which those who do all the work... have the poorest and scantiest food, dwell in the meanest and foulest dwellings, in the dirtiest and worst-lighted streets, and in every way enjoy the very least of all they produce, while those who do no useful work at all, who are mere parasites living upon the labor of the workers, live lives of riotous luxury and enjoy the best of everything.

That is the kind of sharing out which goes on today, and against which Socialists protest as being a most unjust and irrational arrangement. But the Socialists do more than protest. They set to work to enquire and discover how these things can be; how it is that those who do all the work should obtain so little for themselves of what they produce, while those who produce nothing should enjoy so much. And the result of their enquiries is to discover that you, the workingman, are a mere slave.

What? You are a free man and not a slave? There are no slaves in this country?

What is a slave? One who works at the bidding of another, and only by permission of another, and for the profit of that other. Does not that fit your case exactly? Do you work when you like and idle when you like? Not you? You work when the capitalist requires your labor, when your services will be useful in making a profit for him. When that is not the case you can starve in the gutter, although there may be all the necessities of life in profusion around you. These things do not belong to you, although you and your class have made them; they are so much wealth which your masters have acquired from your unpaid labor, things which you have produced, but for which you have never been paid, out of which you have been swindled by the natural operation of the system of wage-slavery of which you are the unconscious victim.

Now mark this: In every community where the whole of the people do not own and control the means and instruments of production there is slavery, because that portion of the people which has no ownership or control over the means of production is absolutely dependent for its very existence upon the class which does own the means of production. The class which owns the means of production in this, and in all civilized countries, is the capitalist class. It is only by permission of this class, that you can work and live, and the condition upon which this class permits you to work and live, is that in return for your work you shall receive sufficient to keep you alive, so that you can go on working in the state to which you are accustomed, and that all over and above that shall belong to the capitalist class. Are you not, then, a slave?

From this condition of things there is no escape, while the whole of the people do not, either individually or collectively, own the means of production. Nothing but the abolition of the class ownership of the means of life and the substitution of either the individual or collective ownership by the whole people will abolish this form of slavery.

Now Socialists recognize that we cannot go back to individual ownership; the idea of a man owning his own railway, his own shipping lines, and so on, is so absurd as to only need to be stated to show the impossibility of individual ownership by the whole people, as users, of the means of production. All these things today are owned collectively and used socially. But it is the collective ownership of a class, and not of the whole community, and the social use or working of these things does not extend to the appropriation of the product. The work of production is socialized. The working people work together in an organized manner; the labor of thousands, in some instances, being devoted to the production of a single article. But, although the work of production is socialized, the things produced are not the property of those who produce them, but of the class which owns the means of production.

But this collectivization of the means of production, although it be at present but collectivization in the hands of a class, shows us the way we have to go, the line of the social development. This socialization of production shows us that the next step must be in the direction of socializing the product—making it social common property. If the means of production, the land, the mines, the railways, the factories, can be collectively owned by a class, managed for that class and worked for its profit by agents, it is quite clear that they could be collectively owned by the whole people, managed in the interest of the whole people, for the benefit of the whole people and not for the profit of any class and the enslavement of others. But this collective ownership and use of the means of production by and for the whole people, is Socialism.

Don't you think, fellow workman, that your interest lies in the direction of Socialism; that you ought to be a Socialist and to help us in our efforts to achieve the realization of Socialism and the abolition of wage-slavery?—Justice.

THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

The Socialist vote has steadily gained in this country since 1888. Since that time the vote has been: 1888..... 2,068,1897..... 53,550 1892..... 21,512,1898..... 82,204 1894..... 30,120,1900..... 98,424 1896..... 36,273,1902..... 225,093 1898..... 36,273,1904..... 403,338

That the United States stand well in the front in the socialistic movement of the world over is shown by the following figures of the Socialist vote polled at the last general elections in the countries named, in most of which the elective franchise is restricted:

Table with 2 columns: Country/Year and Socialist Vote. Includes Argentina (1903), Austria (1901), Belgium (1904), Bulgaria (1900), Canada (1902), Denmark (1903), France (1900), Germany (1903), Great Britain (1900), Holland (1901), Ireland (1902), Italy (1904), Norway (1903), Serbia (1895), Spain (1903), Sweden (1902), Switzerland (1902).

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The boys growing up are taking quite a different view of things than did their fathers. The old folks are fossilized, but the boys are growing up under changed conditions, and they will make the fur fly off the old system when they come to tackling the problems of life. There are twenty boys today who have studied political economy to where one studied it twenty years ago. The hope of the future lies in the awakening intelligence of the boys growing up. They all hate the trusts, and they haven't been trained, like so many animals, in the old parties, to vote blindly. They are asking reasons why they should vote for such men. The old is passing away and the new is coming on.

A MENTAL prostitute is one who will advocate any side that will pay him the most, regardless of whether he believes it or not. It pays editors best to uphold capitalism, as otherwise they would get no advertising, railroad passes or other favors from capitalism.

RICH giving to charity? Why, when the poor people give to them billions a year they can afford to throw a few bones back to the poor.

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Help me build up Studies in Socialism by subscribing for a bundle of 50 or more to your own address for a year at 2 cents each! You will get your money's worth now, and next year, when the campaign is hottest, we can distribute tons and tons of it to voters.

OUR LEADER

BY MARY E MARCY.

There was a College Graduate, Who Had a Noble Brow; We thought that He knew Everything. Was it? It! He said that if he hadn't come To Teach the Workers HOW, We would NEVER have Progressed A Little Bit! Bit! He volunteered to Lead us, And we Handed him the Job, He wanted so to "help the Cause Along!" Long! Long! And he wrote a little Booklet, And sold it to the Mob, And showed us "where the Plutocrats Were Wrong." Wrong! Wrong!

One day he went a-walking, In his absent-minded way, A-thinking of a Speech he had In View. View. On a lonely railroad crossing, 'Twas a passing freight, they say, Cut his Massive Cerebellum Right in TWO, Two! I thought the sun would darken, And daylight turn to NIGHT, And I didn't hope for Pay Day, Any More, More. But we found we didn't Need him, To Sit and Boss the Fight, And our Wages were nine-fifty, As Before, Fore! The Wheels kept on revolving, And our Factory Whistle blew, And our Stomachs forced us ever, In the Game, Game, Game! The sun is really shining, And it's quite a comfort, too, With the Struggle going onward, Just the Same! Same! Same!

PANICS...CAUSE AND CURE

BY W. L. GARVER.

THE population and wealth of the United States is now distributed about as follows: 200,000 men own ninety billions of wealth, or \$450,000 each; twenty million men own ten billions, or \$500 each; the twenty million workers employed by the 200,000 who are capitalists, each capitalist employing on an average of one hundred workers.

Under the conditions of employment which now prevail each of the one hundred workers receives on an average less than half of the wealth he produces, the remaining part going as interest, rents or profits to the capitalist employer; in other words, each day that the workers work the capitalist receives the wealth produced by fifty men, while the hundred workers receive that produced by the other fifty, which, reduced to figures, is the same as saying that the capitalist receives one hundred times as much as each worker; that is, if the workers each produce on an average ten dollars' worth of wealth each day, they will receive five dollars and the capitalist five hundred dollars.

The rewards of the workers are enough to support them in comfort so long as they are kept constantly employed, but on the average they do not accumulate; but what can the capitalist do with so much wealth coming into his possession?

He cannot sell it to the workers, for they can only buy what their wages amount to, one-half of the total product, so the other half remains as surplus on his hands. He cannot consume it, for no matter how extravagant he may be cannot consume as much as his hundred workers. So what can he do with it? As a business man he realizes the folly of allowing it to lay idle, or in storage to waste, so he seeks investments, either by lending it to others to use with the returns it brings back to him in the form of interest or rent, or he puts it into new and more improved instruments of production. These improved machines and factories increase the productive power of his workers and in the same proportion his surplus profits, which now pile up even faster than before.

He attempts now to dispose of his surplus in the markets of other capitalists, but if he succeeds he simply destroys his competitor and thereby throws the employees of the latter out of work and by so doing cuts off their wages and destroys their ability to buy; in other words, he only captures a market to destroy it. If the competition is between capitalists of civilized countries and they merge into a trust, the surplus accumulated by their workers accumulates as fast as ever upon their hands. In their efforts to dispose of it and yet put it into forms of capital producing more profits, the wildest dreams of speculation are undertaken, the capitalists loaded with surplus wealth, they cannot use or dispose of it freely and money becomes cheap, the cry of prosperity is upon all of their lips, and the workers kept employed, and thereby enabled to make a living, reflect the minds of their employers. Factories that a few years back were considered wonders are replaced by new ones, beside of which the old are pigmies. The old machinery is torn out and the most perfect is put in its place. The cities are covered with towering "skyscrapers," each filled with a city of people. The railroads are double-tracked, and the roadbeds reggraded and ballasted, wooden bridges are replaced with massive structures of steel and the old-time locomotive gives place to a giant in comparison.

Every one of these changes increases the productive power of the workers who use them, and if they still retain a half of the wealth they produce their position is to that extent improved and their standard of living raised; but consider at the same time how much greater becomes the surplus accumulations of the capitalist, and the time comes when he can see no returns from further improvement in the machinery of production. So far as profits are concerned, the means of production have been perfected, and there ceases to be places where he can put his surplus wealth.

Now a change takes place. Instead of putting his accumulations into new industries he begins as fast as possible to convert them into cash. They all start at the same time, and as a result money becomes scarce and hard to get. In the effort to convert products into cash the price of products fall and money raises. A financial stringency begins and the basic underlying cause is the vast accumulation of wealth in the hands of the capitalists and their efforts to convert it into money. This movement does not begin among the workers. Their savings are comparatively small and insignificant, and they only commence to grasp after their little deposits after the capitalists have started the panic.

When such conditions exist, all efforts of the government to stay a panic will prove unavailing; so long as it confines its activities to issuing money to the banks in small quantities. In order to effect relief, sufficient money must be issued to buy the surplus wealth which the capitalist class is seeking to convert into money or interest-bearing bonds. But even then the panic will only be postponed until further accumulation of profits has piled up in the vaults and warehouses of the capitalists, when they will again seek to convert their surplus into those forms of wealth; least subject to depreciation—money and government bonds, and these will again have to be issued to relieve the stringency. The working class cannot buy the accumulations of the capitalist class, for their wages are consumed as fast as earned, so there is no other alternative than for the government to become the purchaser.

If interest-bearing bonds or certificates of indebtedness are issued by the government the capitalists who have already converted their surplus wealth into cash will without doubt be willing to give up the cash for these new issues, which are safe as money, and in addition bear interest, and also serve as a basis for bank notes which enables the owner to make one dollar equal to two. The money the government secures in this manner it will no doubt deposit with the banks, but at the same time the money of the capitalists must be drawn from the banks in order to purchase the bonds and notes from the government; so only by the issuance of bank notes against these government bonds and

notes can the circulation be increased. If the banks secure every dollar of the one hundred and fifty millions and issue a corresponding amount of bank notes, then this much money will become available to purchase the surplus of the capitalists, represented by stocks and bonds, and which they are still seeking to convert into money or government bonds. If industry takes on new activities it only means increased accumulations for the capitalists, which in a brief time will be demanding more bonds or notes from the government, and thus the present system can be kept up only by the continual issuance in time of peace of obligations to be paid by our children and posterity. The working class being unable to buy the accumulated profits of the capitalist class, they are sold to the children of the future by means of interest-bearing bonds.

In the foregoing analysis it is plain that the cause of panics is the power of the one who employs to take one-half of the wealth of all who work for him. This power is vested in the capitalist simply because he owns the means of wealth production and thereby makes the worker dependent upon him. There is only one remedy that has so far been suggested and that is for the workers to own collectively the means with which they work and, assuming the function of the capitalist, take him in as a fellow worker; then the total product may be distributed among all, giving to each in proportion to his productive value, but to none simply because he owns or holds a title deed. Then, and then only, will accumulations in the hands of a few, now erroneously called over-production, cease and recurring panics disappear.

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CHASE down any crime that is recorded and you will find private gain at the bottom of it. When Socialism does away with private capital no benefits can come from any of these horrid acts, and then, of course, they will not be committed. A son kills his father or mother now to get their property, but under Socialism there would be no gain come to him on their death and there would be no incentive to the crime. And so with all other cases. This system makes brutes of those who would otherwise be good men and women. No use holding up your hands in holy horror at the long list of daily tragedies. They will continue to increase so long as capitalism lasts. The only remedy is to establish Socialism. Quit wailing and do something. What are your brains for if not to use for the benefit of yourself and the race? Think!

The Americans are such practical people. They pay a judge from five to ten thousand a year, and retire him on pay after a certain number of years. But when they employ a man at one dollar a day they take it for granted that he can keep his family on it and save enough to keep him in his old age without a pension. Nice, isn't it? Under Socialism every citizen will be retired after about fifty years of age with an income per week which will enable him to live decently. But the working people do not want that. They prefer to pension judges at \$10,000 a year and go to the poor-house themselves. That is why they vote against Socialism.

The Belgian Socialists urge their followers not to use alcohol in any form, as it will weaken their feelings and senses and make them easier prey for their capitalist masters. Men must have full possession of all their faculties if they succeed in getting out of their wage slavery. Capitalists know that the traffic is one of the most potent aids in holding their mastership over their victims. This is timely advice. The Socialist cause needs clear heads here as well as in Europe.

The Holidays Will Soon Be Here.

If you want to make a Christmas present select a book from the lists printed in this paper, or better still, order Comrade Hurt's novel, described elsewhere. If you want to make a present to your wife or sweetheart order the gold-plated Socialist hat-pin for 50 cents. The same in a stick-pin, 50 cents.

THE SOCIALIST WATCH CHARM

Will be given as a premium with each order for \$10.00 worth of our propaganda pamphlets. A word about the Watch Charm: It is the prettiest thing out for Socialists. It is the exact size and design of this illustration, is heavily gold plated, with space on the back for engraving, the clasped hand design is stamped in three colors, red and white on background of emerald. It sells by the manufacturer at \$2.00, and is worth \$2.00 of anybody's money. Given as a premium with the books below: 50 copies Ideal Republic, at retail \$5.00 50 copies What's So and What Isn't, at retail 5.00 50 copies The Story of the Red Flag, at retail 5.00 100 copies The Human Body a Co-operative Commonwealth, at retail 5.00 1 Watch Charm, as a premium, worth 2.00 Total \$22.00 All for \$10.00. Mention the charm when you order. If you wish to, you can sell the books at the regular market price and make \$10.00 and the Watch Charm, and besides you will have the sweet satisfaction of spreading the glad news of Socialism.

THE WINNAMAC WEAVERS

I HAD delivered the first Socialist lecture ever heard in Winnamac, a pretty little town on the banks of the Wabash. I had spoken of the curse of poverty, of toil-worn men and women in damp sunless basements and tenements, of fifty thousand hungry school children in a single great city, of children "racing with steel and steam" to produce wealth which a cotton king might throw to dogs and monkeys, while the children went hungry and half clad.

A good and progressive woman, prominent in the W. C. T. U., listened attentively, and at the close came up for a little talk. "But, Mrs. Hunt, we have no child labor, no sweat shops, no tenements and no real poverty in Winnamac. I don't see why you Socialists should come here to lecture to us. These things concern the people of the great cities."

I promised to answer her at some length the following evening. I met this fallacious idea often, especially among women whose lack of political and industrial experience leads them to believe that the voters in the country do not help to determine the system under which the mine, shop and factory worker smarts and sweats.

Next morning I had some hard studying to do, and I looked about for a way to get across the Wabash river to the beautiful woods on the farther side. A boy rowed me across, and pointed out a bridge down the river by which I might return.

The trees in the park were giants, with the full leaved tapestry of June, the sod was velvet, violets and anemones made radiant and fragrant every brown crumbly log and stump; the river gleamed like silver and every tree held a bird orchestra. It seemed a paradise indeed. How was I to convince these fortunate people that each was proportionately responsible for all the horror of the tenement, factory and sweat shop and brothel.

At noon, when I started back to the hotel for lunch, I was still pondering this question. I walked down the stream to the bridge, and crossed. Just as I got over the bridge, at its very end was perched precariously on the high bank a little drab cottage.

The earth from under one side had caved away into the river, and a great post braced the cottage to keep it from tumbling in after. In the window was a sign, "Carpet weaving."

"Ah," I thought, "I'll wager it is a woman weaver." The door was open and I tapped for admission.

I found two sisters, frail, little, faded women, dressed alike in that depressing dull, gray calico, which has lost its color in many washings. Their faces were sallow, their shoulders stooped, their eyes might be anywhere between thirty-six and sixty-five, I could not guess.

The floor, the scant furniture, the wall paper, their dress and their hair, all seemed to me to be mouse colored. Even their tones, when they answered me, sounded gray. I told them who I was, and enquired if it would be an intrusion for me to ask about their weaving. They made me very welcome. I tried the loom. I was taller, longer of arm and stronger than these little mouse-colored sisters, but I found I should soon tire of that task.

"How much can you weave in a day?" I asked. "It depends on the rags. If they are sewed well, we get on pretty fast. But often they fall apart, and we must stop and join them. We don't get any more pay for that, though it takes three times as long."

"How is it, are you kept pretty busy?" I questioned further. "Oh, yes; we have all we can do. We both worked all we were able last year. The younger, and more timid, if possible, piped out in a thin voice. "I can tell you just how many yards we made, if you care to know. I have it all down in a book."

"She got the book out, and we looked. She had woven one thousand three hundred and fifty yards!" They had pushed that clumsy thing to and fro one hundred and fifty times to each yard, besides sewing rags and adjusting the warp, and for all this they received ten cents a yard!

Their joint labor had brought them an income of \$135 for twelve months. I hope no stupid man rebukes me for taking an interest in politics and wanting to vote after this. For a month at least he won't get a very civil answer.

"Would you mind telling me what rent you pay?" "Our father left us just enough to buy this cottage, but we had to pay \$40 taxes and special assessments last year."

"Concerns the people of great cities, only," I mused. These frail, elderly women were working hard making carpet for a community, and after the political grafters took one-third they had 91 cents a week from which the meat trust, oil trust, railroad trust, and a hundred other trusts extracted their share of surplus value, the spoils of capitalism.

I was ashamed of my weariness, my homesickness, my discouragement. I found a cure for them all in the joy of bringing to these faded, feeble drudges of capitalism the hope of the fast-coming social revolution, which will abolish the working class and the capitalist class and establish the whole human family as joint owners, users and beneficiaries of all the great tools and forces of production.

THERE still lingers with us the old notion that government is a something to punish people with—some great power to restrain, and never think of it as a means for securing their bread and butter and providing for all human needs.

In the old feudal days the serfs were required to have their bread baked in the seigniorial ovens, and were fined if they baked it at home; they were punished if they did not use as much salt as the lord thought they should. We don't do it that way now. We just monopolize the wheat or salt and the people have to come to us and buy or perish. We have a much improved system over feudalism for the masters of today. And the people think they are free.

SOCIALISM desires the extension of government to apply to industries as it now applies to politics. Anarchists want no government at all. Between them stand the republicans and democrats, who want government in politics, but not in industry. The old parties go half way toward anarchy. No intelligent person any more accuses Socialists of being anarchists or of a desire to do away with government. A few backwoods ignoramus who are not abreast of the daily intelligence of the world still think so.

THE trusts had to form. Men with big interests cannot afford to fight and lose millions. Combinations are in every line of human activity—even churches are combining. Now, what's the use damning the trusts, which are using better methods of production than the world ever knew before? Why fight improvement and progress? Why not get hold of them and use them for the public benefit? That would be sensible. It is silly to denounce men for doing business in the most economical way and to want them to go back to the old wasteful methods. Make the trusts public property, shorten the hours of labor, raise the wages of the workers, and then they will be a benefit to all. Let's carry forward the work the trusts had to begin—let's trustify all industry for the benefit of all the people. That is the most that can be done in the line of combination and co-operation.

AFTER all, it matters very little to the fellow who digs the ditch whether the surplus value he creates goes in dividends to the stockholder or is paid in interest on municipal bonds to the same capitalist, who has sold out to the "public." You see it is this way: The working class is kicking against exploitation of all kinds, in whatever form, and we don't propose to be stopped in our journey to complete emancipation by any side issues of municipal or government ownership of railroads and such. We will take these things, however, just as we "took" the trusts, because it is a matter beyond our control. The trusts came—born of the economic necessities of the capitalist class—and concentration of industry and the elimination of competition was the result. This was a "step" towards the Co-operative Commonwealth. Municipal ownership is coming—born of the necessities of the more numerous bunch of small capitalists. This will bring public ownership—another "step" in the direction we are going. After the industries are all turned over to the dearly beloved public by the captain of industry we will stop exploitation of the workers by taxing his income out of existence. And taxation is perfectly constitutional—even an income tax—if your supreme court is composed of your kind of men.

Studies in Socialism, 2 cents a year in bundles of 50 or more. Order today.

"The Scarlet Shadow." A Story of the Great Colorado Conspiracy

By Walter Hurt, the Well Known Journalist, Poet and Author. Our readers will remember that a year ago Walter Hurt was associate editor of the Appeal. The western situation grew steadily more tense and tragic. He grasped the soul of Hurt that he must retire for a while from the Appeal, and make the shame of the Rocky Mountain mine owners into a book. The result is the most appalling novel of modern times. It is to the Mine Owners' association, the Standard Oil company and the plutocratic ridden country what "The Jungle" was to the Chicago Meat Packers—and more! It grips the reader from Preface to Epilogue. It swings you from the crafty plot of the Kidnappers, which, for acute diabolism, would curdle and still the slow cold blood of a snake, through alternate fever and chill, to Haywood's triumphant acquittal. It will be the sensation of the forthcoming season. It will run down the craven throat of America's Royal Brute his accursed words, "undesirable citizens," and make him wish the White House had fallen upon him before his coward lips had uttered them. And, of course, there is a woman in it. Now, comrades, the Appeal gave to the world the greatest selling book of last year, "The Jungle," and the most effective for the revolutionary movement. Before it came out in book form we urged the Socialists to help us keep it in the hands of the Socialist party, but did not meet with sufficient response to enable us to do so, and it was published by a capitalist concern with thirty-six of the pages most vital to Socialism cut out. I know you do not wish THE SCARLET SHADOW mutilated out of all semblance to what it is, so send your order and help to save it. Fill out the following order form: ORDER FORM APPEAL TO REASON, Girard, Kan. Enclosed find \$... for which send me... copies of "THE SCARLET SHADOW," by Walter Hurt. NAME... STREET AND NO... CITY... STATE...

MR. DOOLEY ON BANKERS

BANKING is a strange business anyhow. I build a brick house, put iron gratings on the window, and ye an' Donohue fight each other to see who'll get his money first to me. I accept it very reluctantly an' as a great favor to ye. Says I, 'Hinnissay an' Donohue,' says I, 'ye ar're r'ysp'ic'able wurrukin' men an' I will kee ye'r money fr' ye rather than see ye spend it in riotous livin'.' Says I, 'As a great favor to ye I will take care iv these lithographs, be lendin' thim to me frind,' says I, 'If ye want th' money back ye can have it any time between nine in th' mornin' an' three in th' afternoon, except Sundays an' holidays,' says I, 'but don't both come at wast,' says I, 'or n'ayther iv ye'll get it,' says I, 'Ye slape better at nights because ye feel that ye'r money is where no wan can reach it except over me dead body. If ye on'y knew ye've not turned ye'r back before I've chased those hard-earned dollars off the premises. With ye'r money I build a house an' rint it to you. I start a railroad with it an' ye wurruk on th' railroad at two dollars a day. Ye'r money makes me a prominent citizen. Th' newspapers interview me on what shud be done with th' toilin' masses, manin' ye an' Donohue; I construct th' foreign policy iv the government; I tell ye how ye shud vote. Ye've got to vote th' way I say or I won't give ye back ye'r money.' An' all this time ye think I've that little bundle of pitchers nestlin' in th' safe in me brick house, with no settin' at th' dure with a shotgun across me knees. But wan day ye need th' money to bury some wan an' ye hurry down to see me. 'Sorry,' says I, 'but I've just given it all to a lady who come out iv th' Chinese laundry nex' dur' an' said she was an illegitimate aunt of Jav'n D. Rockefeller.' An' there ye ar're."

Read the announcement of Com. Hurt's startling novel. Ready now. \$1.50.

CAMPAIGN after campaign has been waged in this country where each of the parties have claimed that the people were in favor of this, that or the other. They discussed, disputed and chewed the rag over what the people wanted. This reminds me of a story I once read. A king called his wise men about him and propounded this: "Why is it that if you place a three-pound fish in a tub of water that the tub, water and fish weigh no more than the tub and water weighed before the fish was put in?" Whereupon the wise men fell to and advanced an innumerable array of theories and hypotheses why this was so and they disputed and wrangled all day about it. Then one of them, who had not been very loud, sent out and got the tub, water and fish, and after trying it, showed that the whole weighed just the increased amount of the weight of the fish when the latter was put in! Now what I was thinking of was this: Instead of claiming the people want this or that, why not submit the matter to the people and let them vote on it and then they will know just what the people want? But they don't want to know.

Studies in Socialism, 2 cents a year in bundles of 50 or more. Order today.

THE morning star of the better day has already reached the zenith. The eastern sky is aglow with the sunbeams of the new era. The haunting shadows of poverty and want flee away. The day comes apace bearing the healing of the nations upon its wings. In its golden beams old age shall renew its youth and childhood sport and play. The young man and the maiden shall plight their troth in a faith that knows not fear of want. Master and slave alike shall rejoice in the bonds of a common service. Men shall clasp hand with man the globe around, and the brotherhood of the working class shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea.

LISTEN!

Two thousand extra copies of this issue of Studies in Socialism, and the \$2.00 Socialist watch charm as a premium for \$10.00, or 500 copies of issue for a year, in a bundle to one address, and the \$2.00 Socialist watch charm as a premium for \$10.00. Mention the watch charm when you order.

Look Forward.

Our forefathers, with the crude implements of production a hundred years ago, were able to keep their families well, and leave an ever-increasing amount of permanent or unused wealth to the next generation, and no parent had any fear of their children starving or being unable to make a good living.

Get Hold of This.

Here is a simple proposition from a Socialist standpoint. We ask you to consider it if you are an opponent of Socialism: You agree with us that working people farm the land, build railroads, ships, bridges, houses, shops, mills, factories, invent and construct machines, weave cloth and make clothing; that they go to nature's storehouse for raw materials and convert these things into things useful and necessary for human beings;

were not done there would be no society?

Do you not see, then, that the things the working people are doing now, because they have the ability to do them, they could do as well under Socialism; and that the fact that they would be done for the benefit of all, instead of for profit for a few, would insure them being done better and add immensely to the pleasure, the satisfaction and the happiness of life?

If your father had sold you into slavery, when you got wise enough to realize it would you recognize the validity of such an act? Hardly. Then when we find that our fathers ignorantly have made rules or laws that have worked out to make a small part of the nation the masters of the rest of us, shall we uphold them? Not I. I have not given my consent to be the serf of the corporations any more than I have given my consent to be a slave of some king.

If you undertook to raise oranges in the north would you blame the orange tree for pining away? You would have put it under adverse environment, under which it could not develop its real character. Scientists all recognize that the surroundings of all life determine its growth and development.

If you had been in Washington's army would you have believed the stories and statements of the King? Well, if you are a workingman why do you believe the employers, who are trying to do you just as much as King George was trying to do the patriots? As a worker your interests are opposed to the capitalists, who live off the profits they skin out of you.

SEND your congressmen and senators the clippings from the daily press showing the want, starvation, child labor, crime and anarchy that prevails, and in each letter ask if they have enough sense to make conditions so that such things will not be. Tell them that if the laws have nothing to do with making good or bad conditions they had better come home and not spend the people's money pretending to do something that cannot be done.

WHEN a man becomes thoroughly awakened to the fact that civilization can only progress as the lowest strata of society progresses, and that consequently in the last analysis the interests of all the units that make up human society are identical, he becomes what I call race-conscious.

WHEN an economic system will no longer feed the people there is nothing left for the people to do but combine and overthrow it and establish a system that will meet the new conditions. This is the natural law that is bringing Socialism in spite of any and all opposition.

LISTEN!

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A RED MARK:

BY FRED D. WARREN.

IN every momentous movement there comes a time when, all its forces converging to a crisis, a speech or a song or a story precipitates a revolution. So it is that, like towering landmarks along history's track, we find the impassioned oration of a Patrick Henry, or the soul-stirring strains of the "Marseillaise," or the compelling condemnation of "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

This book—"The Scarlet Shadow"—is appropriately named. It makes a red mark in the literature of the Social Revolution. It projects as upon a colossal screen the scarlet shadow of crime that overshadows the Rocky Mountain region, and traces the red trail of murder across half a continent. It is a story of the Red-Brotherhood in the Red State—the Spanish word "Colorado" meaning literally the "red land."

Be a Student.

Socialists can't know too much about Socialism. As the movement grows a greater number of better equipped speakers and teachers are needed everywhere to take the lead in educational work.

Those who prepare for this important work will be in demand; and he who can serve the working-class movement with brain as well as vote will be well repaid for the effort made in educating himself.

Brain power is the most productive of all labor power. Every man has a brain as well as muscle, and can use one as well as the other when properly trained. Whoever neglects the culture of his mind is leaving the best part of himself good to waste.

Socialism is a science; but don't get frightened at that word science, for it is a very plain, practical thing that can be had, held and handled by anyone who will try. Science is to mind what system is to muscle; it is organized or systematized knowledge. Socialism is a system to be readily understood by understanding its parts, their relations and the principles involved.

No matter who you are, you have a brain; and you can let that brain grow full of weeds or make it grow full of wisdom. The coming man will be he who understands the principles and program of scientific Socialism, for he will know what to do and how to do it when the inevitable change forced by capitalism comes.

Learn Socialism. Be a student.

Philosophy of a Bum.

"Say," said the honey bee to its big cousin, the bumble-bee, "why don't you try to be of some use, you great, lazy lout? You're six times as big as I am, and ought to make six times as much honey, but all you seem to want is enough to live on, and when it comes to selecting a home you are satisfied with a hole in the ground or a place inside the clapboards of some old barn. Haven't you any ambition?"

"Your little fool," replied the other, "do you think you own the house you live in? Don't you know you're in the grasp of a selfish landlord, who collects for rent ten-thirtieths of the product of your toil and graciously allows you to live on the other tenth? Do you know that even your queen is a slave, and is bought and sold like any other slave, in spite of the emancipation proclamation? You give me a feeling of weariness. You haven't a bit of sense. If you want to be happy and independent, be a bum, like me." And the big bumble-bee bumbled lazily on its way.—C. W. T., in Chicago Tribune.

An advertisement of a school tells how one of its scholars rose from \$14 a week to owning a business of \$10,000,000 a year. And intimates that it will do as much for the reader, though that reader means all the boys and men in the nation. This is absurd. There could not be ten-million-dollar businesses for each and all of the men in the nation, even if they were all as well or better qualified than the success it points out. Education has a cash value when there are many without such education—and has a cash value only then. In other words, education and riches are only advantageous when they are inequalities in our favor.

A man with a million would be poor if everybody else had millions—he could get no one else to serve him, and what would wealth be worth if none would serve us for it or the use of it?

The Socialist watch charm given as a premium with every order for \$10.00 worth of books from the Appeal Book Department. Mention the charm when you order.

lie mind, and will give a vivid color-tone to the national campaign next year. And, lastly, it will appeal powerfully to every man with good red blood in his veins.

This is not a dainty book, designed for literary ennuis; it is a robust book, some might say a rude book; the overnice might even call it a shocking book. It is for vigorous men and women—people who are mentally wholesome and physically whole. It calls things by their right names, and it names many things not mentioned in other books. It is virile and vital, and every page bears the finger-prints of one who is fresh from playing in the mud-puddles of humanity. This elemental author does not clothe his story with any carefully tailored literary garment, but shows his readers all the raw edges of life.

Here at last is the long-promised "great American novel." This a strange story, a startling story—told in language that fairly leaps at you from the page. It is a composite masterpiece, holding the power and purpose, and dramatic intensity of Hugo; showing the keen social analysis of Balzac; displaying the daring imaginative quality of Dumas; setting forth adventures as sensationally thrilling as any ever by Stevenson; bountifully leading through a bewildering maze of mystery that suggests Eugene Sue, while over it all there broods like a sombre shadow as much of fantas-

THE INQUISITIVE BOY.

J. L. BACHMAN.

"Mamma, why did we leave our home and move into this shack? Was it taken by the Socialists, who refuse to give it back?"

"No, child, when pa was out of work, we mortgaged it one day, and the interest kept on eating 'Til the law took it away."

"And, mamma, where is papa now. Since I don't see him more? Did the Socialists break up our home and drive him from our door?"

"No, dear, he leaves when you're asleep. And comes when you're in bed; He has to work long hours, my son, To earn our daily bread."

"And, mamma, who owns all the shops, and the things pa makes each day? Does he work so hard for Socialists who steal those things away?"

"My son, God gave unto the rich The factories and soil. That they may make their profits large And let the poor man toil."

"Then, mamma, dear, why didn't God Give all those things to me? I'd make the rich man work awhile, And let pa rest, you see."

"Or give those means of life to all That none could profits take, But own the tools with which they toil, And all the things they make."

BRIEFLY stated, the Marxian position amounts to this: All wealth is the result of labor applied to natural objects. It is as impossible to differentiate between the proportion of wealth due to natural objects and that due to labor as it is to say how much of a child belongs to the father and how much to the mother. Labor is the father and earth the mother of all wealth. Capital is that part of the product which is set aside for reproductive purposes. In itself it is part of the product of labor. The total product, therefore, is due to labor and belongs to labor.

In private hands, however, capital becomes not only a means of reproduction, an accessory to labor, but also a means for exploiting labor. All wealth, therefore, which goes to others than the workers is so much robbery of labor. It is in antagonism to this robbery of labor that modern Socialism takes its stand. It insists upon the class antagonism necessarily arising from this exploitation and robbery of labor through the class ownership of the means of production, and aims at the extinction of this class struggle by the emancipation of the proletariat and the abolition of the class ownership of the means of production.—London "Justice."

If your possessions were threatened by a band of robbers you would drop everything and go over to your neighbor and arouse him to the dangers that threatened. Yet no band of robbers could injure you as much or as permanently as do the bands of commercial pirates who infest the land, levying their tribute in increasing sums annually on your industry. Then why don't you call on your neighbors and show them the dangers that threaten the possessions of all? Put a paper or pamphlet in their hands and beg them to read. A majority must be reached before we can get relief from the tyranny of private capital. Why not do your part now and save much of all this misery and woe?

WHAT are you working, planning, scheming and skimming for? Isn't it all to have something to enjoy? Sure. Did you ever think that Socialists were doing the same for the same purpose? What has all your planning and work done? It has given you only a miserable existence. Socialists know that you deserve much better and propose to change things so that the same or a less amount of labor will give you several times as much as you get, by making it impossible for a few drones to gather hundreds of millions. You should catch on.

tic horror as shudders between the covers of your copy of Poe.

Comrades, this book is distinctively different from anything else ever written. In it you will find the exciting experiences of men you know—Debs and Haywood, and scores of others whose names are nearly as familiar. They are the actors, and the factors in this thrilling narrative of actual life—real flesh-and-blood people, instead of mere in-existent creatures of the author's imagination. You've no idea what intensity of interest this feature gives to this startling story, for because of it the Socialist reader can not help hanging eagerly upon these sensational adventures, and following the unfolding of the surprisingly ingenious plot with breathless expectancy to the very end. The part played by Debs, in particular, is one of the most dramatic things in all literature.

This book positively should be in the hands of every comrade before the holidays. And if it can be placed in the hands of every voter before the close of next year's campaign—well, you know what happened in 1890 as a result of the liberal distribution of the right kind of Abolition literature. Let's see, fellows, if we can't spring another such surprise on the masters. We're providing you with the propaganda weapon that'll do the work, all right—it's up to you to see that it's effectively used.

Head Work.

It would be worth almost any effort if every man could be induced to make a careful study of Socialist philosophy and economics. Knowledge is power; and the more each Socialist develops mentally the stronger he is and the more force the movement gathers.

It is, of course, impossible to bring all of this about; but there are, no doubt, some who see so clearly the power and possibilities of intellect that they will leave no stone unturned in the search for information on this most important subject.

Out of the mass there are always to be found a few who are wisely willing to renounce many insignificant things in order to get one great thing. This is the price of greatness. This greatest of all things in the world today—a thorough understanding of Socialism—can be had by anyone who is willing to drop some of the less important things.

The movement needs men qualified to lead and direct the mass of thought and action about them—not bosses, but students and thinkers. Every class-conscious workingman is called to this work, but few are chosen; because the choice rests with the chosen themselves, and only the few see the point.

It is useless to plead or urge. He who can see will see without waste of words. Whoever works out his own salvation may do it partly with his hands, but will do it mostly with his head; and whoever depends upon the head work of others will be the last to score. There will very likely come a time when the moneyless man will be somebody, but there will never be a time when the ignorant man will be anybody.

The Right to Revolt.

"Any people anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up and shake off the existing government and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable, a most sacred right—a right which we hope and believe is to liberate the world. Nor is this right confined to cases in which the whole people of an existing government may choose to exercise it. Any portion of such people that can may revolutionize and make their own of as much territory as they inhabit. More than this, a majority of any portion of such people may revolutionize, putting down a minority, intermingled with or near about them, who may oppose this movement. Such minority was precisely the case of the Tories of our own revolution. It is a quality of revolutions not to go by old lines or old laws, but to break up both, and make new ones."—Speech of Abraham Lincoln in the United States House of Representatives, January 12, 1848. (See Abraham Lincoln's Complete Works, comprising his speeches, letters, state papers and miscellaneous writings.)

(In ten vols., with 300 illustrations, maps, etc., for \$20.00. Order from the Appeal to Reason.)

This country has facilities for creating more wealth than the people can consume. Run all the coal mines, iron mines, arable lands and factories to their limit and there would be twice as much of everything as the people could use, even if they had the money to buy it. And yet we see people going ragged, hungry and living in shacks! If this is the best management that capitalists and politicians can give the people, then they should be made to go way back and sit down. What worse condition could be, when the people are denied the opportunity of supplying themselves with the product of their own labor?

If you scald a dog that pilfers at your back door it will not come there again. But the voters have been scalded for the last fifty years by every party to whom they have given their votes—and yet they insist on going back to get scalded some more. What have you to show for any vote you ever cast? Do you think this country would not be just about where it is regardless of the party that was in power? Haven't European countries made about the same progress, considering the natural conditions? Yet your skimmers have told you that all this progress has come because of the parties in control! Does an hour or a day of your labor create more because a republican or a democrat holds the fat places? And you haven't got anything to show for your labor—but the skimmers have. They control politics—you don't control anything except your poverty—not even that. All you have the profit-takers would not permit to enter their homes. What are you, anyway?

THE trouble with most anti-Socialists is that they entirely overlook industrial evolution; they imagine that Socialism is a scheme or method that we can adopt or reject, just as we choose; they do not grasp the fact that "it is a condition and not a theory that confronts us." The possession of all the wealth by a few men, the crushing out of the middle class, the destitute condition of millions of propertyless workingmen; this is the condition, and a very few years from now the question before us will not be "Is Socialism a perfect and absolutely flawless system?" but, "What are we going to do about it? How can we live unless we establish Socialism?"

THE ruling class of society have never yet made a concession to the working class unless that concession was clearly in the interests of the ruling class; in other words, when the ruling class concede anything to the workers you can depend upon it that that of it there is one of two motives—it's either a case of self-preservation or else somewhere there is "a bug under the chip," that is, the concession is in reality no concession at all and is made for the purpose of hoodwinking the workers and hold their attention while the masters stick the harpoon of exploitation into them in some new way.

The laboring class elect men to congress and pay them \$40 a day for the actual time employed, give them mileage to and from the national capital, while they ride on passes, and then these same voters are expected to live on one or two dollars a day, if they can get employment every day? Just why men will pay servants forty dollars a day while getting only two themselves shows what jaspers they are. Not a member of congress goes to Washington to do anything for the people, but only for their own pockets. Forty dollars a day for servants to serve corporations; two dollars a day for the masters!

SOCIALISM is the only expression of political belief in the world whose adherents are in accord in all countries. They are not free traders in England and protectionists in the United States, or supporters of Kaiser Wilhelm in Germany and republicans in France. They are united in all countries and under all governments in the basic claim: The earth for all the people; to the producer his full product. Production distribution and management of all the means whereby we live to be owned by the people, the work to be done by all the people for use, not profit.

If I owned the land I could make you get off the earth or do as pleased me; if I owned the jobs I could do the same; if others own these things, they have the same power over you. If all the people owned all the lands and the jobs they could make regulations just as pleased themselves, and would be under the power of no one. Is your mental vision clear enough to see it?

WILL Socialism destroy the church? asked a Kansas preacher. This was my answer: Socialism will destroy any and all things that stand between man and his economic freedom. Does the church so stand? I leave it with you; you know better than I.

Do you know the difference between worth, cost, value and price? Unless you have definite, clear ideas, you never can understand a writer or talker who has, nor can you tell whether the fellow using these words knows their real meaning.

Table with 2 columns: Description of items and Price. Includes 'Studies in Socialism (quarterly) a year \$10.00', '50 copies, each issue, a year 1.00', '100 copies, each issue, a year 2.00', '1,000 copies, each issue, a year 20.00', 'Extra copies, a hundred .50'.

Facing The Facts.

In meeting the issues of life and society we must begin with fact and not with sentiment. The class question is not as to whether we like to have classes or not; the question is: Are there classes in society as it is now constituted? And is the present constitution of society founded upon the division of the people into classes? And do class antagonisms and social destruction inhere in the nature of a class society? No one disputes the affirmative answer to this question—not even the most horrified and sophisticated opponent of the idea of the class structure of existing society. And if I am to do anything whatever, even as a social coral-builder, toward making the world equally good and resourceful and lovely for all men, I must begin with the fact that all that we know of as civilization, up to the present time, has been the institutionalized expression and defense of one class of people living off of another class. There are no words that can make this fact hideous and ghastly enough, or vivid and revolutionary enough—the fact that society and its institutions are organized for the purpose of enabling some people to live off of other people, the few to live off of the many. There is no language realistic enough, or possessed of sufficient integrity, to lay bare the chasm between the possessing and producing classes; between the class that works and the class that reaps the fruit of that work; between the class that is grist for the great world-mill of economic might and the class that harvests that grist. And until the working class becomes conscious of itself as the only class that has a right to be; until the worker understands that he is exploited and bound by the power which his own unpaid labor places in the hands that exploit and bind him; until we all clearly see that what we call civilization is but the organized and legalized robbery of the common labor; until we have revolutionized comprehension of the fact that our churches and governments, our arts and literatures, our educations and philosophies, our morals and manners, are all more or less the expressions and deformities of this universal robbery, drawing their life and motives out of the vitals of the man who is down and unprivileged, out of his unpaid labor and exhausted life—until then, I say, our dreams and schemes of a common good, or better society, are but phillistine utopias, our social and industrial reforms but self-deceit, and our weapons but the shadows of stupidity or hypocrisy. A civilization that is fundamentally parasitical, that has its birth and breath and being in the power of one class to take what another class produces, cannot be so reformed or added to as to bring forth economic justice or any kind of emancipation; or so ordered as to procure equality of opportunity and free individuality.

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The laboring class elect men to congress and pay them \$40 a day for the actual time employed, give them mileage to and from the national capital, while they ride on passes, and then these same voters are expected to live on one or two dollars a day, if they can get employment every day? Just why men will pay servants forty dollars a day while getting only two themselves shows what jaspers they are. Not a member of congress goes to Washington to do anything for the people, but only for their own pockets. Forty dollars a day for servants to serve corporations; two dollars a day for the masters!

Incomes From Slavery.

Wages is only another form of slavery. Slavery has had many forms, but under each and all the surplus products of the slave went to enrich the master. I notice that the daughter of Herr Krupp, the German gun maker, has been left an estate which pays her an income of \$2,400,000—\$7,000 a day! That the baby born to the Duke of Westminster, in England, will have an income of \$5,000,000—\$14,000 a day! Neither of them has ever done or ever will do a useful day's labor. They have not done and never will do a thing for society from which they draw these vast sums daily. These incomes are from the profit they take off of the working class, just as surely as what the black slave master spent was a profit from the labor of the slaves on his plantation. The slavery that we have is more profitable than black slavery. No black slave master ever had such an income. The workers under hire are more profitable to their masters than the workers who were owned by purchase on the auction block. It is better to own the land and the machines the workers use than to own the workers themselves. The capitalists have found this out, hence they are not favorable to chattel slavery. The workers haven't yet found it out. That is why they seem to be satisfied to be the hirelings of the masters. By no system of chattel slavery could either of these incomes be made out of the same workers who now produce it. We have slavery here and now. If you have ever read the life of Fred Douglass, the negro, you will remember that he says he did not see anything wrong with his ownership until he had learned to read, secretly, and had gotten hold of some abolition literature. The working class today does not realize its degraded condition and never will until the workers read Socialist literature. Are you willing to be and remain a slave? Studies in Socialism, 2 cents a year in bundles of 50 or more. Order today.