

But what he'd taken from the rich,
He gave unto the poor;
So bold and undaunted,
Was Brennan on the moor."

Though not cast in the American mould, Mr. Brennan was somewhat of a "practical statesman." Decidedly!

According to Inspector Schaak's very cleverly written pamphlet; each of the Chicago bomb-throwers had his own romance. An heiress supplied money for the defence of one, whom she proposed to marry: but the most daring and logical of them all (when defeated) "fell upon his sword," like unto Brutus and Cato and Saul. That is to say, he blew his head off with explosives brought to him by his lady-love. It is also noteworthy that he was the son of a Crown Prince. Heredity therefore may have had much to do with the magnitude of his concept. IN SE MAGNA RUUNT.

Another of these slave-betrayed, mob-abandoned enthusiasts was the brother of an American General, and seems to have led a wandering adventurous life; finally falling 'head-over-heels' in love with a Southern quadroon; who still zealously fans the embers of her dead husbands agitation (limited of course by police censorship.) Whenever she rises to speak in this city, she is surrounded by stenographic-mouchards and by armed officers of the "Law" in picturesque uniforms.

By direct command of the People, two of those men were choked to death and two others had their necks neatly broken; amid reverberating shouts of worldwide approbation. Their 'Power' was not equal to their 'Logic,' and consequently they were snuffed-out in strict accordance with the Law of the survival-of-the-fittest. 'They who make half-revolutions dig their own graves' is an old Cromwellian proverb, that they had evidently failed to properly consider.

Thus the vibrations of Matter and Motion are to be seen in all social phenomena; and Regal Authority is upheld by the combined strength of arm and brain, THAT GAVE IT BIRTH. "Man, like every other animal must remain subject to a severe struggle." (Darwin.)

Love in sexual relationship, Power in social adjustments, Polarity and Magnetism in physics, Gravitation in astronomy, and Might in ethics, are exact synonyms; —correlated phases of one primary Assertive—"the

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(Persistence of Force.) SE NU SAN—SO NA SI. The Sultan of Turkey has been melodramatically described by W. E. Gladstone, that ("Grand Old Spider"), as—"the Assassin of the Century," and yet the women of the East, (even those of Armenia), would claw each others eyes out, for half a chance to enter his harem.

Dr. Jamieson, the South African freebooter, and his chief; Cecil Rhodes, though unmercifully abused and denounced as wicked criminals, are continuously being deluged with written proposals of marriage, from heir-issess on both sides of the Atlantic. These two men, by Force and Diplomacy, "stole" two million acres of the finest agricultural and pastoral land in Africa: together with gold mines, silver mines, copper mines, diamond mines; also vast herds of sheep and cattle.

They carried fire and sword into the strongholds of their enemies—shot "gods" with rifle-bullets—cut the throats of priestly sorcerers in scores—shed the blood of "adversaries" like water; and reduced the defeated Kaffirs to a respectful condition of "constitutional freedom." There is no cant and hypocrisy about Cecil Rhodes!—None! He is a man made whole—blunt as Napoleon or Bismarck. He is (in his own sphere) of the Cæsar, Cromwell, Darwinian stock. Believing implicitly in the survival of the fittest, he is the despair of the priestling and the terror of the politician. He laughs at their parchment Laws and shrieking Editorials—he rides rough-shod over their Golden Rules—he scorns their Sermons on the Mount—he spits upon their Tabulated 'Commandments.' He TAKES what he wants, if he has the Power—not otherwise. He does not beg—he does not pray—he does not "steal." No!—he goes direct for what he wants and "annexes" it, if he can. Nor does he weep crocodile tears, over the 'enslavement' of races that Nature manifestly stamped with inferiority. In days long gone by, such men were the norms of Anglo-Saxondom. Now! Alas! Alas! they are astounding exceptions.

If this Republic had produced one Cecil Rhodes forty years ago, the Civil War (provoked by idiotic emotionalism) would never have been fought. (Civil wars are necessary when a country is overstocked, but these States were not over populated in 1862). Instead of 'Sounding the Jubilee' for plantation 'niggers,' he

would have Sounded it for his own Race; by sending Grants and Shermans, not to plunder and devastate the Shenandoah valley and the home of Washington, but to seize, conquer, and re-colonize, South and Central America, from El Paso to Cape Horn.

6

Among our Norse and Germanic forefathers, it was considered the saddest disgrace that could befall any matron; to be the mother of a weakling, or a laggard in war. Only for the debasing influence of priestcraft THAT would be felt by modern women—of all grades. Roman matrons have died of broken hearts and even drowned themselves in shame, at the poltroonery displayed by a son. If past generations had to depend on the sweet girly-girly fragile young thing of to-day—or the lean “lady graduate” for its reproductive Ova, we would long ago have become a swarm of ring-tailed baboons. Poor things, they also feel their artificiality—feel it in their hearts; when they look upon the spindle-shanked, mutilated males (scarecrows of men) that they are expected to “love, honor, and obey.”

Over intellectualism (bad enough in man) transfigures women into freaks. The more Animal Nature a maiden possesses; the more of a true woman she is—the better wife and mother she will make. Culture and refinement are horrible substitutes, for the grand old matronly virtues—beauty, naturalness, purity, maidenly hypnotism. Intellectualism renders more sensitive. Sensitive persons are very excitable, timid, and liable to disease. Over cultivation of the brain-cells undoubtedly produces (in both sexes) physical decay and leads on towards insanity.

Womens noblest occupation is not merely to read erotic novels, pound the fiddle, waltz divinely, or fry steak and onions, but to BREED MEN, to raise up a race of unsubdueable fighters—fighters for their own hand. Her vilest occupation is to duplicate anæmic poltroons, creeping Judas's, laborious jackasses. Therefore if she desires her sons to be brave, bold and successful in the battle of life, she should see to it that her husband is not a coward or a slave; and men ought also 'ware of marrying slave-minded women. This point is simply set forth in the Saga of Olaf Trygwason. Earl Rognwald had a degenerate son, who returned from a

Viking-cruise was considered Earl Rognwald's fathers.' So ing to him:— but I have li to your kins born.' Have

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Viking-cruise without bringing any plunder. This was considered a shameful disgrace by the family. Earl Rognwald remarked: 'my son is not like MY forefathers.' So he fitted the young man out afresh, saying to him:— 'I shall be pleased if you come not again; but I have little hope that you will ever be an honor to your kinsmen, for your mothers family are all thrall born.' Have moderns ever improved on that thought?

There is nothing particularly inviting about barren, dyspeptic, blue-stocking 'New Women,' in pants and spectacles; talking idiotic snuffle through their noses; with busts made of adjustable india-rubber; with narrow or padded hips, and "wheels between their legs," scorching across the curbstones like mad. When such women are 'captured' what good are they? They won't even breed; or if they do so (by accident) their puny embryos, have to be delicately nurtured into life with steam-heated incubator-mechanism and afterwards fed and weaned on 'the bottle.' The sons of such women—bottle fed abortions—of what good are they?

It is women of this kind (unnatural monsters they are) that cause so much domestic unhappiness. They have been "educated" along false lines, filled with bookish artificialism, and thereafter when called upon to take up their maternal duty, they are organic incapables. Hence the divorce court scandals—the fruit of wholesale degeneracy—encouraged by State interference with domestic affairs.

"Our times, in sin prolific, first
The marriage bed with taint have cursed,
And family and home—
This is the fountain head of all,
The sorrows and the ills that fall—
On Romans and on Rome."—(Horace).

Gradually the curse of 'Law' invades the privacy of every home. It encourages emotional feminines to defy husbands, and Deify an irresponsible Authority. In other words it deliberately promotes unfaithfulness and unlimited free-love. It undermines the husbands Control, but at what a dreadful cost? With the "equalization" of women comes wholesale panmixia—scientific concubinage, State-regulated polyandry, and the poisoning of all inter-family intercourse. When average women find in Statute Law a "deliverer" and

a "champion" more powerful than their husbands and brothers, they become both unfaithful and profligate—especially if "well educated." Then it cometh to pass (as in all ages of connubial decadence) "no man knoweth his own father." Is not that the practical tendency of the times? Again, is that 'tendency' itself not the horrible result of State-Paternalism—of Majority-Box dictation—of Statecraft and Priestcraft? The Church lives by the functional emotionalism of women. Thus the Individual wanes and the State GROWS MORE AND MORE. In NATURAL society, every womans husband is to her, both priest and king. When the baleful shadow of politics and preacherisms, looms over the marriage bed, dreadful days are at hand.

Purity of blood has played, (and is yet to play), a leading role in the drama of racial evolution. Races held in bondage are necessarily mongrelized, degraded, 'equalized.' Homliness is one result of bad breeding.

When a higher type allies itself by marriage with a lower, it paves the way for its own ultimate degeneracy. When Spartans and Athenians mixed themselves with imported Asiatic and Egyptian slaves, their downfall was foretold; and when "Equality" became the motto of Christian Italy; Latins, Asiatics, and Negros miscegnated, evolving the modern 'Dago'—who slaves for the descendents of the men his ancestors conquered. What a fall? Modern Greeks and Italians, with their dark complexions, curly hair and sensual lips, show distinct traces of the Negro and Asiatic blood, that (with the emancipation of the Servi) was poured into their forefathers veins. Hence their failure in the struggle for mastery. Hence their conquest by Goth, Mongol, Tueton, Turk and Slav. A friend of Winwoode Reade's, tells a tale full of meaning. As an African explorer, he once came across a native tribe (the Joloffs) remarkable for their comparative fine appearance. He asked one of them, "how is it that everyone whom I meet here is good looking, not only your men but your women?" "That is easily explained, (was the reply) it has always been our custom to pick out our worst looking ones, and sell them for slaves."

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termixture, with inferior breeds, is not somehow put an end to) similar invasions may be confidently predicted. Our race cannot hope to maintain its predominance, if it goes on diluting its blood with Chinamen, Negros, Japanese, or debased Europeans. Panmixia means BOTH DEATH AND SLAVERY. Throughout South and Central America, human mongrelism is rampant: (a half-breed is president of Mexico). The Latin race is hopelessly effete in both the old world and the new. Nations, like horses, are bred to win.

'Can you reverse rules that stupid farmers heed,
And mend the higher by the coarser breed?'

Tremendous indeed is the occult influence of sex-love upon the evolution of organic life. Love and glory, fidelity, emulation, resolution, beauty, strength, and courage are directly inspired by sex-passions. In ballad and legend they are ever inextricably intertwined. 'None but the brave deserve the fair'—'Faint heart never won fair lady' and 'all is fair in love and war,' are age-worn proverbs.

Nature is saturated through and through, with the chemic potency of strife and sexualism. All the world is male and female. The saint is the only hermaphrodite. Sexual desire inspires the male with nobility of bearing; and the female with instincts of motherhood, devotedness, and song. The roar of the lion as he tosses his tawny mane, by the forest water-hole—the neigh of the high-mettled stallion, as he rears at the halter, or leaps the slip-rail—the deep challenging bellow of the shaggy bull, as he tears up the grass with his stamping hoofs—the nightingale pouring piercingly into the azure vault, its magical thrill—MAN decked in his shining regimentals, marching forth to victory or death, with drum-beat and bugle-song; all bear direct testimony to the sublime, beneficent, and all pervading Mesmerism of Force.

Military renown is now, and ever has been, the virtue of the mightiest animals. Self-abnegation is the thesis of the slave. Christlingism is functional derangement of the nerve centres—a madness—a disease.

A national Redeemer has never yet been known to materialize, in the guise of a feeble mendicant—an humble petitioner: but rather in the form of a mighty man-hunter, a destroyer of tribal ravagers—a man who

saith to his disciples 'come on!' not 'go forth!' The Emancipator is heard of at first, with secret delight, and some misgivings; but afterwards when better understood; he comes on a war-horse with steel by his side; amid the roll of saluting cannon, the throb of triumphal drums, the fierce blare of twisted-bugles, and the ringing huzzas of the People HE HAS ENRICHED by the exploitation of their foes—for all-the-world loves a fighter; especially its sisters, its cousins, and its aunts. Liberators never ARRIVE from circumcised Jewry, wearing halos, briar crowns, uttering shrieks of agonized despair; nor do they "ride on a colt the foal of an ass," through the streets of Zion. No! No!—that is the ideal of—dastards and dotards.

In spite of all the century-old emasculating creeds, and debasing copy-book commercialisms; the inbred popular conception of a Mighty Man is still a Sworded Warrior—a king of men—a ruthless sweeper-away of blackmailers, usurers, priests and usurpers.

"Who shall be nearest noblest and dearest, named with all honor and pride evermore? He the undaunted, whose banner is planted on Power's high ramparts, and battlements hoar. Fearless of danger, to falsehood a stranger: looking not back, when there's danger before. He shall be nearest, he shall be dearest; he shall be first in our hearts evermore."

A Virginian love song expresses this grand old sentiment in its sexual form:—"Rather would I view thee dying, on the last red-field of strife; 'mid thy countries heroes dying, than become—a dastards wife."

John Ruskin, (in an oft quoted passage), decidedly caught a passing glimpse of the surging logic that lurks in armed conflicts:—'War is the foundation of ALL the high virtues and faculties of men. It is very strange for me to discover this, but I saw it to be quite an undeniable fact. The common notion that peace and the virtues of civil life flourished together, I found to be wholly untenable. Peace and the vices of civil-life flourish together.' Decadence and Peace are concentric.

7

Next to the belted sword-swinger and the sturdy well-to-do athlete; the successful money-making 'man of affairs' is especially attractive to the average female mind. He also (in a lesser degree) is a resolute pro-

fessional fighter. He is ready to land his shares and bonds, to sell his present sub-divisions, to climb down, to say there is no other way for him ONLY, with a daily triumph over his daily, hourly queror of the kind; but we play a particularly victorious game, immediately out-generals them with more interest in their hearts. In "business, War means triumph, so that it is up; and it is phases of Co-

With "morality" a man is able to win in an environment where women are so the female mind is a sexual matter. A cock-sparrow she is an expert. She prefers a rich man. They are scientists. Wealth amidst a coward, a boring woman she

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Gold is a feature of Victor the Strong. He is sovereign over commands coc-

professional fighter—a scalp-hunter—his scalps being title-deeds to land, farm-mortgages, bank credits, consols, shares and bonds. (Consols, shares, and bonds, represent sub-divided proportions of the battle-booty). He also, climbs to success over his prostrate rivals—for there is no other road. Success and money come to him ONLY, when he has outwitted his rivals, and finally triumphed in the ruthless rough-and-tumble of daily, hourly conflict. The "Business Man" is a conqueror of the most merciless, stony-hearted, and cruel kind; but we must not blame him for that. If he displays a particle of human sympathy, with the multitudinous victims of his business methods, he is immediately out-generaled, bankrupted, ruined by rivals, with more iron in their strategy—more hardness in their hearts. A kind-hearted man is always a failure in "business," and he is always a failure in "war." War means thorough-going smashing-up of your opponent, so that he may be prevented from smashing you up; and it is "ditto, ditto, ditto," in all the parallel phases of Commerce and Trade.

With "money in his purse" the successful business man is able to support a family, and rear up his children in an environment of comparative freedom, and women are sharp to perceive this. In such matters the female mind is preternaturally acute. Except in sexual matters a woman has no more brains than a cock-sparrow—but in questions of marriage and love, she is an expert. Other things being equal, women prefer a rich-man to a poor-man for a husband—and they are scientifically justified. He who is without wealth amidst unlimited quantities of it, is either a coward, a born slave or a lunatic; and no self-respecting woman should marry such an imbecile.

The resolute and brave, never 'hunger' to the grave;

The gallant and the bold, never lack for—gold.

With the possession of an "independence," a man is free to materialize his ideals; and if he is "well born" it is impossible for his ideals to partake of the ignoble.

Gold is a fierce solvent. It is the sublimated extract of Victory. It is the property—the booty—of the Strong. "Whoever has sixpence (writes Carlyle) is sovereign over all men to the extent of that sixpence; commands cooks to feed him, philisophers to teach

him, KINGS TO MOUNT GUARD OVER HIM—to the extent of that sixpence.” Therefore all men who would obtain freedom must obtain wealth ‘by hook or by crook,’ or as R. L. Stevenson rhymes it:— ‘You also scan your life horizon, for all that you can clap your eyes on.’ * * * To become the child-bearer of a mere hireling, a day drudge, is the last resort of a sensible feminine.

Dowerless women never regard a poor lover with enthusiastic favour: except in conventional romances. Without being capable of logical reasoning, yet women intuitively comprehend that “there is oft a lack of courage in the race of bondmen.” If a man possesses wealth (no matter how obtained) he can pick and choose among the most delightful darlings in the land: nay, he can buy them (if he wants to)—by the carload. Behind all the hypocritic veneer of piety and fashion; women of all ranks are still a marketable commodity. Whenever the supply exceeds the demand, they are straightway transmuted into magdalenes, concubines, slaves, (or “new women”). When few in number (as in young colonies) they possess a certain proportion of selective influence, but when for every eligible man, there is a score of eligible women, their market value dwindles, and instead of ‘selecting,’ they become ‘the selected’ or as Darwin puts it:— “The sexual struggle is of two kinds. In the one it is between the individuals of the same sex, generally the males, in order to drive away or kill their rivals, the females remaining passive; while on the other, the struggle is likewise between the individuals of the same sex, generally the females, which no longer remain passive, but select the more agreeable partners.” (Vide “Descent of Man.”)

In a reasonably natural Society, the most vigorous males would possess Property and Power. Consequently (in accordance with the instincts of sex-attraction), they would also obtain possession and impregnate, the best and handsomest feminines; leaving the ovum-bearing residue to be fertilized by the less vigorous males. In an unnatural system of Society (such as the fiendish socialistic scheme, amidst which we now retrograde) weaklings, dotards, and semi-madmen are deliberately permitted to retain Property Privileges; that they are manifestly unable to defend IF PUT TO

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THE TEST. The 'Law' defends the Unfit. Consequently opulent weaklings preponderate in the selection and retention of the finest females. Resultantly the children of such unnatural unions seldom reach even average perfection. More often than otherwise they are a shame and a malison to their kindred. "The sons of vicious and very corrupt men," wrote Plutarch ages ago, "reproduce the very nature of their parents."

This nation literally swarms with vile semi-idiotic mannikins (leprous wretches, damned in the womb) whose presence among us, is a standing menace to all things truly Great and Noble. It is not by breeding meeklings and stunted profligates, that nobility of national character is evolved. Why should diseased and ignoble animals (rich or poor) be encouraged to populate luxurious wigwams, with fragile, anæmic, bottle-fed, scrofulous dwarfs; when nature demands their wholesale segregation—by the edge of the sword?

Dr. Haycraft suggests that Society should socialistically segregate the Unfit, but that is manifestly out of the question, inasmuch as Society is incompetent to provide a testing standard, sufficiently absolute and accurate, to decide satisfactorily who are and are not the "Unfit." Nature however has provided that standard, and it is UNENDING CONFLICT between rival interests; with women, power, and property as the contestants final prize. The surest, fairest, and most scientific method of re-distributing monopolized plunder, and accumulated—privilege is unlimited struggle.

Let the Best Men win! Is that not the Logic of events of Science, of Fact and of Nature?

Why should Anglo-Saxondom doltishly stand guard over the copulations of opulent decadents, and shoals of creeping unwarlike proletarians? "Nor is anyone so careless (writes Charles Darwin) as to breed from his worst animals. Even savages, when compelled from extreme want, to kill some of their animals, WOULD DESTROY THE WORST AND PRESERVE THE BEST."

8

The Fit are not the individuals who merely inherit stolen property; or obtain peaceful possession thereof by subterreaniamism; but those who deliberately, and openly proprietorise themselves. If taboos were not so insanely revered, proprietors who are incapables

would be unceremoniously pushed aside (most probably) to make room for BETTER MEN.

If those 'in possession' victoriously prove their capacity, then their prerogatives cannot be abrogated or abridged; but should they they fail, then their vanquishers—presumably better men—are biologically justified in dispossessing them. "Let the best man win" is an assertive, at once popular, scientific and suggestive. The mastership of the Ablest Man is exactly what science and circumstances demand. In Nature an organism's right is commensurate with its mentality and physique. In the realm of Cosmic Law the only Statute of Limitations is superior Power.

A-PRIORI 'rights' are as non-existent as the gods ghosts, and moral taboos of the pontiffs and pastors. Therefore the police-officers club (being in harmony with the dynamic necessities of matter and motion) is part and parcel of the Divine Order. So are clubs in general.—Men shall ring around each other, in a fierce unending strife; each shall strive to 'beat' his brother, wile for wile, and life for life.

If legislative injunctions, and other bogey contrivances were wholly disregarded; then the Strongest and the Boldest (therefore the Wisest) would by fertilizing the pick of the best damsels per marriage, transmit their own right-royal qualities to their immediate descendents. Upon similar principles second-rate males would of necessity pair-off with second-rate females. This by cumulative atavism, and interbreeding of underlings, would gradually tend to eliminate, subjugate, and efface the seed of the servile-minded—the superstitious and the over intellectualized.

Hereditary virtues can only be maintained, by keeping them in constant use. Hence the biological necessity of unmerciful struggles between individuals and groups of individuals. As with muscles and organs of the body, so human aptitudes are developed by use and attenuated by non-use. Nearly all the masterful qualities, mental and physical, that have ever distinguished the elite of mankind, have originated in conflict.

Racial rottenness (the conjoint result of holy hydrophobia and State-regulated hybridism) can only be eliminated by an intelligent application to the breeding of human beings—of the principles of natural selection,

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conjoined with conscious rejection, culminating from time to time in deadly conflicts. War is the most important phase of racial, sex and tribal evolution.

One panic-stricken coward may cause the loss of a battle—and the loss of one battle may decide for ages (perhaps for ever), the fate of a Race. Hence the necessity of breeding men who are fighters—fighters in their heart. Hence also the need of training them, from boyhood up, to conquer and overthrow their oppressors and personal enemies—at any cost—at any peril. By no known alchemy can a race of warriors and freemen be evolved out of a “flock of bleating, baaing, lapping lambs, suckled on teats of priest-rid dams.”

“The qualities which have enabled the Teutonic races to play their wonderful part in the history of Europe, are well displayed in the valiant sons of Tancred, of Hautonville—William Iron Arm—Robert Guiscard—Roger, and the rest: who carved out kingdoms for themselves in Apulia and Sicily. They were a vigorous race, large of limb, stout of heart, tenacious of will; with abundant physical energy, taking their pleasures in drinking and hunting. They had broad shoulders, fair hair, blue eyes; as we see in Anna Comnena’s portrait of the son of Robert Guiscard, Bohemund, Prince of Tarentum, who was ‘a cubit taller than the tallest man; . . . with blue eyes, his cheeks tinted with golden red.’ (Taylor’s Origin Aryan Race.)

9

All hireling labor is corroding, corrupting, degrading, devilish. Cursed is the brow that sweats—for hire, and the back that bends to a masters burden. Calloused hands imply calloused minds. “Virtue in bondage,” what an insane paradox!

There is something mutilated about men who exert the strength of their body or mind, for the enrichment of Taskmasters, and women are not slow to perceive it. Women are never deluded with the maniac philosophy that “Jack is as good as his master.” Indian squaws have no admiration for the “brave” who has never taken a scalp; and white women have even less for the ‘bearded man,’ who—amidst gold and silver by the ton—lives from hand to mouth, like a mangy cur.

The bolder and more aggressive men are, the more women of all classes admire them—and vice versa.

Thus the surging ebb and flow of attraction and of gravitation is ever directed towards—the impregnation of the Fair—by the Strong. How glorious beneath the sun is the union of the Beautiful and the Brave?

Soiled hands (if soiled for market hire or the payment of tribute) imply a soiled manhood—a biological organism of 'low degree.' Labor performed for oneself is passable—when performed for others, it is utterly debasing—ruinous to brain and body.

From the beginning of time, the defeated classes have ever been the laboring classes—the tenants—the vassals—the sans-cullotes: and the conquerors (their heirs or assigns) have always provided (or hired) the priests, generals, taskmasters, and rulers. This is as true of the United States (a European colony) as it was of Thebes, Troy, Babylon, Persia, Carthage, Rome.

"Fallen from primeval innocence and ease,
(When thornless fields employed him, but to please)

The laborer toils—and from his dripping brow,
Moistens the lengthening furrows of the plough.

In vain he scorns and spurns his altered state,
Tries each poor shift, and strives to cheat his fate;

In vain new-shapes his name; to shun the ill—
Serf, hireling, help—the curse pursues him still;

Changeless the doom remains: the mincing phrase,
May mock high-heaven, but not reverse its ways."*

The only apparent difference, between the bond-servant of antiquity, and the "educated" hireling of today, is—the thorough-going lunacy of the latter. The ancient Servi **KNEW** that they were held in bondage by force of arms; but modern slaves being born, maniacal degenerates, don't know it. Indeed the free workmen of England and America, can be compared to nothing more appropriate than Ibsens "hero," who fancied himself a reigning monarch (with the fate of empires in his nod) when inside a Cairo madhouse his head was ceremoniously encircled with a diadem of straw. ("His brow is wet with **HONEST** sweat." — is the National Anthem of an insane asylum).

From whatever side we view him, the average hireling is a shameless contemptible being. He cannot be classified among "men," any more than a capon can be classified as a gamecock. Continuous drudgery stiff-

* 'The Hireling and the Slave,'—W. J. Grayson, 1856.

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ens his body—ossifies both his hand and brain—makes him an idiot in fact. Even women (indulgent though they be) regard him as a disdainful object, incapable of either great thoughts, great deeds, or of providing them with a home. Hirelings are nearly always on the verge of pauperdom—always praying, howling, and weeping before their TASKMASTERS, crying out with a loud voice like spoilt babies, “O don’t hurt us—don’t hurt us—we are so ‘good’—so law-abiding—we love Jesus so!” Capitalists, kings, and presidents never take these servile hounds into consideration—NOR DO SENSIBLE WOMEN. In grand affairs hirelings are merely inventoried as so much raw material or so many head of cattle; and in sexual affairs, they must of necessity, mate themselves with second-rate women—who cannot possibly find anything more to their taste.

What woman in her senses desires to be a breeder of drudges, lunatics, and sans-cullotes?

The very idea of “Labor” is in chains and yokes. There is no dignity in a bent back—no glory in a perspiring brow—no honor in greasy copper-riveted rags. There is nothing very delectable in picks, shovels, and calloused paws. “Dignity of Labor!”—Dignity of hell!

What is GRAND in a horny hand?

What is FREE in a bended knee?

What is BRAVE in a pauper grave?

What is BOLD in a lack of gold?

O ye generations of Christ-deluded imbeciles! Ye swarms of moonstruck meeklings! Ye burnt out cinders of men!—ye bleeding lambs! One day! One day! ye shall be flung to the lions! Behold! I spit upon your Idols—your Opinions. Now would I pour molten hell through the ventricles of your soul.

“O wretched minds of men! O blind hearts! not to see in what darkness of life, and in what dangers, is spent this little term of human existence.

For as children are frightened at fancied objects in the gloom, so we in broad daylight, often fear what deserves no more to be feared, than the shadows the children dread in the dark, and fancy they must exist.”

END OF BOOK I.

P. S. Book II will be issued when circumstances demand it.

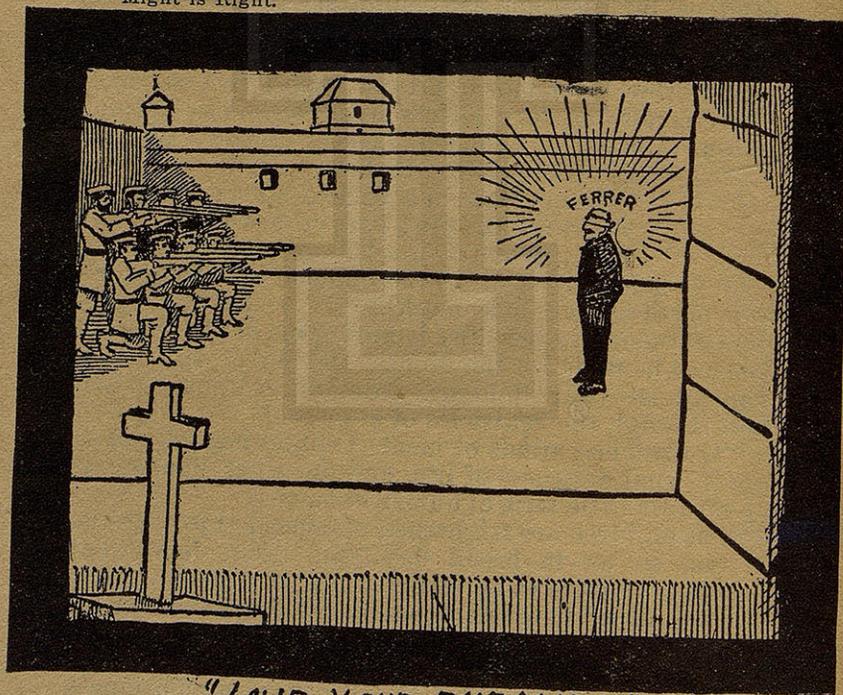
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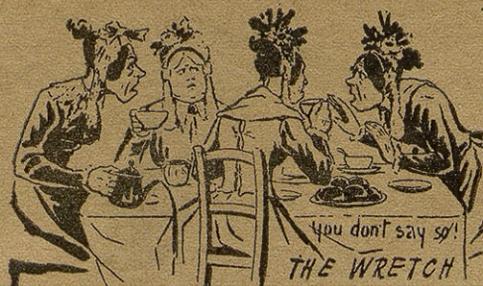
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This earth and all its treasures vast
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A psalm of joy I raise
A true and holy song
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Verily I say unto you these Asiatic Messiahs—these alleged Deliverers—who preach and weep and bleed so sweetly—are the Calamity of the human race.

That is our opinion. Nevertheless, the book is a gem, a literary gem of real beauty. Read it for yourself and develop your own ideas thereof. No opinion or dogma should be final to you except you have evolved it out of your own inner consciousness. Price 60c cloth. Postpaid.

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"Books of tyrant, knight and knave,
Of priest and pirate, prince and slave,
Of maidens gay and barons bold,
Of power and glory, gods and gold."

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if need-be die on scaffold high—
in the mornings misty gray:
For "LIBERTY OF DEATH" is still
the Logic of To-Day.

Might was Right when Gideon led,
the "chosen" tribes of old,
And it was right when Titus burnt,
their Temple roofed with gold:
And Might was Right from Bunkers Hill,
to far Manilla Bay,
By land and flood it's wrote in blood—
the Gospel of To-Day.

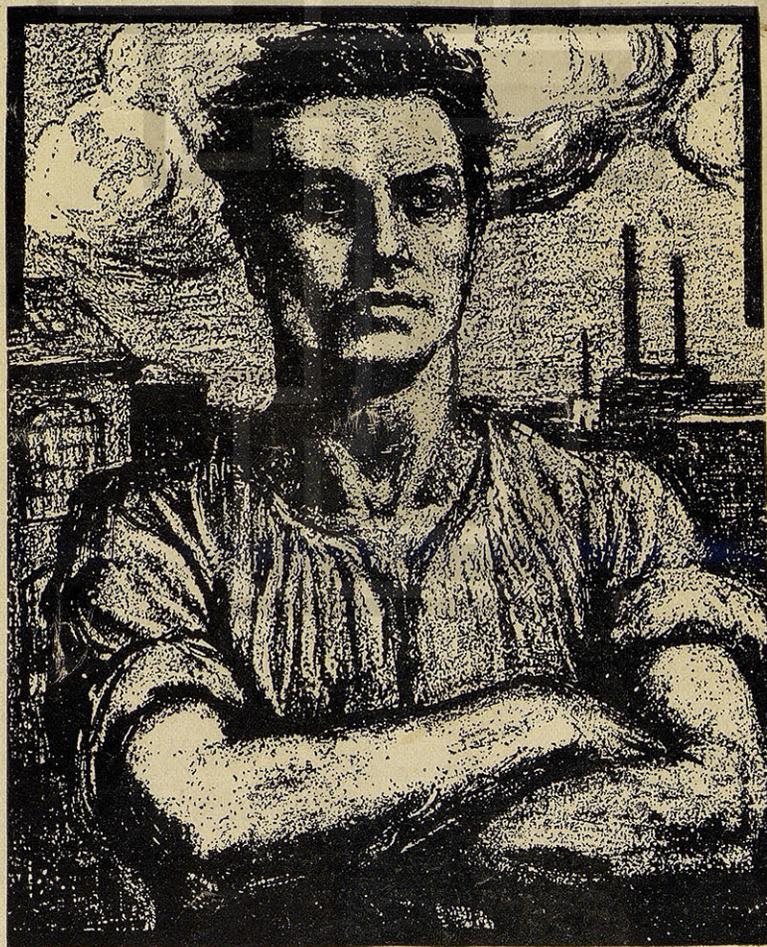
"Put no trust in princes"
is a saying old and true,
"Put no hope in Governments"
translateth it anew.
All 'Books of Law' and 'Golden Rules'
are fashioned to betray
'The Survival of the Strong est'
is the Gospel of To-Day.

Might was Right when Carthage flames
lit up the Punic foam—
And—when the naked steel of Gaul
weighed down the spoil of Rome;
And Might was Right when Richmond fell—
and at Thermopalye—
It's the Logic of the Ancient World—
and Gospel of To-Day.

Where pendant suns in millions swing,
around this whirling earth,
It's Might, it's Force that holds the brakes,
and steers through life and death:
Force governs all organic life,
inspires all Right and Wrong.
It's Natures plan to weed-out man,
and TEST who are the Strong.

The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

AUGUST, 1909 *Clara Boer Lueders Texas*, TEN CENTS



REVOLUTION,

BY JACK LONDON

The International Socialist Review

A MONTHLY JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST THOUGHT

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

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Publishers' Department

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THE BARITONE'S TALE

A TRUE STORY.

BY MAY AND E. J. BEALS-HOFFPAUIR.

"Love cometh through the proletaire,
Or through the downmost man you meet,
Or through the hunted and the bound,
Or through the woman of the street."



Francois D'Almaine stood at the door of a cheap little eating house and lighted his cigar. It was an excellent cigar and he noticed with deep regret that but one of its kind remained in the case. Just then a chance acquaintance paused with a friendly word and D'Almaine held out the case and was genuinely sorry to learn that the other was a non-smoker.

"Yes, eet ees hard lines," he said, but his voice was that of a conqueror. "Eet ees hard lines, but you understand, M'sieu Hendreck, eet ees not for myself zat I grieve. Ah, no! Eet ees vaire often zat I am what you call broke. I am to eet well accustom. We boys have no grief for ourself. But, mon dieu! ze young demoiselles."

"Too bad about the girls."

"Non, non," cried D'Almaine, mistaking the other's meaning. "I tell you, M'sieu Hendreck, zere ees not'ing bad about zose girls. Look you, eet ees zat zey go in a show. For zat are zey misjudge."

"Oh, yes, of course. You misunderstood me. I mean it's too bad they're up against it like this. They're so young."

"Mam'zelle Florabelle ees fourteen," said D'Almaine with a break in his soft southern voice. "Mam'zelle Fifi ees sixteen and so also ees Mam'zelle Inez. So young are zey and so far from zey home. Ze heart zat would have for zem no peety, eet ees of stone."

"I guess you've found a good many stony hearts in this burg."

"Oui, mon Dieu! And I have learn mooch, M'sieu Hendreck. I have learn mooch."

They were strolling up the sunny street together—D'Almaine talking excitedly and gesticulating with hands, shoulders and eye brows.

"Eet ees last night I say to you, 'Tell me who ees ze best man in

zees town.' Eet ees last night, M'sieu Hendreck."

His vehement voice and manner seemed accusing.

"Yes," admitted Hendricks, "it was last night."

"And you say to me, 'Reverend Meestair Allison, ze pastor of ze Church of ze Immaculate Mother; he ees ze best man for good works of charity and for ze saintly life.'"

"Yes," said Hendricks, "he has that reputation."

"He ees zen a fake, a hypocrite, M'sieu Hendreck. He ees a tombstone whitewashed. Sacre! I would not have ze heart of zat man. Eet ees of a stoniness! Diable!"

"You called on him this morning?"

"Oui, M'sieu Hendreck. I tell him all. He has already heard zat our manager have abducted all our fund, and zat we are stranded in zees town. He know eet ees not ze fault of any one of us. I relate to heem ze so tender age of ze young girls. Mon Dieu! You could not conceive hees answer what eet was, M'sieu Hendreck?"

"No. I banked on his digging up."

"He said to me, 'I am a meeneestair of ze gospel. I cannot soil my hands of such creatures.' Sacre bleu! Zose young girls innocent. He ees not fit for to wipe zaire feet upon. I tell heem so. 'Damn your gospel!' I say, for hees scorn go like wine to my head. 'Eef your gospel make zat eets meeneestair must not help ze perishing innocents zen was your gospel spawned een ze blackest hell.'"

"I say more, teel ze Reverend Meestair Allison grow white and shake of a rage. He say, 'I am a meeneestair of ze gospel. How dare you address me thus?'"

"'Eef you pose as a meeneestair of ze Christ who make hees last command on earth, 'Feed my lambs,' zen I dare tell you zat you are a liar and a fake, and you are too a thief, for you have stolen ze place of ze true shepherd who would feed ze lambs.'"

"I turn my back on ze so unnatural pastor. I slam ze door between us. I shake ze dust from my feet. I ask ze first tough I meet to tell me ze name of ze worst woman een ze town."

"'Glenda Jackson,' he say. 'She ees ze proprietor of ze Jackson House. She have shot two men. I guess her rep could not be of a more shadiness.'"

"I go zen to ze Jackson House and ask for ze madame. Eet ees a high-class house. All ze women I saw were vaire well-gowned and to appearance outwardly well-bred and modest. Glenda Jackson came to see me een ze parlor and I told her my beezness. She ask ze age of ze girls and I tell her. Look you, M'sieu Hendreck, eet ees to her interest economic zat such girls come upon ze street. So young are zey, so beau-

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tiful, and zey dance, zey sing. But Madame Jackson have ze heart motherly.

"I weel myself pay ze fare of ze youngest girl to her home," she said. 'Eef you have deefeculty to raise ze rest, come to me and I weel geeve more.'

"But I had no deefeculty to raise ze rest, for I go no more to preachers. I go to scarlet women and to bartenders."

D'Almaine smiled and his rich, baritone voice grew caressingly tender.

"Ah," he said, "eet ees een ze underworld zat we find ze loving heart. Eet ees strange, yes, zat what you call, ze respectables always ze tombstone whitewashed.

"You haf a poem een ze Anglais," he went on after a moment, "which tell zat an angel came down to a son of Adam een in a golden light like a lily een bloom. 'I am writing een a book of gold,' ze angel say, 'ze name of all zose who love ze Lord.' You and zat poem are fameeliar, perhaps, M'sieu Hendreck?"

"No," said Hendricks, wishing to hear the Frenchman's version, "it doesn't occur to me."

"He say to ze angel, zat son of Adam, 'Ees my name at all written among ze name of zose who love ze Lord?'"

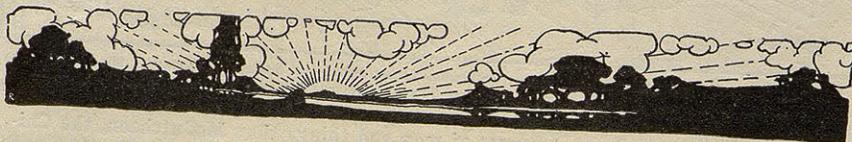
"Nay, so eet ees not," ze angel tell heem.

"So he say to ze angel, 'Write me zen at ze last as one who love hees fellowmen.'

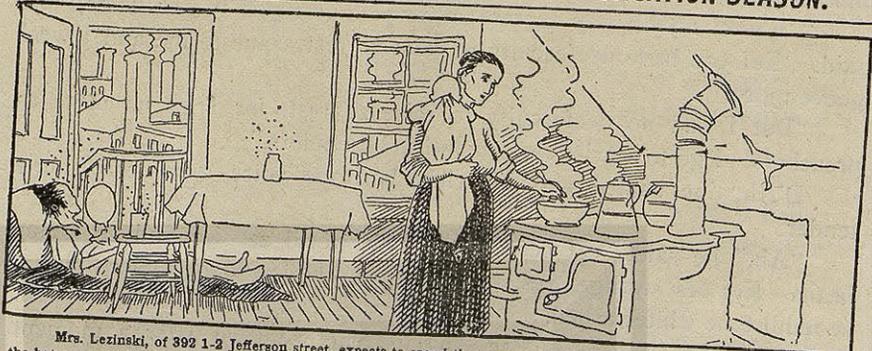
"And ze angel write something and vanish. But nex' night he again appear and show to ze son of Adam zat book of gold. And lo! ze name of ze man who loves hees fellowman ees written highest of all."

D'Almaine paused to relight his cigar.

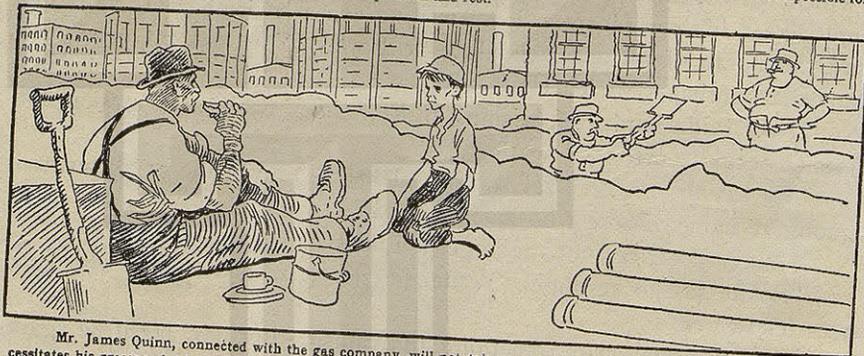
"Eef ze Reverend Meestair Allison find hees name at all written een ze book of gold," he said, whimsically, "eet weel be een ze rear of ze name of ze bartenders and ze scarlet women."



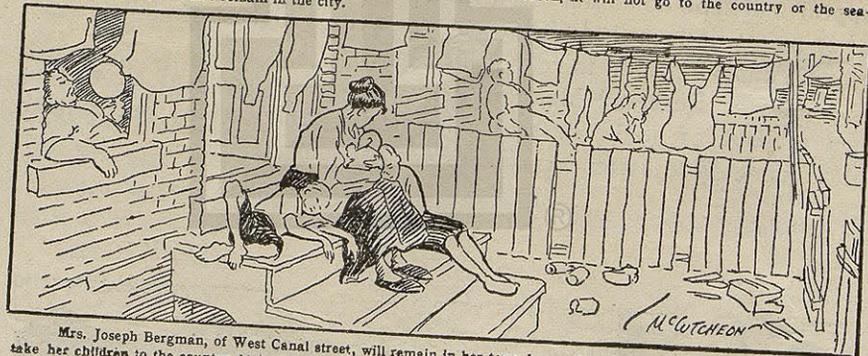
THEY WILL REMAIN IN THE CITY DURING THE VACATION SEASON.



Mrs. Lezinski, of 392 1-2 Jefferson street, expects to spend the summer in the city, and will not go to the country for the hot season. The illness of one of her children, together with certain reasons of a business nature, make it impossible for her to leave town for a period of much needed recuperation and rest.



Mr. James Quinn, connected with the gas company, will not take a vacation this summer. Imperative business necessitates his presence in the city during the torrid season, and, for this reason, he will not go to the country or the seashore. His family will also remain in the city.



Mrs. Joseph Bergman, of West Canal street, will remain in her town house through the summer. She had hoped to take her children to the country during the intense heat of July and August, but business reasons make it inconvenient to do so.

There are few keener observers of men and things than McCutcheon, the Chicago Tribune's cartoonist, but we naturally expect his work to be colored by the material interests of the capitalists who pay him a salary proportioned to the scarcity of first-class artists. The cartoons reproduced above, which appeared in a recent issue of the Tribune, are a pleasant surprise, and we are glad to pass them on.

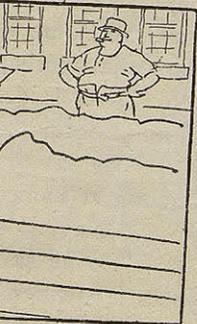


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THE HIGHER CRIMINAL COURTS



SEVERAL years ago a certain prominent judge is reported to have made the statement that the poor man had no show in the courts. This may sound like the words of an obscure agitator, but the man who said them is no less a personage than President Taft. This remark is quoted from an address he gave before the Virginia Bar Association.

It is becoming more and more patent every day that money talks louder in the courts of America than any other commodity. "Equal rights for all, special privileges for none" was a famous American slogan. Yet among the rich men who have been tried in the United States during the past ten years, very few have ever been convicted. Even the capitalist papers confess that Charles L. Morse, recently sentenced to serve several years, has been allowed to leave the jail to attend to his business affairs.

Rich men come from the exploiting class. When their piratical methods smell to the heavens and they are unable to conceal their deeds—when the hue and cry against them can not be smothered, these men receive the support of their class. The best lawyers are retained

for them, appeals are made; stays are granted and quibbles framed. In fact, the rich man, who has been indicted, may feel almost certain that, all else failing, his case can be prolonged for years—that he will be able to end his days peacefully in the full possession of his liberty.

If rich men were often sent to prison, it would only be a short time before we would see a marked improvement in the places of confinement. The ruling class would not long hesitate to take care of the members of its own class even at the expense of bettering the conditions of the wage-worker prisoners. For the men in power are thoroughly class-conscious. A Senator or Congressman can not be arrested during the time he is in office. And it is almost impossible to



prosecute a police officer or a judge. If they are brought to trial, we usually find several big politicians giving them their support to the last extremity. Generally, the accused has been closely allied with them and his "crimes" are so honeycombed with their own shady affairs that self-preservation compels them to see him through.

Have you ever attended court and observed the austerity and dignity of the average judge? If you have not, make it your business to be present occasionally at the criminal or higher court proceedings. And mark well the Judge! The man who decides the fate of the poor wretches that come up before him. With what calm unconcern he consigns the starving workman, who has stolen a few dollars, to the slow death-breathing horror of Sing Sing! Or with what off-hand

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certainty measures the "crimes" of the hold-up man, who is but the product of society and the proof of her failure! She hath sown the wind and reaps these men, the whirlwind, therefore, let us punish the whirlwind.

The Constitution provides that "excessive bail shall not be required," also "that cruel and unusual punishment shall not be inflicted." But in such things, of course, the Constitution is out of date. In the matter of injunctions, however, and where its provisions can be cited to their ends, the Constitution is ever on the tongue of our judiciary.

Gilson Gardner, in an article that appeared in the Appeal to Reason, credits (?) Judge Wright with saying that "there is always somebody that has to be ground in the mud." Evidently they do not intend that it shall be the judiciary.

Not long ago, President Taft is reported to have said that we would probably soon eliminate the jury system. The first action I have seen to this end has already been taken by the District Attorneys' Association of Southern California. It was decided to recommend to the State Legislature important changes in the laws governing grand juries, civil and criminal cases, viz.: a reduction in the number of grand jurymen, the return of a verdict by three-fourths of a jury, reduction of the number of challenges allowed the defense, and a broadening of the scope of indictments.

All over the country, from Maine to California, the state legislatures, urged by the prosecuting attorneys, officialdom and members of the exploiting class, are assiduously at work cutting off and curtailing rights and privileges. In this way they will make it almost impossible for a member of the working class to escape the clutches of the law, once he is placed under arrest—be he guilty or innocent.

Do you know the men who "chance" (?) to be drawn on juries year after year, who never have any other jobs, and yet manage to live somehow in comfort? It has always seemed a little strange to me, particularly when I noticed that the juries on which these men served invariably brought in a verdict against the defendant. Perhaps some one more closely connected with the administration of "justice" could explain this phenomenon.

No man is ever wholly unprejudiced, a judge least of all. He usually comes from a well-to-do or a wealthy family. Often he has been a corporation lawyer. His friends and interests are with the exploiting class. He sees things as they see them. His advancement is dependent on their continued prosperity. Actual bribes may very rarely be paid our judiciary. At any rate, cases where this has been done rarely

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come to light. But the judge is often influenced just the same. A more potent, a more dangerous and subtle factor—a desire to serve those who are powerful and can return the service, accomplishes the result. And even where a judge has nothing to gain, his associates, his own experiences and the experiences of his class, all tend to incline him toward leniency in his dealing with the rich. The same may be said of all prosecuting attorneys. Even juries hesitate to convict a rich and powerful man. Besides, should a case be decided against him, the Supreme Court can always reverse the decision.

Nothing can shatter the beautiful faith (of the exploiting class) in the "integrity of the courts." The courts have never yet failed to protect the property holder. And this is as it has always been. The law has ever been the bulwark of those who possess economic power. Always as new economic forces have arisen, the laws have changed also to foster and maintain them.

Gradually the courts are becoming stronger. The attention of the people has been diverted toward other matters, until the powers of our judiciary are becoming a huge menace to the working class.

Backed by the press, this great force is slowly but surely enmeshing us, threatening the few liberties the proletariat still possesses. It will only be a question of time before the poor man who once falls into the hands of the police may well abandon hope.

Already is the man who has served one sentence regarded as the legitimate prey of official powers. For him at least a government even nominally "of, for and by the people" has ceased to exist.

HORRORS OF PRISON LIFE.

American officials have drawn considerably upon the fiendish devices of European countries in promoting respect for the law. They have borrowed from France the identification system of Bertillon, which aids in the capture of escaped prisoners, or to locate convicts who have served their terms, but who may be suspected of further offenses. They have searched the criminal codes of Russia, Germany, England and, in fact, all countries for new forms of punishment. They have even drawn on the Dark Ages for other ways to chastise their fellow-men.

Writing of the Rhode Island state prison, Charles Budlong says, "Men are sometimes kept in dungeons, damp, foul and rat-inhabited, chained to doors with only a crust of bread and a cup of water to sustain their miserable existence. I have seen poor fellows beaten with clubs or 'black-jacks' until rendered unconscious and bleeding, then

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thrown into these dungeons and kept there for days. One fellow in particular was kept 38 days in this condition, and when at last released, resembled more nearly a skeleton than a human being."

The rules of these places are very rigid and inmates are punished for the merest trifle. I have known mere boys to be placed in a strait jacket and laced so tightly that they could only breathe with the greatest difficulty and kept in this condition from one to twelve hours for the awful offense of talking in their cells. When they were released from this sorry plight, they could not stand upon their feet and their limbs would be covered with welts and ridges made by the ropes with which they had been tied. One of the unfortunates told the head warden that he could not work right away and the reply was, in a voice of thunder, "YOU'LL WORK!" Yet this warden delighted to preach and to exhort! A young man afflicted with epilepsy often fell to the floor. On one occasion when reviving from this condition, he found the head warden plunging needles into him to find out if he was alive. Another man on coming in from work, fell suddenly ill. He asked for medicine and he was told to go to his cell. He started to obey, but fell dead on entering his cell. Another man was reported for punishment every day, as he had incurred the enmity of one of the guards. He was put into the dungeon. After twenty days he was released and died in less than two hours. He was nailed up in a box and interred in the Potter's Field. Another man, tied up in the strait jacket, frequently fainted away. At other times his screams and pleading cries would be heart-rending in the extreme. In case visitors chanced to heard the cries and inquired into the cause, they were informed that a man had just been brought in suffering from the "horrors" and a physician was trying to quiet him! God knows the horror part of it was true enough, but it was a lie just the same.

Another man had committed a small offense, but in such a way that he was held technically guilty of a greater one. He was sentenced for ten years, and the rigorous treatment to which he was subjected so worked upon his sensitive nature that in a short time he became insane. I have seen this man beaten and knocked down a hundred times, until after suffering this way for several years he was transferred to the insane asylum. One burly guard told another that "Andrew has had several ribs broken, also his collarbone, but he gets punished regularly every week whether he needs it or not, just to keep him in trim!" Generally, if a prisoner finds a chance he will commit suicide.

The writer then goes on to mention the great number confined in prisons who are *entirely innocent*. The author continues: "But suppose an innocent man is restored to liberty, what is given him for his loss of time and the indignity to which he has been subjected? NOTHING—

absolutely NOTHING. He is simply 'pardoned,' that is all. Think of the awful irony in the word 'pardoned' in a connection like this! How is it possible to pardon a man for an offense he did not commit?"

Another case that I remember is that of a young man, recently married, who shortly after, was driven by poverty to steal a few dollars. He was sentenced for five years. The poor fellow so brooded over his disgrace that he tried to end his trouble by jumping out of a high story shop window to the stone pavement fifty feet below. Several bones were broken but the man lived. The next day the papers were full of the bold attempt this man had made to escape. These "escapes" are called



"cheating the law." Yes, the man had made a bold attempt to escape, but not in the sense that the guards had the papers give to the affair. It would never do to let the public know that prisoners were treated so inhumanly that they preferred death rather than living. So it was made to appear that the well-fed and lazy guards were hard pressed to keep such unruly men in check.

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mitted some awful crime to land in the "pen." This is by no means the case. A very small thing will often conspire to put a man there.

Many years ago, Hon. I. T. Reynolds of Kansas wrote his "Twin Hells," a fearful disclosure of the horrors of the state prisons of Kansas and Missouri. Although the book was widely read, no actual changes ever came of it. In fact, reform of any kind is precisely what the public officials do not want.

The sad spectacle was presented, but a few months ago, of an ex-convict pleading with the state legislature at Sacramento, California, for certain reforms to be placed on the statute books of the state. One of his measures was passed by a narrow majority of the members. The Governor of the State (Gillette) did not, however, sign the proposed bill. The author of the bill was Col. Griffith J. Griffith, to whom I am indebted for some of the following material.

Says he: "Last summer I traveled 10,000 miles in the United States, and visited every prison in the republic. It is my conviction that the average prison hardens and degrades and is a perpetual exhibition of cruel arbitrary power. In the short course of my life in San Quentin, the Pacific chamber of horrors, I can only say that it was one grim, grisly, ghastly record of life in one of the world's greatest penitentiaries, a glimpse of hell on earth, and I could relate of it one continuous stream of fearful disclosures, tales that appall the mind, causing the brain itself to stand still as the story slowly unfolds.

"You ask, why do not the prisoners revolt? They have tried and failed many times. A huge arsenal is one of the possessions of the officials and they do not hesitate to shoot, and shoot to kill, on the slightest pretext. California is disgraced before all civilization for, if related, the deeds done in the dreadful dungeons twenty feet below the surface of the earth would fairly stagger humanity. The doctors there are heartless and cruel and many a time have I seen sights, shielded by shrouds, that were enough to sicken the soul. Most of the men there are not bad men, yet the story of San Quentin would be one red record of suffering endured by prisoners whose agonizing shrieks for mercy rend the heart of man. I slept in Room 48, right over the dungeon where most of the torture was carried on. The demons in the Dark Ages have been outdone. You ask why are not these things exposed? The papers will not print them, the legislature can hardly be made to take any notice of them. The humiliation that these men are subjected to is revolting and blood-sickening."

It is hard to get the facts of the situation as they exist in the penitentiaries. A censor reads the correspondence of all prisoners who are only permitted to write what the wardens desire told. And who

would accept the word of a penniless ex-convict? The dark frown of an official, the menace of a bludgeon is sufficient to silence him. Col Griffith, however is of too great wealth (being a millionaire) to be silenced by official bulldozing and intends to keep on with his crusade for prison reform.

Sometimes, however, there are courageous men and women, who have never been in prison who do not hesitate to speak out upon these subjects that the officials would like so much to see suppressed. Miss Kate Barnard, Commissioner of Charities and Corrections of the new State of Oklahoma, is one of these. Oklahoma prisoners were at that time sent to Kansas, but the former state has requested the Kansas officials to return them. According to this lady the Kansas penitentiary is a den of horrors. After the disclosures had been made to the Oklahoma legislature, some lying Kansas official was heard to remark, "The prisoners demanded roast turkey with apple sauce, brown gravy, mashed potatoes and truffles and we refused to give it to them." This statement flooded the country during the Oklahoma investigations and was given wide publicity in the press and was commented on in the capitalistic press editorials. It is safe to say the prisoners would gladly have welcomed one good meal per day!

"Almost all prisons," says Col. Griffiths, "are a nightmare of realities. A favorite torture is the 'strait jacket.' Another is the 'Oregon boot.' All the prisons are a living tomb, a sepulchre of living souls. Caloused officials abound and the deeds they do to deform and degrade the prisoner exceeds the bounds of belief. If all the damnable facts could be given wide publicity in the press they would shake the sentiment of the people from 'turret to foundation stone.' All is horrible and awful. The devilish ingenuity of the officials creates in every prison a reign of terror where diabolism is rampant. I shall denounce these things in spite of all attempts at intimidation."

There should be no jails. They do not accomplish what they pretend to accomplish. If you would wipe them out, there would be no more criminals than now. They terrorize nobody. They are a blot upon any civilization, and a jail is an evidence of the lack of charity of the people on the outside who make the jails and fill them with the victims of their greed.—Clarence Darrow, in "Crime and Criminals."

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Woman and the Socialist Philosophy

A REPLY TO JOSEPH E. COHEN.

BY LIDA PARCE.



IN installment VIII of "Socialism for Students," under the title of "Socialist Philosophy," Mr. Cohen makes some misleading statements which, it seems to me, ought to be corrected. These are his statements concerning woman. They ought to be corrected; first, because they are not a part of the Socialist Philosophy, and are untrue to it. Second, they ought to be corrected because they would have the effect of antagonizing intelligent women. There are numbers of women who are socialists at heart, but they are women's women first and they do not feel that the interests of women would be safe in the hands of the Socialist Party. Such women would hardly be reassured by Mr. Cohen's exposition of the Socialist philosophy on the woman question. The party is now making a special bid for the support of women and it must have that support before it can succeed.

According to Mr. Cohen, the Socialist philosophy disposes of woman in the following off-hand way: "The impulse below intellect is intuition, which is developed further in many animals than in man. Thus animals scent danger more quickly than man and are better weather prophets. And because woman is nearer to the lower forms than man, intuition is more deeply seated in the female of the race, enabling her to peremptorily pass judgments that the male arrives at only after laborious thought. Intuition is often spoken of as a female attribute."

This statement contains several errors:

- (1) Intuition is not an impulse, it is a process. Feeling is the force below intellect and imparts the impulse to it.
- (2) Animals do not "scent" danger by intuition, but by highly developed senses of sight, smell or hearing. If they are able to cognize impending dangers or states of the weather more swiftly and accurately than man, through intuition, they are to that extent higher and not lower forms.

But Mr. Cohen has not defined intuition for us. Lester F. Ward defines it as being "a perception of relations." And he says: "The

data for an intuition are combined already in the brain into a psychological unit which is used as an integer and not decomposed by the intuitive act. The appropriate cortical nuclei have been previously built up by the registration of experiences." (Psychic Factors of Civilization, pp. 171-172.) Prof. Ward goes on to say: "Men do not depend upon their reason in the ordinary affairs of life. They do not employ the syllogism in seeking to decide what will be the best course to adopt to insure success in any enterprise. They use what is called "common sense."

What is there, then about this "intuition" that identifies woman with the "lower orders?" Is it the fact that woman has developed these "psychological units" by the registration of experiences? And how does man come to be a "higher form?" By not having developed them? So one would judge, by Mr. Cohen's "Philosophy."

The experience of woman, throughout the ages, has been an industrial, a constructive experience, and it is by the registrations of the constantly repeated acts of this experience, in addition to her protection of the young that woman has built up these "cortical nuclei" through which intuition functions.

Man has applied his less-developed "perception of relations" to specialized subjects more widely than woman. But will any one say that because woman's perception of relations is more highly developed than man's, therefore she can not apply it to special problems as well as he? She has not applied it to special problems to the extent that he has, because she has been handicapped by having the entire social burden of the care of the young upon her shoulders. She has not done heroic things in the past, because she had all the work to do, and was enslaved to the family. That burden is now being shifted. Man is doing his share of the work for the first time in history, whereby he is developing the higher integration of brain tissue, and acquiring intuition. Woman is beginning to have that leisure and surplus of energy which is necessary for the application of intuition to special problems, and already, though the bonds of legal enslavement, and of prejudice and tradition are not removed from her, the achievements of Madame Curie, the discoverer of radium, and of Clemence Royer, and many others have refuted this "lower form" theory.

(3) Mr. Cohen's assertion that woman is nearer to "the lower forms" is also a bit hasty. Some conclusions of Havelock Ellis (*Man and Woman*, pp. 447, 449) come in very neatly on this point: "The progress of our race has been a progress in youthfulness. "Women, it is true, remain nearer than men to the infantile state:

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"When we have realized the position of the child in relation to evolution we can take a clearer view as to the natural position of woman. She bears the special characteristics of humanity in a higher degree than man and led evolution. Her conservatism is thus compensated and justified by the fact that she represents more nearly than man the human type to which man is approximating. It would not be difficult . . . to multiply examples of the ways in which women are leading evolution.

It seems as if Mr. Cohen's statement of the Socialist Philosophy ought to be supplemented as well as corrected on these points. It is right to claim that the Socialist Philosophy appropriates the best and latest scientific thought on the subject both of woman's biological place, as the main trunk of the species, and on that of her necessary social freedom, as a condition of social progress.

The National Platform of the Socialist Party demands "Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women," and it will hardly be claimed that this plank is inserted through "chivalry." Yet if the Socialist Philosophy had nothing more to say on the subject of woman than Mr. Cohen represents there could be no other reason than that for this plank in the platform.

What we are pleased, somewhat whimsically, to call civilization has been a distinctly masculine affair. It has been singularly deficient in the "perception of relations." Means have been considered of more importance than the end; the symbol more significant than the fact. The external has been more important than the internal, the artificial than the real. Man has thought that ways of doing things were of more importance than the people who do them. He has thought that property is more valuable than life, that capital is of more importance than labor. The capitalist system is the masculine system of production.

The prehistoric system, the feminine system of production was cooperative. It was an expression of woman's "perception of relations." It was necessary to subjugate woman—to put her perception of relations literally out of business, before the competitive system, the profit system, the system of exclusive ownership of the necessaries of life could be established. No wonder the capitalists have cold fits about "feminism." It is organically opposed to their wild Utopian scheme of the private and exclusive ownership of the necessaries of life.

The age of masculinism has been an age of religious martyrdoms, of tribal and national wars for personal ends and of sex enslavement. A little of woman's intuition would not have come amiss at any time during the last four or five thousand years. The perception and estab-

lishment of proper social and economic relations is the whole keynote of the Socialist Philosophy. Men are beginning now to bring into action those higher integrations of brain tissue that they have been forming in their industrial life of the last few centuries, and the result is the Socialist Party. Socialism proposes to re-establish the co-operative, the feminine system of production, with those improvements in process which men have been enabled to make by reason of their greater freedom and leisure.

The Socialist Philosophy advocates the complete emancipation of woman from every social limitation that tends to limit the development of her human powers or to prevent their application in any direction in which she may see fit to apply them. Havelock Ellis expresses the Socialist Philosophy very aptly when he says:

"The hope of our future civilization lies in the development in equal freedom of both the masculine and feminine elements in life. The broader and more varied character of modern civilization seems to render this more possible than did the narrow basis of classic civilization, and there is much evidence around us that a twin movement of this kind is in progress. . . . We are not at liberty to introduce any artificial sexual barrier into social concerns. . . . An exaggerated anxiety lest natural law be overthrown is misplaced. The world is not so insecurely poised. We may preserve an attitude of entire equanimity in the face of social readjustment." (Man and Woman, pp. 451, 452.)

"When the darkness of ignorance has been lifted from the human mind, when want or the fear of want is no longer the nightmare of the masses, when all men are brothers and all women are sisters, the race will move higher. I do not prophesy perfection; but it is not unreasonable to hope that human beings may at least be as happy as the birds of the air, and as virtuous as the beasts of the field. I am not speaking cynically, but seriously, when I say that that will be a great improvement over the present condition. Already I hear the rumble of the coming revolution—a revolution not of blood and bullets, but of ideas and ballots. The revolution that shall break every yoke and let the oppressed go free."—May Beals, in "The Rebel at Large."



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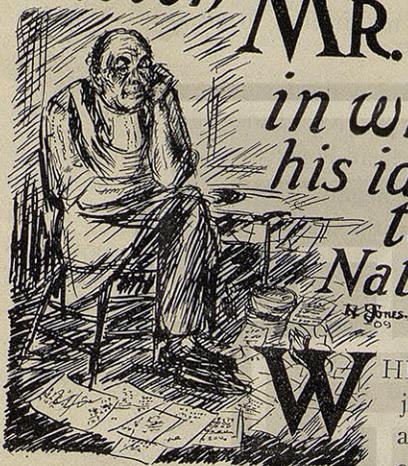
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AN INTERVIEW with MR. DOOLEY in which he gives his ideas on how to acquire the National industries.



WHEN we heard that Mr. Dooley had joined the Socialist Party, my friend and I got out our pads and sharpened our pencils and hunted him up at his bench in the basement of 224 South Liberty street, where he now resides. We knew that what he had to say on the subject of socialism would make a story no editor would refuse. And we were right.

We chose Friday evening for the night of our interview, as we had been given to understand that the regular meeting of the Socialist Local which Mr. Dooley had joined, met on Monday evening. Tuesday was devoted to the annihilation of debaters inveigled from the old political parties and Wednesday evening was reserved for the Young People's League. On Thursday the Class in Economics occupied the Local headquarters; while Saturday and Sunday evenings were given over to rising speakers and orators. Of these latter, Mr. Dooley was reported to be one of the most promising members. Friday seemed likely to be about the only date open on his engagement calendar. This proved to be the case.

Instead of the optimistic and enthusiastic man we had expected to meet, we found Mr. Dooley sitting before a work bench with his face buried in his hands, apparently wrapped in gloom. Reams upon reams of paper covered with miles of rows of figures lay about the room in the utmost confusion. The old pipe, so often mentioned in the delightful stories of Mr. Peter Dunne, lay forgotten upon the work bench and the can, wont to foam with the beverage that cheers, was empty.

With a careless glance, Mr. Dooley told us to "be sated." When we made known the occasion of our call, he shook his head sadly and said, "Yis," he had joined the only true workingman's party. Then he relapsed into his attitude of despair and seemed to forget all about us. I looked at my friend and he looked at me. This was not what we had hoped to find.

"Are you ill this evening?" asked my friend, in an effort to break the ice.

"Naw," Mr. Dooley replied, heaving a deep sigh. "Only worrit—turrble worrit." Here he drew a large red handkerchief out of his pocket and wiped his brow, shaking his head hopelessly.

"Ever since I j'ined the par-ty," he began, "I've bin thry-in' to figure out the hist way fer us to take over-r the nation's industhries. It's a grate pr-oblem. Some of the comrades air fer buyin' 'em an' some says they'll hev to be took. Hinessey's thinkin' we'll be able to penshun off Jawn D. an' th' rist. While others sez it 'ud be bitter to lave the Pluto-chrats kape their property an' star-rt out compatin' with 'em. It's a big quistion, and I've made up me moind I'll niver take the can over to Moike's ag'in till I've sitted ut."

At this juncture somebody knocked at the door and asked to see Mr. Dooley. The visitor proved to be the landlord come to get a pair of shoes he had left to be mended. Mr. Dooley informed him they were not ready. The landlord seemed very angry. He said he wished Mr. Dooley would pay him the back rent if he didn't intend to do the work he brought him. While the air was still heavy, the grocer appeared and demanded the payment of a grocery bill, which, it appeared, Mr. Dooley seemed inclined to neglect since the new party problem had begun to occupy his mental horizon. It took some time for Mr. Dooley to reassure him. As Wilson, the grocer, disappeared down the alley, Mr. Dooley looked at us vacantly, shaking his head again.

"It's a gr-rate quistion," he repeated, "an' I'm that worrit I can't slape nights. Ivery toime I doze off, I drheam Jawn D. Rockfeller's a-standin' before me demandin' tin million dollars for the Standard Oil Company. I'd loike to decoide this matter and git ut off me moind. After we hundred millions iv wage-wur-rkers git complate conthrol—how'll we satisfy the half duzen plutochrats that'll be ownin' the kunthry be thut toime?"

"Well, you said you might start out to compete with them," said my friend. "You could lay new railroads beside all the lines owned by Hill and Harriman, the Goulds and the Vanderbilts. You might gather up the oil wells old John D. had left (if there were any) and you could raise

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a few million head of cattle and put the beef trust out of business in a few years."

"Sure," said Mr. Dooley. "We cud do all thut an' a gr-rate deal more—only we'd be gittin' purty thin livin' on nothin' be th' toime we done ut. We'd hev to buy from the plutochrats in the mane toime. We wudn't hev anny money to pay 'em with, an' they'd be chargin' us intrust on ivery loan we made, an' be th' toime we got a railroad fer ourselves we'd be owin' it to thim. There don't seem to be anny solution in the compatin' loine." He sighed wearily and cast a longing glance at the empty can. Then he kicked it further under the bench.

"Besoides," he continued, "if the wurrukin' min who has got conthrol be thut toime, go to boycottin' the thrusts, we moight as well confiscate their property and be done with ut. Phat good will ut be to thim? We'd be takin' away their chanct to made dividinds."

"Why don't you decide to buy them out?" asked my friend. Mr. Dooley looked up at us sadly. He seemed surprised at the question.

Didn't ye hear phat me landlord sed here awhilest ago? An' Wilson, th' grocer, he was after his money, too. Most of me comrades is worse off. We haven't got the money. Besoides there ain't enough gold in the wurrl'd to satisfy Jawn D. and the others. We'd hev to give bonds an' ther'd be about twinty-foive hundhred millions we'd be owin', an' the intrust wud be somethin' turrble. Whin I died Mrs. Dooley an' me little Willie wud hev the dit tr-ransferred to their account. An' Willie's childhren wud still be a payin' ut."

"I think I'd rather pension them and be done with it," said my friend.

"That wud niver satisfy 'em," began Mr. Dooley sorrowfully. "Count Boni de Castelaine an' Anna Gould (thut wuz) wud be sayin' at wance, 'After all the hard wurruk I hev done providin' fer th' childer, wud it be ye chatin' thim out of their golden spoons? Ye'll hev to penshun thim too!' An' the pa-apers say it takes about a million a year supplyin' those pape with the necessaries of loife."

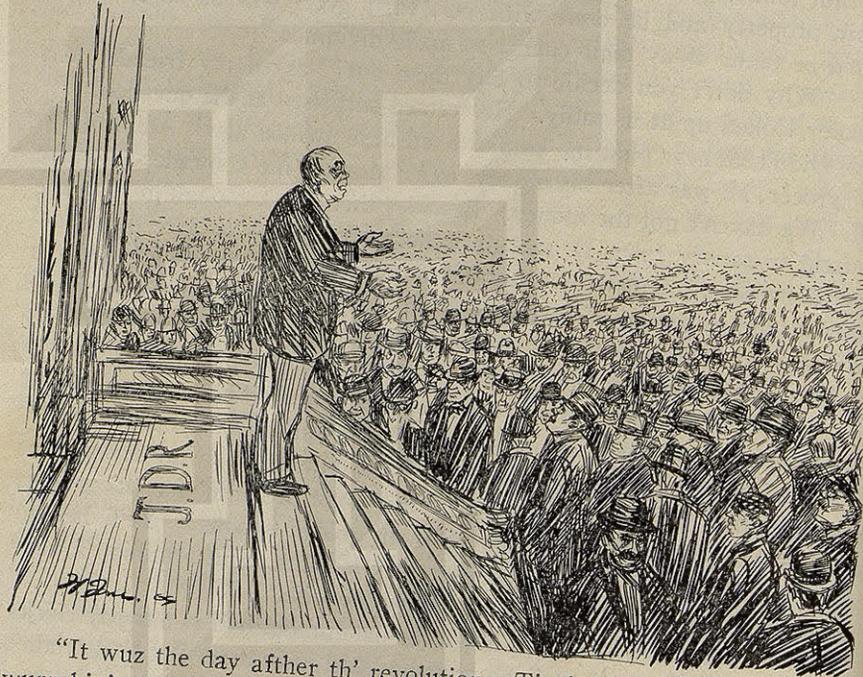
"We wurrukin' min wud hev to be handin' out half iv our pay chicks ivery wake as long as we lived and the little ones, too. But that wudn't be enough to satisfy thim plutochrats. They'd want enough to buy up the counthry over again. They'd only ask a pinshun and a chanct to invist it—at 100 per cint." Mr. Dooley dropped his head again and sank back into his former despondent attitude.

"I'm afraid I should feel like treating the capitalists exactly as they have treated the workingmen—as they ARE treating them," said my friend.

"They niver gave us anny chanct," resumed Mr. Dooley. "They say, 'There's the job; toike it or lave it at sivin-twinty a wake.'"

"I'd give them a dose of their own medicine," continued my friend. Mr. Dooley shook his head sadly. "That'd suit me," he said. "They got their money payin' wurrakin' min less than their products wuz worth. We built the railroads an' operated thim; we dug the oil wells an' raised and kilt the cattle."

"But some of the comrades wants to show thim plutochrats we wurrukin' min is honester thin they are. Begorra, I think Hennessey was right whin he set ut was foolishness to pay th' burglar fer givin' back th' things he stole—if ye'd got a strong holt on his coat collar. But some of me friend say we'll hev to give old Jawn D. a fair exchange for his property. Spakin' iv thut, I had a dhream on Chuesday, after I cum home from the debate. An' this is phat I drimt:



"It wuz the day afther th' revolution. Tin hundhred millions iv us wurrukin' min wuz standin' on Jawn D.'s dure-stip discussin' state measures. We had all the political offices an' were bossin' the job. The militia had j'ined us whin they seen how many iv us there wuz and the navy followed suit. Ivery cop on ivery bate wuz with us fer kapes. There wuzen't annybody thut wuzen't with us except th' tin grady plutochrats thut owned the airth.

"I wuz dhreamin' along, aisy, whin me knowin' fillow-citizens an' comrades app'inted me th' diligate to confer with Jawn D. on ways an' manes fer acquirin' his property.

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"'Mr. Rokefeller,' I sez, when at last I found him in wan iv thim bomb proof rooms he'd bin livin' in since the revolution had started, 'what'll ye take for thim oil an' railroad properties iv yourn? We got all th' pable with us out here on your dure-stip waitin', an' our object is to git hold iv all th' industrial property to operate thim fer our own binifit. We mane to do th' wurruk and own th' product.

"'Me frinds has app'inted me to cum in here paceable-like, to talk ut over with ye. We don't want to hurt yer feelin's none, so phat-de-you-say?"

"Thin old Jawn D. tur-rned pale an' I saw he had some queer kind iv a big swingin' gun p'intin' right at me hade. His finger was feelin' the thrigger thut careless I felt sick.

"'I'm glad to see ye,' sez old Jawn, 'fer me frinds has app'inted me to spake fer thim—all tin iv 'em. We've got the stocks an' bonds iv all our holdings right here in this room,' he sez, 'an' we mane to kape 'em, onless thut ignernt mob gives us what they're worth.'

"'Kape yer dirty old pa-apers, I had on me tongue to say, 'they ain't wur-rth a cint. We've got the rale wurruks OUTSIDE.' But me orders wuz to remimber me manners, so I said:

"'Phat do ye own—all th' tin of ye?"

"'Well,' old Jawn said, thinkin' fer a minute, 'altogither, we hev a monopoly on about iverything.'

"'Phat air ye drivin' at? Phat'll th' tin iv ye make the price iv ivery-thing fer?' I says.

"'We don't care to sill,' sez old Jawn, 'onless we git our price. Go till thim frinds of yourn we will sill at th' full value fer cash GOLD.'"

Here Mr. Dooley sighed deeply and his head fell forward on his hands once more. An atmosphere of deepest gloom settled over the room.

"As I sid to Hinnissey," said Mr. Dooley, wiping his eyes on the big red handkerchief, "it's a big quistion. That's the divvil iv ut; an' there ye are."

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"Value, Price and Profit" Under Universal Monopolies

BY JAMES W. HUGHES.



It is by no means an easy task to write an article on this subject for a magazine, intended primarily for a propaganda purpose, for while it should be and is, the intention of the writer to present the subject to the general reading public in as clear and as concise a manner as possible, it will be necessary, however, to deal more or less with some of the technical polemics between Marxian students upon the minor details of the theory of value. The theory of value here referred to, and most of the laws governing same, are clearly set forth in Marx's masterpiece entitled "VALUE, PRICE AND PROFIT."

The question which here arises is: Do these laws of value hold rigidly true and are they applicable to all conditions of production under the present capitalist system?

To discuss this question intelligently, it here becomes necessary to place before the reader some of the most important laws of value as set forth by Marx in his "VALUE, PRICE AND PROFIT," and these laws and theories are as follows:

First. "The relative values of commodities are determined by the respective quantities or amounts of social labor, worked up, realized and fixed in them." "Or, the value of one commodity is to the value of another commodity as the quantity of labor fixed in the one is to the quantity of labor fixed in the other."

Second. "Price taken by itself is nothing but the monetary expression of value. The values of all commodities of this country (England) for example are expressed in gold prices."

Third. "The value of gold, like all other commodities, is regulated by the quantity of social labor necessary for its production under a given state of society."

Fourth. "Supply and demand regulate nothing but the temporary fluctuation of market prices. They will explain to you why the market price of a commodity rises above or sinks below its real value, but they never account for that value itself."

Fifth. "It suffices to say that if supply and demand equilibrates each other, the market price of commodities will correspond with their

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natural prices, that is to say, with their values, as determined by the respective quantities of labor required for their production,—and apart from the effect of monopolies and some other modifications I must now pass by, all descriptions of commodities are on the average sold at their respective *values* or natural prices.”

Sixth. “To explain, therefore, the general nature of profits, you must start from the theorem that, on an average commodities are sold at their real value; and that *profits are derived from selling* them at their values, that is, in proportion to the quantity of labor realized in them. If you cannot explain profit upon this supposition, you cannot explain it at all.”

Seventh. “There exists no such thing as the ‘Value of Labor’ in the common acceptance of the term. What the workingman sells is not directly his labor, but his ‘labor power,’ the temporary disposal of which he makes over to the capitalist.”

Eighth. “Like that of every other commodity the value of *labor power* is determined by the quantity of labor necessary to produce it. The laboring power of a man exists only in his living individuality. A certain mass of necessaries must be consumed by a man to grow up and maintain his life. But the man like the machine will wear out and must be replaced by another man. Besides the mass of necessaries required for his *own* maintenance, he wants another amount of necessaries to bring up a certain quota of children that are to replace him on the labor market and to perpetuate the race of laborers.”

“Moreover, to develop his laboring power and acquire a given skill another amount of values must be spent. For our purpose it suffices to consider only *average* labor the cost of whose education and development are vanishing magnitudes. Still I must seize upon this occasion to state that, as the cost of producing laboring power of different quality differs so must differ the value of laboring powers employed in different trades. The cry of an equality of wages rests, therefore, upon a mistake, is an insane wish never to be fulfilled. It is an offspring of that false and superficial radicalism, that accepts premises and tries to evade conclusions.”

Ninth. “In buying the laboring power of the workman and paying its value, the capitalist like every other purchaser has a right to consume or use the commodity bought. You consume or use the laboring power of a man by making him work as you consume or use a machine by making it run.” “Now suppose that the average amount of daily necessaries of a laboring man requires six hours of average labor for their reproduction. Suppose, moreover, six hours of average labor to be also realized in a quality of gold equal to 3s ‘...’. To daily reproduce his laboring power he must daily reproduce a value of three shillings, which

he will do by working six hours daily. But this does not disable him from working ten or twelve or more hours a day. But by paying the daily or weekly value of the workman's laboring power, the capitalist has acquired the right of using that laboring power during the whole day or week. He will, therefore, make him work, say, daily *twelve* hours. Over and above the six hours required to replace his wages, or the value of his laboring power, he will therefore have to work *six other* hours which I shall call hours of *surplus* labor, which *surplus* labor will realize itself in a *surplus value* and a surplus produce."

"The value of a commodity is determined by the total quantity of labor contained in it. But part of that quantity of labor is realized in a value for which an equivalent has been paid in the form of wages; part of it is realized in a value for which no equivalent has been paid. Part of the labor contained in the commodity is paid labor; part is unpaid labor. By selling, therefore, the commodity at its value, that is, as the crystallization of the total quantity of labor bestowed upon it, the capitalist must necessarily sell it at a profit. He sells not only what has cost him an equivalent, but he sells also what has cost him nothing, although it has cost his workman labor. The cost of the commodity to the capitalist and its real cost are different things. I repeat, therefore, that normal and average profits are made by selling commodities not above, but at their real values."

Tenth. "The surplus value or that part of the total value of the commodity in which the surplus labor or unpaid labor of the workman is realized I call profit. The whole of that profit is not pocketed by the employing capitalist. *Rents, Interest and Industrial Profit* are only different names for different parts of the *surplus value* of this commodity, or the unpaid labor enclosed in it and they are *equally derived from this source, and this source alone*. They are *not* derived from land as such or from capital as such, but land and capital *enable* their owners to get their respective shares out of the *surplus value* extracted by the employing capitalist *from the laborer*."

Having laid before the reader the above extracts from "VALUE, PRICE AND PROFIT" we are now ready to discuss each proposition in its regular turn, relative to the application of each to the present day conditions. As to the first, second, third and fourth theorems, it is safe to say all Socialists worthy of the name thoroughly agree and acquiesce with the author as well as with each other as to the truth and clearness of these statements. Any further discussion here, of these first four theorems would be as foolish as useless, for they have been proven and reproven in the most logical way by the author in his "VALUE, PRICE AND PROFIT" and all those who are not familiar with this splendid

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little book have a treat before them, in reading it, which they cannot afford to miss.

In regard to the fifth proposition, we have here a more difficult proposition to deal with, especially in regard to "the effect of monopolies and some other modifications."

The question which arises here is: can the price of a monopolized commodity be forced perceptibly above its real value at the will of the person holding the monopoly of such a commodity? In other words: can a trust put up the price of a commodity "way above its real value" simply because the trust holds a monopoly on that commodity? Many of our best Marxian students take the affirmative on this question, and I, in turn, am forced to say that I must take issue with them regarding their views.

In the first place let us not forget that "Price," as Marx says, "is nothing but the monetary expression of value." And furthermore let me add what I have already said in the July number of this magazine that the "dollar is the unit of value in the United States and is equal to the value of 25.8 grains of gold 9-10 fine, or, in other words, the dollar as a unit of value is equivalent to the amount of social labor that is necessary to produce 25.8 grains of gold 9-10 fine and will purchase just as much of any other commodity as can be produced with the same amount of social labor that it takes to produce 25.8 grains of gold 9-10 fine." (For a further discussion of this subject kindly see the article referred to).

To those who hold that a monopolist can put up the price of his monopolized commodity under present conditions, at will, let me say to you that the logic of your premises in the very outset destroys your conclusion through the lack of consistency. In the first place you tell us that a monopoly on a product enables the monopolists to sell their product at a price, expressed in gold, above the product's real value, and in the same breath you assert that gold, which is also a monopolized commodity, cannot be sold at a price, expressed in other commodities, equal to the real value of the gold.

I am willing to admit that, so long as gold remained in the anarchy of production, that is to say, so long as it was produced in competition, it was in the power of the monopolists of other commodities to raise the price of their commodities as expressed in the value of the commodity gold, but no sooner than gold was monopolized, as it is at present by the great American Smelting and Refining Company (Standard Oil domination), then the Marxian Law of Value again steps out as truly applicable to the present day conditions, as it ever was in the former days of universal competition.

Gold when monopolized, like all other monopolized commodities, gives its owner the incentive to try to sell the gold at a price (expressed in other commodities) above its real value. Other commodities when monopolized, like the commodity gold, give their owners incentives to sell their commodities at prices (expressed in gold) above their real value. The result is obvious: one force counteracts the other and compels all monopolized commodities to sell, or exchange on a whole at prices equal to their real value.

"But, ah!" you say, "gold is not completely monopolized." Neither is any other commodity completely monopolized, but most of the commodities are nearly so, and gold is as nearly monopolized as any other commodity throughout the world. There is one important commodity, however, that is *not* monopolized and that commodity is human labor power, which is bought and sold in the markets of the world, like all other commodities but under the severest and fiercest competition the world has ever seen. While all other commodities have advanced in price as expressed in gold, in order to retain their normal value, as gold grows ever cheaper and cheaper in production, so fierce has been the competition between labor, that labor power has scarcely retained its old price expressed in a new gold, produced almost twice as cheaply as gold was formerly produced. The general rise of commodities at present is not due, as some think, to the manipulation of prices by the trust magnates, but merely signifies a cheapening in the production of gold, and if the prices of our labor powers, that is, our wages or salaries do not rise in proportion, then we are being "skinned" even out of what is coming to us under this infernal system of capitalism and wage slavery.

So much for commodities being sold above their real value, by the artificial restraint of monopolies. We will now turn our attention to the other theorems of Marx.

As to some commodities always selling above their real value while others fluctuate about a point below their real value due to the compensating influence of the "average rate of profit," as set forth by Marx in Vol. III of "Capital," I will not attempt to expound here, as I intend to discuss this subject in a future article, after I have studied this work more thoroughly. It suffices here to say that so far as I have gone into Vol. III of "Capital" it is the most interesting work of Marx, especially the masterly discussions of "The Relation of the Rate of Profit to the Rate of Surplus Value" and "Formation of the Average Rate of Profit."

We now come to the question of no little importance, namely: can the productive workers be robbed in any way at the point of consumption? In other words, do the productive workers, as consumers, ever pay over to an idle set of parasites part of the value of their products, for the

CONSUMPTION OF PROLETARIAN	
NECESS. OF LIFE	LUXURY
HOME RENT	INT. REV. & TAX

CONSUMPTION OF PROLETARIAN	
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CONSUMPTION OF PROLETARIAT		FIELD OF PRODUCTION	CONSUMPTION OF CAPITALIST		
NECESS. OF LIFE	NECESS. LUXURIES		NECESS. OF LIFE	NECESS. LUXURIES	UN-NECESS. LUXURIES
		○ ○ ○ ○ ○			
HOME RENT	INTERNAL REVENUES & TAXES	○ ○ ○ ○ ○	HOME & FACTORY TAXES	INTERNAL REVENUES & TAXES	INTEREST & COMMER. PROFITS

FIG. 1

CONSUMPTION OF PROLETARIAT		FIELD OF PRODUCTION	CONSUMPTION OF CAPITALIST		
NECESS. OF LIFE	NECESS. LUXURIES		NECESS. OF LIFE	NECESS. LUXURIES	UN-NECESS. LUXURIES
● ●	● ●	○ ○	● ●	● ●	● ●
HOME RENT	INTERNAL REVENUES & TAXES		HOME & FACTORY TAXES	INTERNAL REVENUES & TAXES	INTEREST & COMMER. PROFITS

FIG. 2

CONSUMPTION OF PROLETARIAT		FIELD OF PRODUCTION	CONSUMPTION OF CAPITALIST		
NECESS. OF LIFE	NECESS. LUXURIES		NECESS. OF LIFE	NECESS. LUXURIES	UN-NECESS. LUXURIES
● ●	● ●	○ ○	● ●	● ●	● ●
HOME RENT	INTERNAL REVENUES & TAXES	INCREASE IN M.P. STORE OF OVER PROD.	HOME & FACTORY TAXES	INTERNAL REVENUES & TAXES	INTEREST & COMMER. PROFITS

FIG. 3

privilege of staying on the face of the earth and enjoying certain commodities? Some seem to think that this proposition is impossible, that the worker as a consumer cannot be robbed in any sense of the word, but what they really mean to say is that, the robbery of the productive worker cannot in the least be diminished by eliminating the robbery that is inflicted on him as a consumer. While the productive worker is primarily exploited almost to the limit in the field of production, yet in several cases he is robbed as a consumer, such as in the payment of his home rent, internal revenue, and other superfluous taxes. This proposition, however, can best be illustrated by the accompanying diagrams: Figure 1 represents the state of things in the field of production after the workers have worked, say, ten hours and produced the ten units of value in the form of commodities, as represented by the ten plain circles, all other fields are at this stage inactive.

Figure 2 represents the next step taken after the products are made. Three units are here converted into money for the maintenance of the proletariat and say two of those units pass into the field of the "Necessities of Life" while one unit say passes into the field of "Necessary Luxuries." Two units of value here remain on the field of production, while five are converted into surplus value money and pass to the consumption of the "Capitalist" distributed as shown under the heads of the "Necessities of Life," "Necessary Luxuries," and "Unnecessary Luxuries." As soon as this arrangement of things is consummated the third and last arrangement takes place as shown in Figure 3. Here in the act of consumption the proletariat must pay out of the "Necessities of Life" one unit of value into "Home Rent" which passes over to and is consumed by that sycophant of society known as the Land Lord. While he consumes such things as his tobacco, beer and booze, he must pay out of his "Necessary Luxuries," one-half of a unit of value levied as "internal revenue," most of which goes to support our intelligent Representatives and Senators at Washington who are actually bright enough to try to create value by legislation in the form of an Aldrich Bill.

Now since the productive worker has paid the "internal revenue," "taxes" and "home rent," both from the standpoint of having produced the value with which it was paid as well as having performed the transaction of the actual payment for the privilege of consumption of certain commodities, it is clear to be seen that he has paid these robberies in every sense of the term and that too at the point of consumption.

Now it will be noted that a similar action has taken place on the side of the "consumption of the capitalist," but as they say in the South, "Nobody cares a damn for who robs a robber," we will not trouble ur-

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selves in the least about this end of the game. It is well to note at this point the role taken by the two units of value first left in the field of production; there one of the units of value has passed into the general "Increase of the Means of Production," while the other unit of value has passed into the "Store House of Over Production," which when finally filled to overflowing it precipitates a "panic plethorique," when the worker is thrown out of a job, and left to starve and seek employment.

I must say here for the benefit of those who might think that the internal revenue is extracted from the surplus value contained in the alcohol that all they need to do is to remember that the selling price of good denaturalized alcohol on which there is no revenue is always approximately, if not exactly, equal to the selling price of grain alcohol, less the amount of duty levied on same, which proves conclusively that the grain alcohol sells at a price above its value, equal to the amount of duty levied thereon.

Now let us analyze what would take place if we should go out on a "wild goose chase" so to speak to stop the robberies inflicted on the productive workers in the field of consumption.

Let us suppose, for instance, that we join hands with the "Single Taxers" and other reformers, in which we would be assisted by the exploiting class as well as by many other loafers and parasites.

And after spending our time and energies (which should be exerted all the time to the ultimate overthrow of wage slavery), suppose that we should win and succeed in abolishing Home Rents, Taxes, Internal and External Revenues, and other forms of petite graft, what would be the effect on the condition of the productive workers as diagrammed in Figures 1, 2 and 3.

At first thought it would seem as if he would wind up in the field of consumption with the benefit of three units of value at his disposal, as shown in diagram of Fig. 2, instead of the one and a half unit of value, as shown in diagram of Fig. 3. In other words, it would seem as if he could retain, for his own use and behalf, the one and one-half unit of value, formerly handed over to the landlord and tax gatherer. But let us not be too quick to jump at conclusions. Let us not forget that vast industrial reserve army of unemployed, which in the words of Marx, "rivets the laborer to capital more firmly than the wdeges of Vulcan did Prometheus to the rock."

Let us now see what happens to John Jones, who so fervently supported the reform movement that eliminated rents and abolished the superfluous duties and taxes. As soon as the consummation of the reformation is made, and John has just begun to enjoy the relief from

rent and unnecessary taxes, he steps into the factory one morning to be greeted as follows: "Good morning, John," says his boss. "Morning, sir," replies John. "We won a great victory, John, when we eliminated the superfluous taxes and rent, didn't we, John?" "Yes, sir-e-e," replies John, "and now I can live something like a man." "What do you do with that money, John, with which you formerly paid your rent and duties?" "Well," says John, "sometimes we go to the theatre, sometimes I take my wife and children for a little outing, and sometimes I save a little for a rainy day." "Well," brutally replies his master, "what the hell right have you to go to the theatre and take outings, etc., while there is an ever increasing army of unemployed men outside the factory gates begging for a job? Leave me that one and one-half unit of value with which you formerly paid your taxes and rent, you don't need it now any way." "But," says John, bristling up, "I helped to fight for the elimination of rent and superfluous taxes, and what I have saved thereby

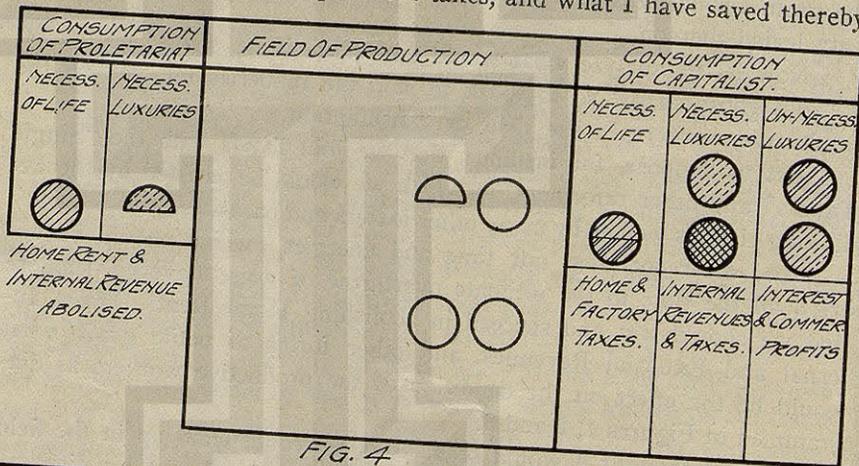


FIG. 4

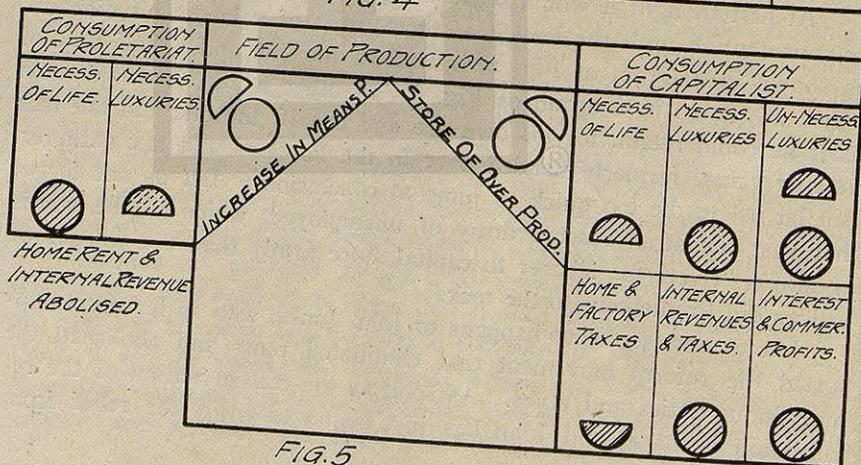


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belongs to me and not to you, and I won't work for any less than I formerly did, so there now." "All right," replies the capitalist, "you don't have to, this is a free country, and if you don't want the job at that price I will offer it to someone else," and thereupon John starts out to hunt another "job." And thereupon this offer and "free contract" is put to the man just outside the door, whose ears are full of the cries of his hungry children, with his eyes full of tears, his heart full of hope, and belly full of nothing, it is not hard to guess what this man will do under such circumstances. He accepts the "job" laid down by John for the one and one-half units of value, and thus matters rearrange themselves as shown in Figure 4, where the workers only receive one and one-half units of value instead of three and where the original surplus value left in the field of production increases to three and one-half instead of two.

In the final adjustment of things as shown in Figure 5, the "Home Rent" and "Internal Revenue" being abolished, the productive worker finds himself in exactly the same fix that he was in before, so far as his enjoyment of commodities is concerned, that is to say he gets just enough to subsist on and nothing more.

In the field of production we find that the "Increase in Means of Production" or the productivity of machinery has been accelerated by an extra half unit of value, which means an extra increase in the industrial reserve army of the unemployed. For just as much as machinery increases, labor must be thrown out of employment.

We also note another extra half unit of value has been thrown into the "Storehouse of Overproduction," which means the hastening of crises and panics, while the third half unit of value formerly used by the proletariat for the payment of rent and revenue, has passed into the hands of the plutes to be consumed, in the field of the "Unnecessary Luxuries," or rather to be wasted there as it would be next to impossible for them to actually consume any more luxuries than they formerly did.

By a careful study of the diagrams it is clear to be seen that, as the robberies in the field of consumption are eliminated the worker's lot in life must grow ever harder and harder while many like our friend John join the army of the unemployed and become wandering vagrants out of employment seeking for work. And thus they are justly repaid in stinging rebuke, as they reap the rich reward of rotten reformation.

CONSUMPTION OF CAPITALIST.		
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INTERNAL REVENUES & COMMERCIAL TAXES.	INTEREST PROFITS	

CONSUMPTION CAPITALIST.	
NECESS. LUXURIES	UN-NECESS. LUXURIES
INTERNAL REVENUES & TAXES.	INTEREST PROFITS.



Of the Cave people, dreams were chief among the great mysteries. None of the strange occurrences of the world about them, so filled them with wonder and awe, as the deeds they performed and the adventures they encountered while their bodies lay wrapped in sleep. Often it was difficult for them to separate the dream from the world of reality. This may account for the reports of those anthropologists who charge savage tribes with being the most amazing liars in the world. It may be that some of these primitive men and women have merely related the remarkable exploits of their dreams which they were not always able to distinguish clearly from their actual experiences.

Often a Cave Man might go forth alone in the night, and after traveling a journey of many suns, slay fearlessly all the members of a hostile tribe, while he slept securely in his cave. But when he reported his dream adventures to his wife, she refused often to believe them. Whenever she stirred during the night, she had found him at her side. Or perhaps she had groaned through the long darkness, with the colic that comes from too much eating of the early fruit. This she made known to the dreamer. Indeed he had slumbered peacefully through all her trouble!

Again, when a Cave Dweller fell asleep beside his brothers and dreamed of dispatching the sabre-toothed tiger with a single blow, the whole tribe was ready to assure him, in the language of the Cave People,

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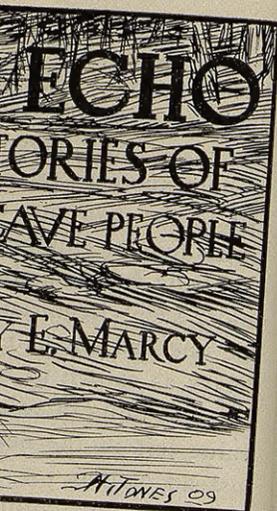
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that he had not moved from his resting place, but had slept continually. This was all very strange.

When the fire dashed through the sky, during a storm, or the waters of the river climbed up over the banks and flooded the woods, they were not so wonderful as these dream things.

Many men and women of the tribe had closed their eyes in the long sleep, but when the Cave People slumbered, the dead came back again, to journey and hunt the forests with their brothers and sisters. And so, in time, the Cave People came to believe that their friends, who had deserted the body, still lived. That they had, themselves, fought and hunted while their bodies slept, the Cave People well knew, and that the dead come back again, they knew also, for they had seen and spoken with them in their dream journeyings.

This was the origin of the idea of spirit, at first only dim and confused but gathering strength as the years rolled away. The seed of the idea of immortality sprang also from the dreams of primitive man. Though the sabre-toothed tiger devoured a brother he would surely return again. They had seen these things with their own eyes, in dreams.

The Cave People saw also their shadows that followed where they went, moving slowly when they walked, and swiftly when they ran, keeping ever at their sides.

When a Cave Man gazed into the river, always a face looked back at him, and the other members of the tribe told him he saw his own image. This also was very strange. If he journeyed as far as the great canyon, and sent his voice echoing among the big rocks, a call came bounding back to him, although there was no other man there. Gradually he came to believe the cry was the voice of a spirit and that the face he had seen in the waters of the river was the face of a spirit also.

To all things the Cave People attributed animation. To them everything was alive. Young trees were the children of big trees and great stones were the fathers of small stones. Little they spoke of these things, for their words were few and it is impossible to tell many things in a gesture language. Danger and confusion they saw everywhere, for the whole world was filled with happenings they could not understand.

Many seasons had passed since they had found the Fire beast eating up the trees in the woods. The small blaze they had kept alive in the Hollow had died long before, when Quack Quack forgot to feed it. In these days the Fire flashed only through the heavens during a storm. Strong Arm had been able to call it by striking a sharp stone against the rock before his cave. When the darkness came on and he struck the rock swiftly, a small spark fell. Again and again the Cave People saw these

sparks. But so quickly were they gone that no man or woman was able to catch them, or to feed them the dead leaves they had brought.

At this time Big Nose made a great discovery. He had chased a fat lizard over the rocks and had seen it disappear into the hollow of a tree that lay prone on the river bank. Immediately he poked violently with a long rod of bamboo, in order to drive the lizard out. To him the fresh flesh of the lizard was sweeter than any other meat.

On removing the rod, Big Nose found the end of it warm. From one side to the other, Big Nose tipped his brown head, like a great monkey, in an effort to understand this new experience. Then he trotted off to make known these things to the tribe.

Soon all the Cave People gathered around the dead tree, chattering curiously. Big Nose thrust the bamboo rod into the hollow trunk and pulled it out again. But this time it was not warm. The friction of the bamboo rubbed violently against the dry wood of the tree had caused the heat before, but Big Nose did not know this.

For a long time the Cave People chattered and gesticulated about the tree while Big Nose continually made the fire sign, waving his fingers upward, like smoke arising. One by one all the Cave People threw themselves upon their bellies and gazed into the hollow trunk. But they saw nothing.

At last Big Nose again thrust the bamboo into the tree, this time angrily, jamming it in and out with all the strength of his great arms. And the end of the rod came forth warm again. Then every member of the tribe must have his turn in thrusting. Each one sought to outdo his fellows in the frenzy of his movements.

Meanwhile the end of the rod had worn away, leaving a soft inflammable saw-dust in the old tree. And when Light Foot sent the rod in and out sharply with her strong, brown arms, the end of the bamboo came forth smoking.

A flood of excited chatterings greeted her success and the Cave People cried "Food! Food!" which was the word they used for "eat" also. For they thought the Fire (within the tree) had begun to eat the bamboo rod. Many of them ran about gathering dry leaves to feed the Fire.

When the rod came forth at last, with its end a dull glow, Light Foot laid it on the rocks in the dead leaves. A soft breeze came from the river and coaxed the embers into a blaze. And the Cave People jabbered frantically as they gathered brush and wood.

Often they threw themselves on the rocks to gaze in wonder into the hollow tree. But many of them believed Light Foot had driven the

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Fire from the tree trunk, just as they had often forced out the lizard.

Thus for the first time in the memory of the tribe, a fire was kindled. And the hand of the maiden, Light Foot, had worked the miracle. The Cave People laughed and danced and sat in the Hollow long into the darkness; for security came with the Fire and their forest enemies were afraid.

But a time came when great rains fell and the Fire died away with every drop. And Strong Arm gathered a brand and carried it into his cave. But the smoke from the burning choked him and forced him out. Then he carried the Fire to the hollow of a tree that towered very high, and he fed the Fire in this hollow. There it lived for many suns, eating slowly into the tree trunk on one side.

* * * * *

The Sun saw many strange mysteries on the day when the Cave People first came upon the great canyon. It was during the period of the year that comes before the season of plenty.

Keen hunger assailed every living thing and sent them forth, sharp-eyed into the forest. The wild hog grew strong and wary from the struggles of the hard and meagre days. The green snakes hidden away, waited continually for the small forest folk to run into their coils. The lank black bear grew bold and desperate with the hunger passion and the Cave People acquired a new skill in hunting.

Beside the strength of their forest enemies, they were weak indeed. But armed with their long, sharp bone weapons, and a wonderful cunning, they fought in all their numbers and were able to triumph over the animals of the forest.

With eyes keen and tense hands gripping their weapons, they followed the trail of the black bear which led them through strange ways. At the breaking of a twig, they paused. And no falling leaf escaped them. Sounds they made none, as they slipped through the deep woods, one before the other.

At last they came to an open space, where the trees ceased to grow and where the tracks of the bear were lost in a rocky way. Beyond them lay the great canyon, which had been once the bed of a river. Only the waters of the spring rains lay in the hollows of the rocks that lined its bottom.

Here the Cave People halted, for they knew not which way the black bear had taken, nor how to follow her. As they separated to seek further for her tracks, no word was spoken. Only Strong Arm gave a low grunt of approval, as his comrades departed.

Then, in the silence of the old world, it came, the strange voice

echoing down the great canyon, grunting in the tones of Strong Arm! The whole tribe heard it and they paused, motionless, while their eyes swept the canyon for him who had spoken. But they saw no one.

Silently they gathered together, with weapons raised. But the stillness remained unbroken. Then Strong Arm raised his voice in a soft "Wough!" And, in his own tone, the Echo answered him, "Wough!"

It was very strange. The Cave People could not understand. But they forgot the black bear and sent their voices ringing down the great canyon. Came again the echo, in many tones, back to them.

Then a great chattering arose among them, and even as they spoke, the chatterings of many voices arose from the canyon.

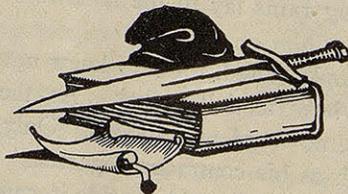
"Wough-ee!" said the Cave People. And they gave a sign in the gesture language, for they thought the sounds were the voices of their enemies, the Hairy Folk.

With great caution they departed to the point whence the sounds had come. Not boldly, but by varied paths they made their way, slowly, concealing themselves behind the rocks and the trees as they progressed. Long they hunted, one and all, but no man they found, nor any signs of man, and they returned at length to the mouth of the great canyon.

Again their voices rang down the bed of the old river, this time defiantly. And the Echoes replied once more, challenging them. The Cave People grew angry and the search was continued, but they found no one. And they were compelled to return to their caves in the Hollow with hearts heavy with wrath against the Hairy Folk.

Often they returned to the great canyon, bearing their bone weapons. There they remained long in hiding, awaiting the advent of the enemy, till at last they learned no one was there. Then the mystery grew more strange, for no man could tell whence came the voices that replied to them.

But there came a time when the Cave people believed that these cries were the voices of the spirits that came to hunt with them, in their dream journeyings. No longer were they afraid. Only a great awe filled them and much wonder concerning these things.



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A Conflict Among Leaders

BY ROBIN ERNEST DUNBAR.



AFTER studying the symposium of the Socialist Party leaders in a recent number of *The Saturday Evening Post*, I did not wonder at the editor's asking, "Is there any such thing as 'Practical Socialism'?" The proposals on the method of bringing about the Co-operative Commonwealth, ranged all the way from sapient opportunism to senseless anarchism. The expressions of men who have made a hobby of Socialism and who have achieved national and even international reputation by reason of their positions in the party proved miserably inadequate and even contradictory. This to the ordinary reader of bourgeois literature is a matter of little moment. Such a one has already discounted the predictions of the "misguided dreamers," and "the free lovers," as he terms all Socialists of whatever brand they may be. We should by no means entirely ignore the popular verdict. It is generally founded on some shrewd instinct or warning intuition. But we rely rather on a rigid, scientific analysis, the conclusions of logic and the facts of natural history.

To those who are living at all in the intellectual world the self-contradictions of the leaders of the party come as a matter of course. While they expected better things, yet they knew confusion still surrounds the question. Intellectuals have nothing but contempt for the charlatan, the pretender and the quack. They realize that the age is becoming scientific; that sentimental and emotional considerations are no longer valid. The study of mankind has been reduced to the science of sociology. Ernst Haeckel has put Sociology at the top of philosophy in the place that ethics formerly occupied. The way he points to investigate society is first to find out the underlying principles that sway it before setting about to revolutionize it.

Now, if we take up the questions that befuddled the leaders and discuss them along purely materialistic lines we shall arrive at better conclusions than if we set out on our way to establish what we want rather than what is already here. "How will the co-operative commonwealth be brought about?" and "Suppose that you should elect a Socialist President and Congress, how would you go about transferring private property to public ownership?" As queries to politicians they serve a

purpose and were, for that matter, treated well enough. Suppose we ask those who favor an income tax, to predict its exact effect, is it not likely the replies would show considerable variance? Or, take another case, that of the tariff. Are the authorities all agreed on the effect of free trade? Or on the question, "How is universal peace to be brought about?" No doubt some will answer, "Peace will come via the cannon," just as a few of the leaders claimed that the co-operative commonwealth will be ushered in by force.

Outside of the natural and excusable contradictions of the Socialist leaders, there is one strange omission in all the replies, that is truly blameworthy. Socialism is founded on the doctrine of the class struggle. Yet no reference is made to this important aid toward attaining the co-operative commonwealth. The class struggle leads to "The expropriation of a few usurpers by the mass of the people."—Marx. Just how this will occur is debatable. Perhaps some analogy can be drawn from history. Grant's second administration witnessed the rise of the Railway Magnates. They seized one of the common necessities of the people, the means of quick transportation. Thus, they got the power of life and death over their fellow countrymen. Coal, iron, wheat and corn are unevenly distributed but everywhere needed. So, sometimes, soldiers must be sent quickly from one place to another. The magnates were prepared to do this work adequately, so they began to dictate terms to the state. When they found that the state obeyed them, they realized that they were its masters. The revolution from democracy to oligarchy was *un fait accompli*. The reins of government fell from the feeble hands of the middle class into the strong ones of the upper class. This revolution was marked in 1872 by the defeat of Greeley by Grant. The issue between the classes was fought out and the upper class won. To be sure the revolution was not immediately recognized then, but for that matter what revolution has been so recognized? Historians have to wait generations before they catch the inner significance of the times. The materialistic interpretation of history is comparatively a new science.

This particular election was a critical one in American history. Grant was wax in the hands of the Capitalists. Colfax was friendly to Oakes Ames and the *Credit-Mobilier* crowd. They fell victims to the schemers of the transcontinental railways. Greeley stood for the little mercantile and petty trading classes of the east and the *petite Bourgeoisie* of the middle west. He was beaten badly and it broke his heart. Had he won, the result in the end would probably have been the same. For Capitalism was the new power. It was destined to bend or crush stronger persons than Greeley on its onward march. He only kicked against the inevitable course of Capitalism. An apt comparison lies between him and a recent

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president. The former at first represented the middle class and surren-
dered reluctantly to the oligarchs. The latter stood for the people osten-
sibly; in reality, he long ago secretly made terms with the upper classes.

Revolutions do not come through politics or politicians; they come
through the operation of economic law to which politicians are the first
to yield. The office seeker is a weather vane who points the way the
wind blows. To think that by electing a Socialist President, we can
hasten the dawn of the Co-operative Commonwealth is to imagine that
we can veer the wind around by sheering the weather vane.

The object of the Socialist organization is to send the voter to school;
to teach him the class struggle and to instill in him, the talent for organi-
zation; to unite the proletariat into a self-conscious and class conscious
party and to perfect labor solidarity. When this has been done, the
revolution will have been accomplished.

The control of the state is in the hands always of the most highly
organized class. The capitalist class is the best organized, and the most
class conscious—hence it rules. When 51 per cent of the workers unite
in a close industrial union, and will work or strike as a unit, then they
will become the dominant class, and the revolution will have been accom-
plished. Whatever party is in office—even the Republican party—will not
matter, for the orders of the union will be final.

As Capitalism has not snatched woman from the domestic
hearth and launched her into social production to emancipate
her, but to exploit her more ferociously than man, so it has
been careful not to overthrow the economic, legal, political
and moral barriers which had been raised to seclude her in
the marital dwelling. Woman, exploited by capital, endures
the miseries of the free laborer and bears in addition her chains
of the past. Her economic misery is aggravated; instead of
being supported by her father or husband, to whose rule she
still submits, she is obliged to earn her living; and under the
pretext that she has fewer necessities than man, her labor is
paid less; and when her daily toil in the shop, the office or
school is ended, her labor in the household begins. Mother-
hood, the sacred, the highest of social functions, becomes in
capitalistic society a cause of horrible misery, economic and
physiologic. The social and economic condition of woman is
a danger for the reproduction of the species.—PAUL LA-
FARGUE, in "The Right to Be Lazy and Other Studies."

A Workingman's College

BY G. SIMS, RUSKIN COLLEGE, OXFORD, ENGLAND.



STUDENTS ON THE WASH-UP.



WHAT an interesting subject to study is the "captain of industry!" Having, by reason of his acquisitive faculty, accumulated a vast fortune, a result achieved by methods which in "lower" walks of life would have secured him some years of governmental supervision, fawned upon and feted by the motley crowd of less successful adventurers known as "business" people, and the not less lurid circle known as "society," small wonder is it that he imagines that he is a genius of the first magnitude. Having as a result of hard work (other people's) become "possessed" of wealth, invariably persuading himself that he has been "the instrument in the hand of God" for finding the wherewithal to live for the working people he employed (at times) he frequently takes upon himself to become the fairy godfather to the working class in other

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spheres than the industrial. Not understanding the real nature of the system upon which he and his like thrive, he takes upon himself to eliminate the *effects* without knowing the *cause*. The usual result follows—failure—and with it disgust for the ineradicable vices of human nature among the “lower orders.”

Sometimes his hobby takes the form of charitable societies for the free distribution of soup and blankets; labor yards, where the unemployed can retain their “self-respect and self-reliance” by working at sweating prices so as to further crowd the already over-burdened labor market and manufacture more candidates for “labor yard relief measures”; the establishment and endowment of technical schools, to add to the supply of skilled workmen in trades where there are already thousands of people in a state of chronic unemployment, and where the introduction of a machine may make the handicraftsman an object of interest to the antiquarian, rather than to the manufacturer; farm colonies; building societies; temperance movements; purity crusades, etc., all these receive attention more or less from our “captain” on the search for new worlds to conquer—or redeem. All of them demonstrating that the intellectual acumen of our “self-made” men, outside of mere money making, is on a level with their business morality.

The particular institution we are dealing with, Ruskin College, is a case in point. It owes its inception to the desire on the part of an American “captain”—Mr. Walter Vrooman—to “do something” for the working class. Starting out with this laudable object his inability to grasp the situation showed itself in his letting the control be placed in the hands of irresponsible persons, rather than securing the control to the representatives of organized labor. This question of control may have seemed to him of small importance compared with the giving of opportunities to working men to study. Therein lay his mistake, for we socialists know that the question of control is more important than any other thing, particularly in education, for on this question of control rests the sort of education which is to be given, *the* most important matter to the working class student, and his class.

Ruskin College was founded in February, 1899, its object being to instruct the workingman in the duties of citizenship on non-partisan lines. In practice this has meant that the teaching (apart from the principal, Mr. Dennis Hird) the student receives is, that the capitalist system is an eternal nature-ordained necessity, the idea and hope being that he will teach this in turn to his fellows and become an able lieutenant in the administrative work of capitalist society. It aims at teaching him “to raise, not to rise out of, his class”; a piece of phrase-making that has been the stock-in-trade of the people who are managing the college.

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When it is suggested that its aim should be to equip the worker to fight for the abolition of classes we soon find where we are, and what value there is in their platitudes. The maintenance of the present organization of society is purely partisan, the abolition of it is also partisan, no middle course is possible, "to be or not to be, that's the question."

When Ruskin College was founded there was small sign of that growth of opinion in favor of independent political representation of the working class which has since assumed such huge proportions, and consequently there was considerable opposition to the college from the short-sighted members of the governing class in residence at the university. This was added to by the fact that Mr. Vrooman had instituted lectures on that "foreign" study known as sociology, and, *quelle horreur*, taught by a man who had been cast out of the Church



MEMBERS OF THE AMALGAMATED SOCIETY OF ENGINEERS IN RESIDENCE, 1908.
 Top row—J. H. H. Ballantyne (Springburn, No. 2), W. Francis (Woolwich No. 4), A. G. Moorman (Ipswich).
 Second row—W. J. Higgon (Gosport), J. A. Martin (Coventry, No. 4), F. E. Jones (Blackburn, No. 3).

of England for daring not only to think for himself, but to write about what he thought, Mr. Dennis Hird. Last and crowning infamy, he was a Socialist! Oxford was scandalized! Oxford was up in arms! Oxford would have none of him, or his

subject! Wonderful (!) and his fustian of disapproval: gradually disappeared; societies; pushed and its teaching

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subject! Was Oxford, the home of the good (!), the true (!), the beautiful (!) and the cultured (!!), to be openly flouted by this one man, and his fustian clad followers? Perish the thought. But, in spite of its open disapproval and hostility, Ruskin College and its principal remained, and gradually drew to its support the large trade unions and co-operative societies; pursuing the even tenor of its way indifferent to the university and its teaching.

After the general election of 1906, which demonstrated the growing power of the independent political movement of labor, "a change came o'er the scene." Oxford became friendly. Oxford became anxious. Oxford had all along perceived the necessity of "giving" the representative workingmen a "liberal" education, only Oxford was sadly afraid that the methods employed and the subjects given were not the best for its beloved representative workingmen. It would put this right. It would suggest a new curriculum which it was sure would be better for the worker than his present crude lines of study. Why! they had even heard that their dear workingmen were receiving an education which led them to believe that the present form of society was only a stage in the evolution of the human race; that it was possible for the workers, with a knowledge of the forces in operation in the real live world, to so act and teach their fellows to act, that evolution would be speeded up and a new era dawn wherein the results of social labor would be socially owned and controlled; and that the power to so organize society was not the attribute of a class but latent in the whole of the people—even workingmen and women! How absurd! This is what comes of allowing "foreign" subjects to be taught to ignorant workingmen. Of course it is not your fault! but it really is a misfortune. This must be altered. Oxford will look after you in future, and see that your time is not wasted in foolish subjects, but that you get a really *sound* education.

So Oxford set to work. The Executive Committee of Ruskin College chose five *safe* members of its number (three university men, a retired Indian official and a workingman) as a sub-committee to draw up a scheme of lectures and classes. In place of evolution, sociology and logic, they proposed literature, temperance and rhetoric. These latter subjects are so useful, so practical and so helpful. Literature is such a useful subject, it is food, drink and shelter, so nice when you are unemployed to pass the time away in reading of the rollicking deeds of the mighty dead, so useful to offer to your friends in similar circumstances; to offer the members of your class to obliterate the passionate thoughts that will rise when they view the effects of the capitalist system, sweating, hunger, etc., so unlikely to lead you to speculate as to the cause—and the cure—of so many evils. Temperance, again, is so practical, it

gives the explanation of the evils you see around you, even if the sufferer be a teetotaler he is suffering because of the drinking habits of his fellows; so easy, you know, to explain the otherwise unexplainable; so different from those other subjects we are removing, *they* lead to class hatred by attempting to prove that these evils are inherent in the form of society, and that only by abolishing the cause can you get rid of the effects, so crude! so impossible an explanation that we should refuse to discuss it with these silly people! Besides it would lead to Socialism! And then rhetoric! You know how easy it is to govern the people by wordy, polished sentences! So easy to get a position among your fellows by flowing phrases and impassioned formulas, and really you need never make any definite promises, or give pledges which you may be called to fulfill! You may know no solution of the difficulties which confront your class, but if you only have a ready command of language it will never be noticed, you will get on, you will become a labor leader! So different with logic when allied to the other subjects, you will constantly be confronted with the supposed mistakes of your class, you will frequently have to antagonize your people by pointing out that the position they propose to take up on a given subject will not be to their best interests, you will be shut out from office because you are a revolutionary, you will lose your job at the works because you teach your fellow-workers that the interests of Capital and Labor are diametrically opposed, you will be like the carpenter of Nazareth "despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief." All this you will be saved from by our reasonable and sound educational policy, office, trust and influence, all these things will be added unto you our way. Choose!

Strange to say, the students refused to accept the proposed alterations. They signed a statement objecting to the removal of sociology, evolution and logic. They also held a meeting at which they decided to leave in a body if the proposed alterations were carried out. It was withdrawn. The time was not yet ripe for the change to be successfully carried out.

In the meantime, outside, an organization grew up known as the Workers' Educational Association, financed in the main by the capitalist class, for the purpose of spreading "higher" education among the workers. It is somewhat curious that this body met with so much added support from the capitalists and the government *after* the aforementioned general election and the triumph of so many labor men. Last year a joint committee was formed on the subject of "Oxford and Working Class Education." The W. E. A. appointed seven members and Oxford University a similar number (five of whom were members of the Council of Ruskin College), to consider what could be "done" for the education of workingmen.

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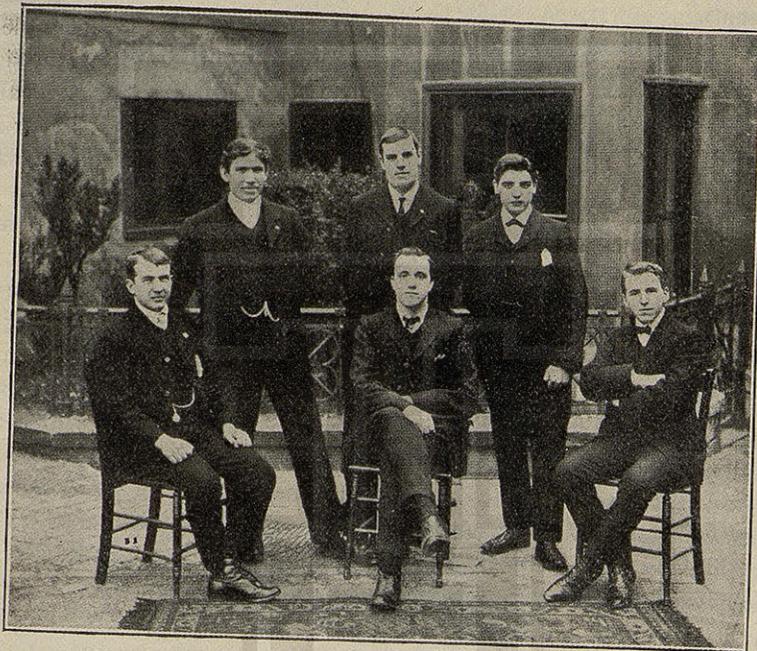
MEMBERS

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Among other things they suggested that Ruskin College should become a sort of half-way house to the university. Now Ruskin College had, up to this time, boasted that it held no tests or examinations of any sort. This made two difficulties to be overcome: (1) to get rid of Mr. Hird and his subjects; (2) to have some sort of an examination in the college. This was soon done. A form of examination, known as revision papers, was instituted, and, after some opposition from the students, carried out. Difficulty one was settled. How to overcome the other? A sub-committee was appointed in November, 1908, to inquire into the internal



MEMBERS OF THE NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS' MUTUAL CONFIDENT ASSOCIATION IN RESIDENCE, 1908.

Top row—J. Parks (Eltringham), W. Dent (North Seaton), H. Floyd (Ashington).
 Second row—E. Edwards (Ashington), C. Pattinson (Woodhorn), A. Bacon (Hartley).

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the removal of Mr. Hird. With him, of course, would go his subjects. affairs of the institution. It conveniently found an excuse to recommend The carrying out of this recommendation led to the famous "strike" of the students. It failed to achieve one of its objects, the prevention of the proposed removal of Mr. Hird, but it succeeded beyond expectation in its primary object, the raising of the question of independent working-class education. The result of the "strike" is that an influential and well-supported movement is now on foot for the establishment of a new Central Labor College in Oxford as a definite part of the working-

class movement in England. We already have our own industrial and political structures. Now we are out to secure our own educational structure. Slowly, but surely, we are convincing our fellow workers that, in the words of the "Plebs" magazine (the organ of the students), "*there is no alchemy that can change an industrial enemy into an educational friend.*"

The new college will teach sociology, economics and history from the working-class viewpoint, it will have no false ideas about non-partisan education, its pioneers know that "those who are not for us are against us."

We are sending this short account of the working-class struggle in England for independence in education as likely to interest our American comrades, and because for good or ill America has had a great deal to do with the work of Ruskin College. Founded by an American, it has added to our debt by giving us our text books on sociology, particularly the works of Prof. Lester Ward. Although rather hazy in places, the works of Dr. Ward have had a great effect upon the students and have added considerably to their knowledge of social science. Last, but not least, the books of Messrs. Kerr & Company, Chicago, have become the most treasured possessions of scores of working-class students during the last two years. They have discovered that there are dozens of scientific works to be had, written from the proletarian point of view, armed with which they can confidently face and overcome the difficulties which confront the independent inquirer. Many opponents of the working class have had reason to curse the day that introduced Ruskin College students to the well-stocked book shelves of Messrs. Kerr & Company. These works find an ever-increasing sale here in England, a result which is to the advantage of the working-class movement the world over.



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Where Do We Stand on the Woman Question ?

BY THERESA MALKIEL.



THEORETICALLY we Socialists assert the equality of sex and race. We say, "All people are born equal," and accordingly strain all our efforts towards the abolition of the existing social regime. But around the one uppermost problem, like numerous planets around the sun, revolve many smaller problems which, though they will be solved with the solution of the whole, are important enough to be taken up and fought for separately.

The Woman Question is attracting today world-wide attention. The evolution of society has brought woman to the point where she realizes at last her degrading position and vehemently claims redress.

As Socialists we recognize, of course, that the real freedom of woman cannot be achieved before the entire social problem is solved. But we realize at the same time that under a regime of political tyranny the first and most urgent ideal is necessarily the conquest of political liberty. And therefore, our women here, like our disfranchised male comrades abroad, are taking up the fight for universal suffrage.

But there are many Socialists who cry out in fear whenever that subject is viewed from a practical and not only a theoretical point of view. This element, in keeping with its views, demands that we drop the woman question altogether, that it is no concern of ours and that every active participation in the enfranchisement of woman is a crime against scientific socialism.

Another portion of our scientific socialists go a step further and in their great wisdom assert that it is all a mistake, that man and woman are not equal.

Says Enrico Ferri: "Utopian Socialism has bequeathed to us a mental habit, a habit surviving even in the most intelligent disciples of Marxian Socialism, of asserting the existence of certain equalities—the equality of the two sexes, for example—assertions which cannot possibly be maintained." He even censures Bebel for claiming that from the psycho-physical point of view woman is the equal of man.

Then, only as late as last month, comes another of our scientific men

and says: "The impulse below intellect is intuition, which is developed further in many animals than in man. And because woman is nearer to the lower forms than man, intuition is more deeply seated in the female race."

Is there greater wisdom in the assertion of a man who says: Woman is nearer to the animal than man, because she is endowed with an extraordinary amount of intuition; then in that of Mr. Roosevelt who says: "Every Socialist must be a free lover, because one or two of the Socialists had rather exciting marital experiences."

Was woman ever given the chance to display fully the strength of her intellectual ability? How could anybody, in view of woman's long subjection, judge her ability or the standard of her intellect? If our scientists would follow closely the history of woman and then note how today, though unprepared, she enters the different spheres of science, literature, music and art, where she holds fully her own with man, they might come to the conclusion that woman belongs rather to the higher plane of animal life.

True enough that there were but few great artists, musicians or scientists among the female of the race, but does not the writer himself state that a prolonged exercise of the brain cells goes to increase their quantity? If woman was able to achieve that much in the limited time of her brain development it goes to show that the quality of her brain cells is as good or even better than that belonging to the members of the opposite sex. In the face of the beastly acts so often characteristic of man, it is simply beyond human understanding how anybody could claim that woman is nearer to the animal, while man remains the supreme being.

With all due respect to our wise men, I think that even they would come to recognize our equality—if we only had the power to enforce it. It may be true that I am expressing myself with too much fervor, but if our male comrades were women they could understand easily how a statement like that goes to exasperate one. I have been always in the habit of speaking my mind freely and cannot see why this subject could not be discussed openly and thoroughly.

It is almost incomprehensible to me how our scientists came to such conclusion. And I, a plain ordinary mortal, challenge them in the name of my sex to set forth frankly and exhaustively the grounds on which they make these assertions.

My main object, however, in writing this article is to discuss our attitude on the Woman Question. For the workingwoman of today finds herself between two fires—on the one hand she faces the capitalist class, her bitterest enemy; it foresees a far-reaching danger in her

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emancipation and with all the ability of its money power tries to resist her gradual advent into the civilized world. In her anguish the working-woman turns towards her brothers in the hope to find a strong support in their midst, but she is doomed to be disillusioned, for they discourage her activity and are utterly listless towards the outcome of her struggle.

In the heat of the battle for human freedom the proletarians seem to forget that the woman question is nothing more or less than a question of human rights. That the emancipation of woman means in reality the emancipation of the human being within her. They seem to overlook the fact that it is as much their duty to fight for the workingwoman's political freedom, as it is to her advantage to make common cause with the men of her class in order to bring about the regeneration of society.

What revolution will yet have to take place in the conceptions of men! What change of education, before they will be able to attain the knowledge of a pure human relationship to woman! For every day experience teaches us that even the most progressive of our men are still considering woman as the being who, chained by a thousand fetters of dependency to man-made conditions, broken in spirit and in health by her long degradation and continual maternity, became a weak, thoughtless being that was neither man nor beast. They do not take into consideration that the woman of today has marched forward on the road of evolution.

What grandeur and beauty are contained in the meaning of this sentence in our platform: "There can be no emancipation of humanity without the social independence and equality of sex."

But how bitter is our disappointment whenever we come to look upon matters as they really are—men who take enthusiastically the pledge to abide and follow the party principles and ideals follow their promise to the letter, as far as generalities are concerned, but stop short where the question comes to the practical point of sex equality, an act to which they had earnestly pledged themselves in accepting the Socialist platform.

The bulk of womanhood, that is linked some way or other to the Socialist movement, is kept ignorant of the necessity of its participation in same (as well as of the justice of its political rights), for man is a man for all that and fears that he might suffer by woman's immediate freedom.

To those of us who had the courage and initiative to strike out for ourselves, the path is being covered with more thorns than roses. We are told very often to keep quiet about our rights and await the social millennium. Safe advice, rather, for the men.

The question before us is whether it is really possible that a host of men whose whole life is spent in the fight for human freedom should at

the same time turn deliberately a deaf ear to the cry for liberty of one-half of the human race.

It is very humiliating for us Socialist women to be forced to admit this, but the question must be disposed of once for all, for we women cannot possibly build our expectations on the future freedom and at the same time submit calmly to the present oppression.

Among the fifty thousand dues-paying members of our party there are only two thousand women. Or, in other words, one woman member to every twenty-five men. Considering the fact that a number of our women members had entered the Socialist Party on their own accord, we may safely say that out of every thirty men within the party but one was ideal enough to bring in some female member of his family or a friend's into the ranks of the party, while the other twenty-nine preach the ideals of Socialism and the necessity of party alliance everywhere except within the walls of their own homes.

We may bring amendments reducing the dues of the women in our party, we may elect National and Local committees for the purpose of increasing the membership, but we will not achieve any considerable progress until our men will change their views as to woman's scope of activity in the movement. I know my sex and will admit freely that woman still looks to man as the guiding spirit of her life path and it is therefore for him to direct her steps into the party membership where she belongs—side by side with him.



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EDITOR'S CHAIR

The Class-Consciousness of Capitalists. Once more we are indebted to our valued exchange, the Exponent, of St. Louis, for a clear and logical discussion of a live question. In its July issue it publishes a speech recently delivered by former Congressman Charles E. Littlefield at a banquet of the National Association of Manufacturers at the Waldorf-Astoria. He testified to the value of the work done by that association at Washington "in connection with legislation whose purpose was to undermine industrial development and shake the very foundations of the government under which we live." He expressed the opinion that the congressmen and senators, in their desire to win the "labor vote," might have passed the legislation asked for by the American Federation of Labor, if it had ever come to a vote. But all such measures were referred to the Judiciary Committee.

"One of the members of that committee heretofore, who I have no doubt will be a member again, is my friend Mr. Malby, of New York, whom I had the greatest pleasure of receiving on the Judiciary Committee in his first term, as a member of my subcommittee to which, by the way, all this interesting legislation, which I shall not take the time now to discuss, was referred. By some curious combination of parliamentary circumstances it came into the hands of that subcommittee of which I was Chairman, and my friend here was the other Republican member. And allow me to suggest to you that it came to a mighty good place, where it was properly taken care of." (Applause and laughter.)

Mr. Littlefield pointed out that in the next Congress the Judiciary Committee will be appointed by Mr. Cannon, who "has rendered greater service to this country, to the men and women in it, to the business interests in it, than any other one man who has been a member of the House of Representatives for a long time." So that Mr. Littlefield can assure the National Association of Manufacturers that the country is safe for two years more. As for the future he continued:

"Now let me say that there is not a Congressional district in the United States, outside of perhaps four or five, where a single Member of Congress can even be renominated unless he has behind him the business men of the community where he lives, nor is there a district where one of them can be re-elected, unless he has behind him the business men of the district. I do not say Republican, I do

not say Democratic, because so far as I am concerned if a Member of Congress in advance tied himself up to the propaganda of these distinguished gentlemen who are insisting upon this legislation in season and out of season, if he was on the Republican ticket, and a Democrat, on the Democratic ticket, undertook to stand up and be a man, I would vote the Democratic ticket. (Applause.)

"If throughout the country the business men will simply discharge their fundamental political duties, and will see to it, not that Congressmen are elected to represent any class or any sect, but that the kind of man is elected, who when he gets there will wear his own hat, exercise his own judgment, do his own thinking and act as his convictions require him to act, without pledging himself in advance to any man or any set of men. If the business men of this country will see to it that such men receive their support for nomination and election, there will be no difficulty about this matter. In order to produce this result, I want to say to you right now that you do not necessarily need any primary law, because there is not a place in this country where under existing laws, if the business men of this country will take this matter in hand, they cannot produce this very desirable result. It is not a primary law that is needed, but what is needed is that the business men of this country have patriotism and public spirit and they must exercise it. If they do that, then whether it is a caucus, a convention or a primary, they can absolutely control and dominate the situation, and that is the word I leave with you."

Workingmen and those "friends of the workingman" among whom Darrow wittily classes himself can get many valuable suggestions from Mr. Littlefield's remarks, and we hope they will be given a wide circulation. Sentimental reformers may believe and try to make others believe that the government of the United States is or "ought" to be administered in a spirit of justice to all. Mr. Littlefield and his friends know better. They know that the government is a business proposition. They have certain interests of their own to serve. Knowing clearly what they want, and not being hampered by any considerations of sentiment, they get what they want.

Not until the working class become as clear-headed and as ruthless as the capitalists will the revolution be possible. But the very successes of the capitalists are developing the needed qualities in the working class. By defeating the reforms, which in any case would be of trifling benefit to those who ask for them, they are strengthening the world-wide surge of Revolution.

Fred Warren's Speech. Judge Pollock of the United States District Court at Fort Scott, Kansas, has sentenced Fred D. Warren, Editor of the Appeal to Reason, to serve six months in jail. The facts in the case were explained on page 998 of the June Review, and the sentence of the court was no surprise. But there was a surprise in the great speech which Warren delivered when asked to show cause why sentence should not be passed against him. He responded with a masterly argument which establishes without any reasonable doubt what the Appeal set out to prove

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in the first place, namely, that the United States courts are used to protect the interests of the capitalist class, and to keep the working class in subjection. We quote a few paragraphs:

For years the Appeal to Reason has been waging, almost single handed, a fight against the oppressive and intolerable industrial and political conditions which confront this country. We frankly admit having been unsparing in our criticism of the acts of public officials and the courts of this land. We have dared to tell the truth and it is because of this that I face this court today a convicted felon in the eyes of thousands of men and women whose respect I covet.

Whence came this prosecution? The Kansas City Journal in November, 1907, editorially stated that the Department of Justice at the instance of the President of the United States, had been instructed to commence proceedings against a Socialist sheet at Girard, Kansas. I do not know the Journal's source of information, but I am inclined to believe from facts now in my possession that this prosecution of the Appeal to Reason has been directed from the Attorney General's office in Washington.

* * * *

This case has dragged its weary way through this court for over two years, continued from time to time at the instance of the government. I submit from these facts that I am not prosecuted for having violated any federal law but purely because of my political opinions and my work in behalf of the working class of this nation.

This prosecution is not unexpected to us. As plainly stated by the government official to whom our attorney talked while in Washington secret service agents of the government have been camping on the trail of the Appeal for 10, these many years.

Is it not pretty conclusive evidence that we have observed religiously the laws and regulations governing the conduct of a newspaper when after ten years of effort the government is able to find only this lone and paltry alleged violation?

Personally I feel proud of this record. I feel no sense of guilt nor will the world approve this conviction when the truth prevails and the facts are known.

* * * *

In conclusion permit me to say that I am not asking the mercy or leniency of this court. I have committed no crime and there is festering in my conscience no accusation of guilt, but if my conviction and punishment will serve to rivet public attention upon the abuses which I have tried to point out then I shall feel that I have not suffered this humiliation in vain.

After all, this is the price of human progress. Why should I expect immunity? The courts have ever been and are today the bulwarks of the ruling class. Why should they not punish offenders against that class? In feudal slavery the courts sustained the feudal lords, in chattel slavery they protected the slave owners and in wage slavery they defend the industrial masters.

Whoever protested for the sake of justice or in the name of the future was an enemy of society and persecuted or put to death.

In one of the most eloquent characterizations of history Charles Sumner, tracing the march of the centuries, pointed out that the most infamous crimes against the liberty and progress of the human race had been sanctioned by the so-called courts of justice.

This case is a mere incident in the mighty struggle of the masses for emancipation. Slowly, painfully, proceeds the struggle of man against the power of mammon. The past is written in tears and blood. The future is dim and unknown but the final outcome of this world-wide struggle is not in doubt. Freedom will conquer slavery, truth will prevail over error, justice will triumph over injustice, the light will vanquish the darkness, and humanity, disenthralled, will rise resplendent in the glory of universal brotherhood.

Lack of space forbids our publishing the speech in full, but every revolutionist should read and circulate it. The complete speech is in number 710 of the Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas. The subscription price of the paper is 50 cents a year, and extra copies of the issue containing the speech can doubtless be had from the Appeal office at one cent each or fifty cents a hundred. Fred Warren will be out on bail until the higher courts have passed on his appeal. Money has been pledged for his defense, but the fight of the United States government against the Appeal is not yet over, and the most effective way to help the paper is to increase its circulation. Most of the readers of the Review are already readers of the Appeal also. To those who have not seen it lately we wish to say that the Appeal is now fighting in a very effective way for revolutionary socialism, and that it deserves the heartiest co-operation of all who are through with reform and ready for revolution.

Revolution. Jack London's article with which this month's Review opens was written several years ago. One of the big New York weeklies agreed to publish it, and even put it in type, but finally decided that to print it would hurt business. A great British review published it last year, but ours is the first complete and authorized publication in the United States. We are printing it as Comrade London wrote it, without changing a word or a line, since while capitalism has gone on developing meanwhile, the author was keen in his forecast, and his words are even more pertinent and significant now than when first written. As we go to press, workingmen are being shot down at McKees Rocks, Pennsylvania, to break a strike for living wages by a mass of half-organized laborers. Slowly and systematically the courts are piling up precedents which will outlaw the most effective tactics thus far used by striking labor organizations against their employers. The strategy of the great capitalists is for the moment irresistible. None the less it is fatally short-sighted. "After us the deluge!" Each victory of capital over labor makes revolutionists; it is more powerful than logic or oratory in driving out of the workingman's head the idea of "a fair day's wages for a fair day's work." Meanwhile the expansion of the trusts into field after field of industry is crushing out the little capitalists whose conservatism has ever been one of the chief bulwarks of the profit system. Comrade

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Ghent in the Independent of July 15 shows that these little capitalists constitute a declining percentage of the population of the United States, and their decline in industrial importance is still more marked. The field is clearing for the death-struggle between organized capital and organized labor. For the moment the advantage is on the side of the capitalists. That is because they know what they want. The great capitalists want to employ the great body of wage-workers at bare subsistence wages, and to use the surplus value in organizing the remaining spheres of production as efficiently as they have already organized the production of oil, steel, sugar, tobacco and beef. They will do it. But meanwhile, the laborers will in ever-swelling numbers learn in their turn to want a definite thing, that is to say, the full value of what they produce. When they want that, as they will, they will find a way to get it. We shall have more to say later of what that way must be. But meanwhile the task of us who make up the Socialist movement is clear and simple,—it is to show the rest of the working class that we are the producers of all the good things of life and that we can become the owners when we resolve to take them.

Who Pays the Taxes? Our International Notes this month tell of the struggle between capitalist parties in Germany over the new taxes required for army and navy. In England this problem is equally acute, and even in America it is discussed at great length in the daily press. Without a doubt the burden of taxation is growing heavier in all the great capitalist countries. How to adjust this burden is a serious problem, *for the politicians and the capitalists*. Revenue laws are powerful to enrich favored capitalists at the expense of those not favored. But the man with nothing to lose but his chains may as well stop worrying about tariffs. If his cost of living goes up, his wages will go up, provided his union is strong enough to force a raise. And if the cost of living goes down, his wages will fall farther still, unless he is strong enough to keep them up. Without organization, our standard of living will inevitably be pressed down and ever down. With organization, the world is ours.

will give some idea of the distribution of the increase. The sums are given in marks: For the army (1872-5) 324,800,000, annually, (1908) 855,800,000; navy, (1872-5) 36-200,000, (1908) 339,200,000; interest on debt (1872-5) 3,000,000, (1908) 156,000,000. For years, it is evident, the imperial debt has been increasing. Succeeding governments have been conscious of the fact that a crisis would have to be faced sometime, yet the insane policy of increasing army and navy has continued. A scaling down of expenditures seems never to have occurred to anyone in power.

The present government is thus forced to face a situation which has resulted from a generation of reckless expenditure. It is now to be seen whether a nation will deliberately decide to foot the bills resulting from unexampled military expansion.

The manner in which the various classes of the empire have met the crisis is characteristic. It goes without saying that hitherto the working-class has borne the brunt of taxation. Revenue has been drawn almost exclusively from import duties and taxes on internal manufactures. But in this direction the limit has been nearly reached. Rising prices and decreased consumption of the necessities of life have become the rule. Of wheat, for example, there were consumed per capita, in 1904, ninety-five kilograms; in 1909, ninety kilograms. The difference, of course, indicates actual want. The figures for other food products exhibit a similar decrease. The working-class has been taxed to the limit.

Therefore, when the government prepared a taxation scheme to meet the constantly increasing expenditures it bethought itself of a plan for extracting something from the wealthier classes. It's chief proposal was that of an inheritance tax. It was necessary to raise an additional 500,000,000 marks. Accord-

ing to the governmental project 100,000,000 of this was to be raised from the wealthy by the inheritance levy, and the remaining 400,000,000 from the proletariat by the old, familiar methods. Now it is precisely the wealthy class, represented by the Conservatives, that has always made much of its patriotism and cried down the anti-military socialists as traitors. But at the new tax proposal this class suffered a sudden diminution of patriotism. With the Centrists, the church party, the Conservatives have formed the heart of the government's bloc. Both these factions turned against the inheritance tax. So when that part of the new scheme came up for vote on June 26th, it was defeated by a substantial majority. The Social Democrats and Liberals voted with the government.

The outcome of the whole matter is already becoming clear. Of course, the German ministry is not responsible to the Reichstag. Herr von Bülow will remain in office and proceed to devise some new tax which will bring in the required 100,000,000. Since the rich refused to stand and deliver the poor will have to endure still greater burdens.

Meantime the Social Democrats are making the most of their opportunity. Vorwaerts is showing up the greed and short-sightedness of the owning classes in ringing editorials. On July 1st, twenty-five public meetings were held in Berlin to denounce the turn of events. No one knows when the Reichstag will be dissolved and a new election be ordered. But until that time comes no stone will be left unturned to open the eyes of the working-class to the game that is being played.

FRANCE. Labor Tactics. The division in the ranks of the Confederation General de Travail promises to lead to nothing worse than violent altercations. In last month's Review I gave a brief account of the origin of this trouble. The failure

of the recent general strike led to charges and countercharges. The "Reformers," or Moderates, who favor peaceful methods of campaign, blamed the Revolutionists for having led the organization to defeat. This accusation was voiced especially by M. Niel, elected secretary at the last convention of the Confederation, since the executive committee is controlled by the Revolutionists. M. Niel was practically forced to resign. The Revolutionists maintained, for their part, that N. Niel had been elected by a minority and that this minority was trying to obtain control of the organization. There were even occasional hints that the moderate wing had received secret assistance and advice from the government.

For a time matters looked dark. There was open talk of secession. In fact a convention of railway employes decided to withdraw. Cooler counsels seem to have prevailed, however. Comrades Jaurés and Bracke threw all their influence on the side of unity, and for the present seem to have triumphed. At least the conflict appears just now to be dying out for lack of fuel. Very likely it will be allowed to lie dormant till the annual convention next autumn.

Comrade Jaurés, in a recent editorial, pointed out the real source of the difficulty. The confederation is top-heavy, it has not struck deep enough root in the working-class. Here we have, in round numbers, 8,000,000 workers, about 800,000 of these organized, and of these some 300,000 in the confederation. For the present, says M. Jaurés, the main business of the organization should be to educate and swing into line the great majority of the proletariat. When it really represents the main body of workers its time will not be taken up with dissensions.

ENGLAND. Visit of the Laborites to Germany. English and German Socialist circles have been much wrought up over

the recent tour of a delegation representing the Labor Party. This tour was first suggested a year ago, and at that time it was proposed to make it the occasion for an official exchange of greetings with the German Social Democracy. But the German leaders feared the English Social Democratic party might take offense. So the event was postponed, and when it did finally take place it was unofficial. This was where the trouble came in. The Laborites were received by various German municipalities, Cologne, Frankfort, Verline, etc., and entertained by city officials regardless of party. This hobnobbing of Socialists with Liberals and Conservatives aroused a good deal of unfavorable sentiment among German Socialists, sentiment which ultimately found expression in an official statement published in Vorwaerts. Of course English Social Democratic Party leaders were quick to make the most of this. On June 19th Justice published an editorial condemnatory of the Laborites. These latter, however, returned from their jaunt well satisfied. In a recent number of the Clarion Comrade Fred Jowett writes appreciatively of the treatment accorded them and tells in detail of the lessons learned from the Germans.

IRELAND. Prospects of Organization. For some time there has been on foot in Ireland a movement looking toward a general organization of Socialists. Hitherto there has been the Irish Socialist Society, but it has included only a fraction of those calling themselves Socialists. Many are adherents of local labor groups, while hundreds have carried on their propaganda individually. On Sunday, June 13, a mass-meeting was held at Trades Hall, Dublin. All the elements of the Irish movement were represented, and the deliberations were harmonious and fruitful. Comrade William O'Brien presided. He stated in his opening address that the number of unattached So-

cialists on the membership of all following motions unanimously: the necessity of Ireland which Socialists of various applicants for membership in Socialism and evils of society was appointed and arrange for

AUSTRALIA

The early stage at Broken Hill ready been recalled will be remembered of March a group of Mann were arrested and transported to 1,000 miles, to jury were bitter Mann, apparently convict, but a number jail sentences. The Harry Holland, charge against him address at Broken the workers to that of dynamite counsel to use in land was sentenced labor. The work is thoroughly arrested use all its power

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cialists on the island exceeded the membership of all societies combined. The following motion was agreed to almost unanimously: "That this meeting affirms the necessity of a Socialist party for Ireland which would comprise Irish Socialists of varying shades of opinion, applicants for membership to affirm belief in Socialism as the only remedy for the evils of society." A committee of fifteen was appointed to draft a constitution and arrange for another mass-meeting.

AUSTRALIA. Defeat and Persecution.

The early stages of the mining strikes at Broken Hill and Port Pirie have already been recorded in the Review. It will be remembered that toward the end of March a group of strikers led by Tom Mann were attacked by the police. They were arrested on the charge of riot and transported to Albany, a distance of 1,000 miles, to await trial. Judge and jury were bitter against them. Tom Mann, apparently, they were afraid to convict, but a number of others received jail sentences. To this number was added Harry Holland, a Socialist leader. The charge against him was sedition. In an address at Broken Hill he had advised the workers to rise "with a force like that of dynamite." This was taken as counsel to use force, and Comrade Holland was sentenced to two years at hard labor. The working-class of Australia is thoroughly aroused and determined to use all its power to secure his release.

The last Australian papers which have come to hand report the close of the strike. The men have been defeated at nearly every point. It will be remembered that the trouble originated in the refusal of the miners' union to submit to the provisions of the now famous Industrial Disputes Act, an arbitration law passed by the federal parliament. This action of the men was met by the com-

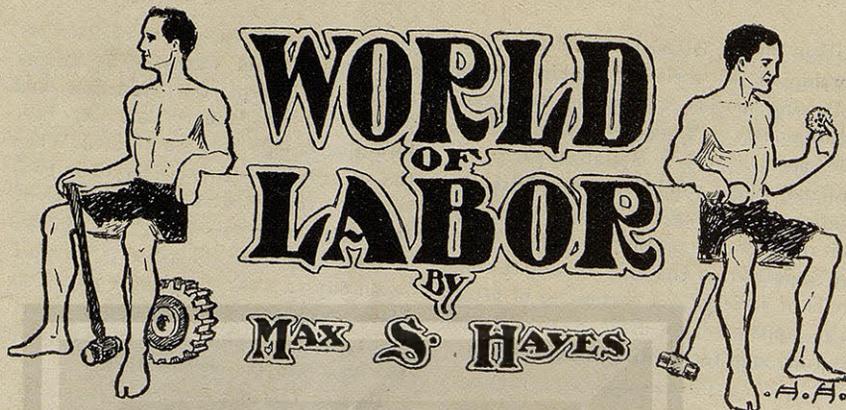
pany with the announcement of a ten per cent. reduction in wages. The miners refused to accept the reduction and walked out on January 1st. At Port Pirie the struggle was complicated. When the strikers came to consider their position they found that they were worse off than any other miners in the civilized world. They were obliged, e. g., to work seven days a week for meager pay. Tom Mann was engaged as organizer, and managed to get ninety-eight per cent. of the men into the organization.

Despite this success, however, starvation gradually did its work. The strikers insisted almost to the end that their leaders should not be victimized, but finally yielded even this point. The most regrettable circumstance is that Tom Mann and the other leaders have been subjected to violent criticism for finally yielding.

From one point of view the strike has been a great success. The workers of Australia are aroused as never before and becoming more and more revolutionary in their temper. Evidence of this is to be found in the ovation given Tom Mann on the occasion of his acquittal. Wherever he went he was greeted by immense throngs, and the speeches on these occasions had no uncertain sound. All of them came out straight for Socialism and industrial unionism.

HOLLAND. Another Anti-Socialist "Victory."

The election to the Dutch Chamber of Deputies occurred toward the end of June, and was generally reported in the American dailies as a defeat for Socialism. Now foreign papers bring the news that though the Socialists did not gain any new seats, merely retaining the seven already in their possession, their popular vote increased from 65,743 (1895) to 82,494. The new Socialist party, the Tribunists or "Marxists" received but few votes.



The United States Steel Corporation hardly expected to meet with such stubborn resistance as it is encountering in endeavoring to non-unionize its tinplate mills. Before the trust forced the strike its spokesman declared that a number of the mills would disobey the call of the Amalgamated Association, but later events demonstrated the fact that there was but one mill in which there was any lukewarmness displayed and subsequently a large percentage of the men in that plant walked out.

On the other hand, the third week of the strike the unionists captured two non-union mills and are making steady inroads in secretly organizing the trust employes. At the present writing the situation is chaotic, with both sides claiming to have gained important advantages. Like all recent contests between labor and capital, this battle will be a long and hard one. The men have got tremendous odds confronting them. The 8,000 sheet and tinplate workers are really the last remnant of the 60,000 unionists formerly employed in the trust mills; they are the old guard who have stood loyally by the once powerful Amalgamated Association through every stress and storm. The insidious attacks of the capitalists, the corruptions and blunders of alleged leaders, the secession and desertion of fellow-workers in other branches of the iron and steel industry

could not shake the faith of these stalwarts who are now subjected to the most raking fire that has yet been aimed at the men of the mills by pitiless plutocracy.

While the names of Corey and Gary and a lot of obscure lieutenants are mentioned in the newspapers as being the prime movers in the campaign to destroy the unions in the trust mills, the real power opposing the working class in this contest is J. P. Morgan. It was about seven years ago that Morgan inaugurated his campaign to crush organized labor. As is well known when he formed the United States Steel Corporation (a trust of trusts), he added more than a dollar of fictitious value for every dollar of real value to the capital stock. By introducing the most scientific labor-saving machinery, by crushing small competitors and developing almost a complete monopoly in certain branches of the iron and steel business, and by pounding up prices and hammering down wages, this modern industrial pirate hoped to pay dividends on watered stock mounting into hundreds of millions of "made" dollars. It was the greatest adventure ever undertaken by any financial brigand since the world began, for not only would these dividends represent millions of dollars of graft without the investment of a single penny of capital, but the stocks sold upon the markets

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There was little opposition to Morgan's colossal steal. The hireling press eulogized him to the skies for his "unparalleled business genius," the officeholders winked at his bold and brazen violation of national and state laws, the party managers passed the hat to the world's greatest robber for campaign contributions, many good churchmen blessed him for his donations to convert the heathen, the professional Wall street wolves licked their chops in pleasant anticipation of coming feasts, and the little cheap-skate capitalists with more money than brains, including the intolerable snobs with plutocratic minds in the working-class, who have an uncontrollable mania to become Morgans and Rockefellers, purchased watered stock and began to plan what they would do when they became fabulously rich.

The only opposition that developed came from the iron and steel workers when Morgan began to put on the thumb-screws in carrying out his program at the production end of the line. They went on strike and fought hard. Their spirited resistance threatened to puncture the balloon of inflated values and let out the wind. The late Senator Hanna, as chairman of the National Civic Federation, arranged a "compromise" and thus made himself still more popular with the alarmed Wall street thieves and also with the iron and steel workers, who were assured by their President Shaffer, who has since fallen into the hole of obscurity, that they had gained something.

Morgan boiled with rage at the thought that the workingmen dared to strike against his imperial will and at the further thought that he was humiliating his royal personage in making a settlement to save the water in his stock and assure the continuance of the

political bunco game of the day. He swore to be revenged. It turned out a sorry compromise. The Amalgamated lost 14,000 men during the year by the gradual victimizing, blacklisting and coercive policies that the capitalists knew so well how to operate. In 1904 the hoop mills were "open shopped" and the union lost another 10,000 members. The following year the bridge trust wing of the trust forced a fight and 12,000 more men were cut out of the Amalgamated. In 1906 the loss was 3,000 members, in 1907 about 6,000, and last year 7,000 were driven out of the Amalgamated. Now the retreating army is making a last stand and unquestionably its most desperate fight.

Throughout the class war upon the industrial field the watered stocks of the steel trust have been juggled up and down. The hungry lambs have been shorn of millions of their fleece; the nasty little capitalistic parasites have been stripped of hide and tallow by the big plutes, and they deserve small sympathy—they are the most detestable of labor exploiters and apologists of plutocracy. I am little concerned in their fate, anyhow. The most deplorable phase of this industrial tragedy—for tragedy it is—is that, compared to a generation ago, the wages of the iron and steel workers have been pounded down 300 to 500 per cent. Yet prices of iron and steel products appear to remain stable. Now the trust demands not merely the open shop, but still further tribute in the shape of a wage reduction from the tinplate workers ranging from 2 to 25 per cent., which fact is carefully kept hidden by the capitalist press.

Strange as it may seem, it has never occurred to the iron and steel workers, who, more than any other trade, have been forced to struggle against the encroachments of brutal capitalism, to join the Socialists and engage in independent political action all the while

they were fighting on the defensive upon the industrial field. I don't know whether they are affected by the heat in which they are compelled to work (or more properly, slave) or they lack the intelligence to understand that they are engaged in a class war in which Morgan and his gang have the powers of government on their side, but the fact remains that the iron and steel workers display no more political progress than a crab. They have prided themselves on being high protectionists and good Republicans, like Morgan, Corey, Gary, Frick, Carnegie and the rest of their kind masters—the men did the voting and shouting and their masters got the plunder.

It is likewise true that the iron and steel workers have been badly advised. Nearly all of their so-called leaders have turned out to be nothing but political fakirs or sold out to the master class to assist in the game of despoliation. There was John Jarrett, Weike, Garland, Shaffer and numerous others who seem to have used their prominence in the Amalgamated Association merely as a sort of stepping-stone to climb into political jobs and then use their influence to keep the rank and file chained to the Republican party. The Lord only knows how many more object lessons, how much more oppression, must be heaped upon these unfortunate workers before they acquire the moral strength to cut loose from the capitalistic parties and stand up for their class interests on the political field. Surely they are making plenty of sacrifices on the industrial field, and as Socialists they wouldn't have to suffer any more than they do at present.

Collisions, explosions and breakdowns are of almost daily occurrence on the Great Lakes. In their determination to smash every vestige of labor organization the handful of bosses who control the Lake Carriers' Association are spar-

ing neither money nor men to make a showing. Although it is now three months since the publicity agents of the association announced that the strike was broken and that they had about all the marine workers they could use, if one picks up a capitalistic daily the same stereotyped announcement will be found almost any day, "the strike is broken and we have only a few more vacancies for good men."

The truth of the matter is that the shipowners have got a good nucleus of competent seamen who are being worked to death in trying to break in a small army of college boys, professional bums and strike-breakers and ignorant foreigners who have no understanding of the trouble. The result is that accidents by the score, attended by much loss of life and property, are happening constantly and many of these occurrences are carefully suppressed and the public hears nothing about them.

After a trip or two the strike-breakers usually have their fill and desert the ships in considerable numbers, and their places are taken by other landmen, either for the novelty of the thing, as in the case of the unprincipled college boys, or because hunger incites some of the workers to accept the hazardous employment, while the professional strike-breakers serve their masters for the reason that they are natural-born traitors and hate their fellowmen and themselves.

While the marine workers have been forced into a struggle such as has confronted no other organization—being opposed by the huge steel trust and allied corporations and having no opportunity to picket the ships except when they arrive in port—the union men are grimly determined to wage the contest indefinitely, according to their present plans and subject the trust and its consorts to as heavy financial losses as possible. The unionists declare that those of their men who have remained true up

to the present will stand the wall and that gratified will return.

The next two or three months are the most dangerous period of the season, and the excitement for wholesale desertions of strikebreakers, who assume the risks of death and graves during the winter time many of the men who permitted themselves to be or bullied into the association, have received from the United States and its allies. The tools with which the organizations and are their reward.

No progressive work in the country will be retributive justice. The mesis is overtaking of conspirators who the Western Federation hang or imprison the famous organization. Peabody, the mine operators has become a bankrupt outcast in his native even refused the sea. him a hundred dollars.

Western papers a "Sherman Bell" and suffering upon his family, went to place making a was recently arrested upon the charge of

Supreme Judge driven from the bench after having of every decent citizen

to the present will stand like a stone wall and that gradually those who deserted will return to the ranks.

The next two or three months are the most dangerous period in the navigation season, and the experienced seamen look for wholesale desertions among the strikebreakers, who have no desire to assume the risks of finding watery graves during the autumn storms. Meantime many of the small vessel owners, who permitted themselves to be coaxed or bullied into the Lake Carriers' Association, have received little or no support from the United States Steel Corporation and its allies. They have been used as tools with which to fight the labor organizations and are being bankrupted as their reward.

No progressive workingman or woman in the country will regret to learn that retributive justice or an avenging Nemesis is overtaking one by one the gang of conspirators who sought to destroy the Western Federation of Miners and hang or imprison the spokesmen of that famous organization. It has already been mentioned in the Review that the notorious Peabody, dumped overboard by the mine operators after they used him, has become a bankrupt and virtually an outcast in his native village and was even refused the scant comfort of a political spittoon-cleaning job that would net him a hundred dollars per month.

Western papers announce that "General" Sherman Bell, who brought pain and suffering upon many a miner and his family, went bankrupt as a mining promoter, is wandering about from place to place making a precarious living, and was recently arrested at Raton, N. M., upon the charge of creating a disturbance.

Supreme Judge Goddard, who was driven from the bench at the last election after having earned the contempt of every decent citizen of Colorado for

his outrageous decisions against labor and who perjured himself in the Haywood case, is trying to eke out an existence promoting real estate schemes, but is virtually ostracized.

John Holmberg, who was state auditor and treasurer and Peabody's chief lieutenant, and who has never accounted for a discrepancy of \$10,000 when he was retired from office, tried to commit suicide when he heard that his peculations were being investigated.

Ex-Governor McDonald, who stole his position to carry on the disreputable work of Peabody, is carrying a heavy load because of a sensational murder and suicide in his family, and is said to have become broken in spirit and poor in purse.

Harry Orchard, the "hero" who was lionized by the whole gang of conspirators, tyrants and thieves after he confessed to being a wholesale murderer and guilty of every crime on the calendar, and who was treated like a prince in the Idaho penitentiary by Governor Gooding, has been placed at hard labor by the new warden who took control of that institution.

The Citizens' Alliance, which was once all-powerful in Cripple Creek, Victor, Pueblo, Colorado Springs and other places, is now down and out and it is said that no business man will admit today that he ever had any connection with that infamous organization of brutes and cowards. Nevertheless, many of the working people in those places have long memories, and not a few of the arrogant business men who (in Colorado like everywhere else) imagined they had a right to boss everybody, were disillusioned and are now out of business.

It appears that the spirit of class-consciousness and the determination to resist oppression is becoming stronger in Colorado. When that spirit finds expression at the ballot-box the workers will be doubly strong.

LITERATURE ART



BY JOHN SPARGO

Prompted by the accession of certain wealthy persons to our ranks, I wrote, some years ago, an article pointing out that it was almost impossible for such persons to do other than harm to the movement by contributing money to it freely out of their large fortunes. That view is, of course, the very opposite of that enunciated by the versatile and scintillating George Bernard Shaw, but it is, I believe, a thoroughly sound one. It would be easy enough to point to practical examples of the evils inherent in that policy on the part of the wealthy few in our ranks.

Nevertheless, it would be idle to deny that there are great services to the movement which can be rendered by those endowed with the rare union of great wisdom and riches. We have a conspicuous example in the valuable service which Eugene Dietzgen has performed for the Socialists of the English-speaking world in making it possible for Comrade Untermann to devote years to the gigantic task of translating the second and third volumes of Marx's *Capital*, now fortunately completed. The whole movement is deeply indebted to Comrade Dietzgen, as well as to Comrade Untermann, for the consummation of this vast undertaking. The publication of the third volume of Marx's great work is an event of cardinal importance to the American Socialist movement.

One of the foremost members of the Socialist Party wrote me recently saying: "The Socialist movement all over the world is getting further and further away from Marx"—an echo of a very prevalent criticism. So far as the So-

cialist movement in America is concerned, it would, I am convinced, be much nearer the truth to say that it is getting nearer and nearer to Marx—the real Marx—and it is because the publication of the long-awaited-for third volume will hasten that movement "back to Marx" that it becomes an event of the highest importance to Socialists and students of Socialism. With no adequate biography of Marx, and only one of the three volumes of his great work accessible to the reader of English, both the expositions and the criticisms of Marxism long current in this country have been based upon a very partial summary of the great thinkers economic teachings. With the completion of the publication of the English translation of *Capital* we enter upon a new phase of Socialist scholarship in America. The crude "more-Marxist-than-Marx" type of Marxists, who, in spite of rent, strikes and hunger riots, in all our great cities, would deny secondary exploitation of the workers, and heap torrents of ridicule and abuse upon those who have the temerity to say that the proletariat can be exploited in the circulation of commodities as well as in their production, can now read for themselves how completely they differ from Marx.

Not less interesting and important in its bearings upon our theoretical discussions is the manner in which this third volume reveals Marx's profound appreciation of the fact that the law of value is set aside when monopoly conditions prevail. Some of the so-called "revisionists" have obtained a good deal of credit for their alleged discovery of this fact and been hailed as the intellectual

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superiors of Marx, whereas that great thinker made it perfectly clear.

It is generally known by now that, although Marx did not live to actually finish the second and third volumes, they were roughly drafted and worked out before the first volume was completed and published. Thus, he was busily occupied with the writing of volume three in 1865, while volume one did not appear until two years later. His working method was to first prepare a rough sketch of the whole work. This done, he went back over it and filled in the details, chapter by chapter, book by book. Then, having the three volumes roughly assembled, he went back to the beginning and calmly took up the work of revising his labors for the printers' hands. This method of working is important since it provides us with a key to the understanding of a very common criticism of Marx and his work. It is commonly alleged by certain academic critics of Marx that between the publication of the first volume and the preparation of the third his thought had so much matured that he was led to conclusions which practically overthrew and refused those of the first. So I was gravely assured by a certain well known political economist at a dinner of a New England economic society only last winter, and when I suggested that if such was the case the publication of the third volume, as a complete refutation of the first, would be a strategic move on the part of Mr. Belmont's Civic Federation, the joke was rather lost upon him. How ridiculous this criticism is may be gathered from the volume before us.

In a way, the second and third volumes of *Capital* are quite as much the work of Engels as of Marx himself. His share in them is much larger than that indicated by the term "editor." Shortly before his death Marx spoke to his daughter, Eleanor, about the unfinished manuscripts, directing that they be

turned over to his friend. "Perhaps Engels will be able to make something of them," he said. What Engels made of them we know. With marvelous scholarship and an almost romantic fidelity to his dead friend, he took the mass of rough materials and put them together as no other man could have done. No other mind, it is certain, could have followed the course of the author's thought through the jumble of fragmentary manuscripts and notes left behind. The greater part of the material was hastily scribbled, without literary form, in German, French and English, according to Marx's mood at the time of writing. Often a whole chain of reasoning was indicated merely by a few catchwords, which to any other than the author's twin-spirit must have been unintelligible hieroglyphics. In a sense, therefore, the second and third volumes of *Capital* are a monument to a most remarkable literary partnership and friendship.

There is now available for the English reader the complete Marxian system of political economy. The first volume deals with the process of capitalist production. The charge brought against Marx that he indulged in abstract reasoning instead of dealing with realities rests upon a very superficial examination of this part of his great work. Absurd as it is in some particulars, it contains a certain modicum of truth, as Marx himself realized. As an introductory study he certainly considered the process of production by itself, without regard to the process of circulation, though in the actual world the one is interwoven with the other. But in the second volume this process of circulation of capital is treated and subjected to the keenest and profoundest analysis. In the third part of the second volume especially, Marx demonstrates with splendid lucidity that the capitalist process of production, considered as a whole, is a combination of the processes

and become familiar with the word "Bernsteinism," but comparatively few have yet had an opportunity to read it. The I. L. P. Publication Department, London, has therefore done the English-speaking Socialist movement a distinct service by publishing the book in such an admirable translation at a low price.

I do not hesitate to say that every Socialist in America ought to read this book of Bernstein's, and that no comrade who assumes to be a propagandist or teacher in the party can afford not to do so. Whether we agree with Bernstein or not is relatively unimportant: what matters is that we should become perfectly acquainted with his views. I trust that I may not be misunderstood when I say that the Socialist movement, in common with every other popular movement, is prone to become narrow and intolerant of the independent thinker who is not willing to continue the repetition of old formulas and creeds. Heresy hunting has been the bane of the whole working class movement, for it has fettered a living movement to dead dogmas, thus making the movement a mere sect. It is for this reason that I personally hope that an American edition of Bernstein's book will soon be forthcoming. We need from time to time to be called to such a re-examination of our position as that to which this book challenges us.

For many years Edward Bernstein was the trusted friend and confidante of Friederich Engels, and as editor of the *Sozialdemokrat* during the era of Bismarck's repression laws he stood high in the estimation of the German movement. Therefore, when he published a book expressing his dissent from some of the conclusions of Marx and Engels, and more especially from the so-called "Marxism" of some of their expositors, quite a sensation was caused. The capitalist press, of course, hailed the revisionist movement as a sure and certain sign of dissolution of the Socialist move-

ment, and the triumph of their enemies did not tend to make the German comrades tolerant or kindly toward Bernstein. Most comrades who take pains to keep reasonably well informed concerning the international movement are familiar with the main facts concerning the development of the Bernsteinian controversy: how, in October, 1898, Bernstein wrote from his London exile a letter to the German Social Democratic Congress, assembled at Stuttgart, setting forth his view that certain revisions should be made in the theoretical statement of the party's position, and how, at Hanover a year later three and a half days were devoted to a discussion of the volume before us and ended with a resolution which expressed a rejection of the views set forth. A majority vote is not always decisive, however, and there were soon manifest abundant signs that Bernstein had a large following in the party. With such a division of honest opinion in our ranks it is worse than useless to discourage the freest possible publication and discussion of such views—it is suicidal.

Bernstein's cry is always "Back to the facts!" You cannot answer him by saying that Marx said thus and so. He is like Liebknecht in that he will not acknowledge Marx as a pope, but persists in asking "Is it true? Does it agree with the facts?" Believing as thoroughly as Marx himself that the objective of capitalist production is the surplus value extracted from the labor of the workers, and admitting the class struggle which results therefrom, he disagrees with Marx as to the exact manner in which the surplus value is derived. This is only important in an academic sense: it has no practical importance at all. But when he claims that Marx was mistaken in his prediction that the small property holder tends to become extinct, and asserts that this class is actually increasing, practical consequences of the highest importance

are involved. If he is right then much of our propaganda is wrong and a revision of tactics becomes imperative. So, too, with the concentration of capital. Was Marx mistaken? If so, it is important that we do not perversely repeat his mistakes on account of a mistaken sense of loyalty to Marx. Bernstein makes appeal to figures—I had almost written "the figures," but that would be a concession I do not want to make. Unquestionably Bernstein is right in his method, but it remains an open question whether all the figures are taken into account, or whether preconceived notions have influenced his choice of statistical material.

Whatever our opinions may be as to the questions raised by Bernstein, his book is of the highest importance and this English translation should be cordially welcomed by every Socialist who desires to see the movement freed from the dangers of a narrow dogmatism, which Marx detested and feared.

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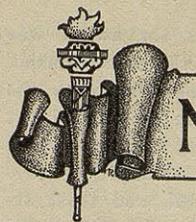
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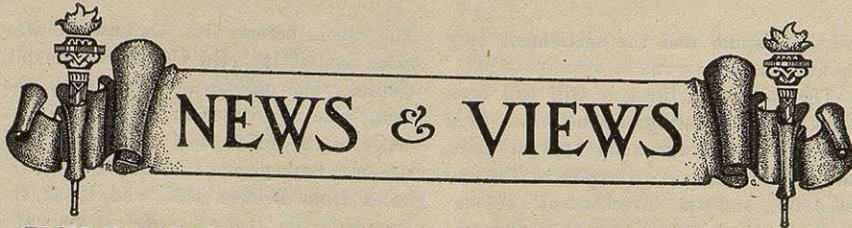
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NEWS & VIEWS

FROM HONOLULU. I am a shoe-maker and earn my living repairing old shoes and I am nobody's wage-slave either, and I also have a little wad in the savings bank and am the janitor of our local. So I suppose just because I have some economic determinism in the bank and because I am an officeholder in the party, some of those fellows are going to denounce me as an intellectual, but I just want to let them know that I am nothing of the kind, and if any of those men thinks he is going to dump me on the rubbish pile, just let him try. I'll bet any of them a new pair of rubber heels that they can't do it. And this reminds me of something that happened to me not long ago. It was this way: I was invited to a regular old-fashioned Dutch wedding dinner, where they pass around the big platters with grub for everybody to help themselves. Now I was sitting next to a big fat perspiring Dutch uncle when along comes a beautiful platter of asparagus that made my mouth water, just looking at it. My Dutch uncle began unloading the stuff and piling it on his plate and I was watching him, nervous like, and pretty soon there was no more than about half a dozen measly little things left and I kind of pats him on the shoulder and says: "Say, old friend, I likes asparagus too."

He just gave me a look without saying anything, scoops in the rest and hands me the empty platter. Then he kind of deliberate like picks one up on his fork and says: "Yes, do you? But I likes em better yet than you."

Now if those fellows think they are going to hog all the Socialism there is just because they think they like it better than somebody else, just let them try. I like Socialism too and I am going to have my share of it.

I think every local ought to expel all of them proletarians and intellectuals too, so there will be nothing left but just comrades. **JOE RIDDLES.**

TOM MANN writes from Australia. In the April number of the Review some notes appeared on the miners' dispute at Broken Hill. Nearly all the items were correct; one was not and as it relates to the Labor Party with whom we are not in working alliance or agreement politically, I am sure you will allow me to correct it.

When it was decided to supplement the local police it was not the federal authorities, but the state authorities, that sent about 380 additional police, many of them mounted and carrying swords, rifles and revolvers, a number of whom behaved in dastardly fashion. The State Premier, who is also Attorney General, is a typical bourgeois, a lawyer, Mr. Wade by name.

It was easy to conclude that the Federal authorities had sent the military, owing to the number of press paragraphs as to what would be done if the Labor government was called upon by the State to supply military. However, it did not reach that stage, and the Federal Labor government is now a thing of the past, having been defeated by a coalition of reactionaries and Democrats. (What's the dif?) A brief resume

of the dispute and the settlement may be acceptable to you.

The miners at Broken Hill had been working under an agreement which fixed the minimum wage at 8 7/2 per shift, this agreement was to expire at the end of 1908; and the directors of the biggest mine had intimated that they would insist upon a 12 1/2 reduction.

This caused the various unions to unite and conduct an organizing campaign so as to resist this proposed reduction. I was requested to help and did so. The miners here work six shifts a week of eight hours. I earnestly advocated a 44-hour week so as to secure the Saturday half holiday. This was acceptable to the men and endorsed by them, and each section also formulated claims for extra wages.

Before the end of the year the mine managers met the representatives of the men in conference and it was agreed by the men to drop all claims for reduction of hours and for increased wages and to sign an agreement renewing the old conditions with a little improvement in the matter of overtime.

Further by vote they agreed to submit the case of the Broken Hill Proprietary Company which refused to enter the agreement to the Federal Arbitration Court, and they further authorized their lawyer in court to give the judge assurance that they would abide by the result, i. e., would be content with the award.

The dispute also affected 1,700 men at Port Pirie in the adjoining State of South Australia, these men are the smelters and they work seven shifts a week. Myself and others endeavored to get included in the minimum demands for Pirie, six shifts, instead of seven. This was ultimately ruled out.

A number of us had to undergo trial. Myself for conspiracy, unlawful assembly and riot. I was in the dock eight days and the result was acquittal. This was in the 19th week of the dispute.

The week before this the award was given and it included the chief demand, virtually the only demand made by the men, viz., no reduction of wages; but many of the active men had been where the trial took place at Albany over 1,000 miles from Broken Hill, and those responsible for the dispute lacked the firmness necessary to close the dispute when the matter was really over.

I was called upon to visit Pirie again and I saw that prolongation of the dispute meant the break up of the organization and an increasing number of scabs getting into the works, so the dispute was declared closed, and a few days after it was also closed at the Hill and matters will soon assume normal conditions. Some victims will be the result, but these will be looked after by the unions.

The men fought a good fight for twenty weeks and their organizations remain intact and they are in a better position than ever for carrying on an energetic campaign and preparing to take their rightful share in the great class war fully conscious of the part they have to play in it.

TWENTY MINUTES' WORK. I am in receipt of yours of June the 17th, and am very thankful for having the opportunity of spreading "the International Socialist Review" among the working class and hope it will do them as much good as it did me. As soon as I got your letter with the two subscription cards I went out and in 20 minutes I got the two subscribers, for which you'll find enclosed a check for \$2. I expect also to get of you the \$2 worth of books which you have promised in your letter.

Yours in the cause,

LOUIS GOLDBERG.

New York.

THE LAND OF DIAZ. John Murray's articles in recent numbers of the Review on Mexico were fine. His pictures were

true to life, but remains untold. I ble intellectual people. There is almost ircomp They do not know their left, nor on the heart lies. one of his fellow into his bowels a able spot. These that Castillian language, nor th S. are on the san told me he under da, in the State island lying betw Their superstiti and they believe saints that dwell everything except church carefully stitions and thei are tolerated by cans believe that the U. S. are for only. They are Jesuits that the S. prohibits relig are more power other country. schools almost succeeded in und Juarez and the li But a great awa in Mexico and I year or two. L lished as never b ties are springing for better times

THE INVENT tractive brochure with an introduc is one of the mo we have received rade Baker has in setting machine. is the story of l his machine upon

true to life, but the worst story remains untold. It is that of the horrible intellectual condition of the Mexican people. Their ignorance is so dense it is almost incomprehensible to Americans. They do not know their right hand from their left, nor on which side of the body the heart lies. When a Mexican stabs one of his fellows, he thrusts the knife into his bowels as being the most vulnerable spot. These people do not know that Castilian and Spanish are the same language, nor that Mexico and the U. S. are on the same continent. One man told me he understood the city of Canada, in the State of Sonora, was on an island lying between the two countries. Their superstitions are beyond belief and they believe in devils, witches, living saints that dwell in the woods, and in everything except the simple truth. The church carefully cultivates these superstitions and their efforts to foster them are tolerated by the government. Mexicans believe that marriage contracts in the U. S. are for a given period of time only. They are also taught by the Jesuits that the government of the U. S. prohibits religion. I think the Jesuits are more powerful here than in any other country. They run the official schools almost everywhere and have succeeded in undoing the heroic work of Juarez and the liberals forty years ago. But a great awakening is taking place in Mexico and I expect lively times in a year or two. Literature is being published as never before and political parties are springing up on all sides. Yours for better times. A SOCIALIST.

THE INVENTOR'S SHARE, an attractive brochure by Arthur G. Baker, with an introduction by J. J. Spouse, is one of the most interesting booklets we have received for a long time. Comrade Baker has invented a practical type-setting machine. The Inventor's Share is the story of his long efforts to get his machine upon the market without

losing all rights in it, as is generally the misfortune of inventors. After reading this book one is tempted to say "Brains are their own punishment." For the printer who turns out a successful invention—a practical machine fares no better than the average wage-worker. In fact, he generally fares worse. Often he is compelled to spend years of sacrifice in order to perfect his invention only to have it stolen from him, or to be cheated out of his patent rights by the men of business. We are glad Arthur Baker possessed the courage and tenacity to hold on till the comrades of Michigan came to his rescue. This little book will interest all socialists. Price, 10 cents, 19 Grand Circus Building, Detroit, Mich.

LEEDS, ENGLAND. Comrade Bonell writes us sending a big order for books. He says "Our opponents cannot meet our scientific position. Armed as we are, with your literature, we feel confident of victory."

COMRADE LANG, of Muscatine, sends us a splendid report of his book and magazine sales for the past six months. We would like to print his report in full but lack of space forbids. We want to congratulate him, however, and the Muscatine comrades for the way they are handling literature, including the Review. Every local that spreads good socialist literature and periodicals is bound to grow, for those who read are always with us.

THE DES MOINES AMENDMENTS. I would not consume further space on this subject were it not for the fact that the editor has totally misunderstood the provision criticised. I was amazed at his criticising a provision which is a simple method of securing almost absolute fairness, but I now comprehend: it is because he does not understand it. He says that if there were a hundred

candidates, the ballot handed to each member would contain ten thousand names.

The truth is that if there were one hundred candidates, the ballot handed to each member would contain one hundred names.

I shall use fifty names as my number to illustrate with, because I think our amendment will cut down the number of candidates to fifty or less. The reason I think so is because out of the two hundred and four candidates on the ballot last winter only thirty-six were nominated by as many as five locals.

If there were fifty candidates to be voted upon and fifty thousand members to do the voting, there would be fifty thousand ballots printed with the fifty names on each. On one thousand of these ballots, the editor's name would stand at the top, if he were a candidate. On another thousand, my name would stand at the top, if I were a candidate. On still another thousand, Simons' name would stand at the top, if he were a candidate. And so on with each and every candidate.

Each member would receive one ballot with fifty names on it. It would not matter whose name stood at the top of his particular ballot. If Comrade Kerr's name stood at the top of that particular ballot, some other member, at that or some other place, would be voting a ballot with my name at the top, and another member would be voting a ballot with Simons' name at the top, and so on with all the candidates. This would destroy the special privilege now enjoyed by those whose names begin with letters at the front of the alphabet. It would insure entire fairness.

I hope I have made myself understood. If I have, the editor will now support the amendment. The vital weakness of the South Dakota amendment is the fact that it omits this provision.

JOHN M. WORK.

Reply by the Editor. Evidently the trouble is with the poverty of the English language, which led the word "portion" to convey to us in the Review office a totally different meaning from what the writer intended. As the matter now stands, we have no fault to find with the Des Moines amendment, except that the failure to number all the names on a ballot in consecutive order invalidates the whole ballot. This is obviated by the Aberdeen amendment, which requires the voter to write numbers opposite merely the seven names of his choice. One advantage of the Des Moines plan, however, is that it will make it easy to defeat for re-election any member who misrepresents the party. If therefore, as now seems likely, the Aberdeen amendment fails to receive the necessary number of seconds, the Review will support the Des Moines amendment.

IF ALL WORKERS WERE RAISED TO THE HIGHEST EFFICIENCY, WHAT WOULD BE THE RESULT?

If higher skill results in greater production, as some have thought, it will only bring about a quicker glut of the market and a larger army of the unemployed. The more that improved machinery and higher efficiency of labor increase production the less is the subsistence portion allowed to the workers. A constantly lessening number of competing workers who, nevertheless, are creating more and more by the aid of improved machinery and also by the use of less and less skill naturally has a tendency to reduce wages.

With the efficiency of all the workers raised to the highest point we still have with us the starving but now highly skilled unemployed army.

As each worker can now take the place of every other the competition waxes more furious. The matter of obtaining the better positions has now ap-

parently become first-come-first-serve.

But it is not only the workers are competing and competing the wage down to the point.

To raise the efficiency of workers is a capitalistic effort to get relief from the depression. As men produce more and more still further—to the point—is one of the incentives of the industrial production. The higher the efficiency of production is accelerated the growth and the growth is hastened.

Workingmen are kept by a mere raise in wages capitalism. The dead level of wages is paid.

Skilled workers are kept to get a little more because many workers are inefficient.

Machines are becoming more and more complicated. When most of the workers are unskilled workers, that before long reached capitalism is away.

SLADDENISMS of capitalists have there it is the duty to have a wage-

The real hero capitalism is a rifle.

I have seen babies on the streets selling paper, blind and maimed strings and lead pipes of the inferno you I see womanhood

parently become merely that of first-come-first-served.

But it is not even that. A large body of workers arriving at the same time and competing for the same job beat the wage down to the bare subsistence point.

To raise the efficiency of all the workers is a capitalist method of getting relief from the demands of skilled labor. As men produce more they are exploited still further—to a greater extent. This is one of the inevitable results of capitalist productions as Marx has so clearly taught us. The faster the pace and the higher the efficiency the more the production is accelerated and, consequently, the growth and downfall of capitalism is hastened.

Workingmen would not be benefited by a mere raising of efficiency under capitalism. Wages would fall to the dead level of those who are poorest paid.

Skilled workers are at present able to get a little higher wage than unskilled men because they are skilled and because many workers are not so efficient.

Machines are growing more efficient and complicated. This points to a time when most of human labor will be done by unskilled workers. I believe, however, that before this point has been reached capitalism will have passed away.

ANSEL McMURTRY.

SLADDENISMS.—Wherever a number of capitalists have a commercial club, there it is the duty of the wage-workers to have a wage-workers' club.

The real hero carries a bucket and not a rifle.

I have seen babies toddling along the streets selling papers in the rain; I see blind and maimed men selling shoestrings and lead pencils to keep them out of the inferno you call a poor-house. . . . I see womanhood at the auction block

of lust and manhood peddled for an empty honor.

You talk about laws in the interest of humanity! I can look through the thin veil of your writing and discern the dim outlines of your Real Estate.

SOUTH CAROLINA CONVENTION.

It would indeed be hard to find a more enthusiastic gathering than the convention of the Socialists of South Carolina held in Charleston on July 4. What it lacked in numbers it fully made up in the desire to "do something." The principal delegations were from Columbia and Charleston, though other places in the state were also represented, and there was also a visiting delegation from Augusta, Georgia. The prime object of this notable gathering was to devise ways and means to spread the socialist propaganda in the state. And let it be understood that it by no means stopped at "devising." The desire to accomplish results was clearly shown, when the chairman of the convention, Comrade A. J. Royal, of Columbia, one of the best and most enthusiastic workers in the state, in a forceful and very appropriate manner urged the necessity of placing a permanent organizer in the field. Letters were read from the different socialist publishing houses as well as the various socialist papers offering to do all in their power to assist in the dissemination of socialist thought, by special discounts, etc. In less than ten minutes over \$100.00 were pledged by the comrades present, with more in sight. Besides each comrade in their respective locals, agreed to assess himself a stated amount each month to keep up the permanent work in the state. There was a feeling among all, that since no help could be expected from outside sources, it devolved upon them to put their shoulders to the wheel and do their own organizing. A provisional state committee was elected

with a local quorum of three at Columbia. The executive committee consisting of Comrades R. B. Britton, J. C. Gibbs, A. J. Royal, T. J. Weston, Isaac Goldman and others to be elected by their respective locals. Comrade Wm. Eberhart, of Charleston, a venerable socialist of the "old school" was elected temporary state secretary, until Comrade H. L. Drake, at present in Florida, would arrive to take charge of the work. The local quorum consisted of Comrades A. J. Royal, J. C. Gibbs and T. J. Weston (all of Columbia). MAX WILK.



Comrade John Spargo writes us from the Vermont mountains that his health is steadily improving and that he hopes to do some more active fighting by next fall. The above photograph was taken of Comrade Spargo while he sat upon a cannon taking the sunshine, and dreaming of Universal Peace.

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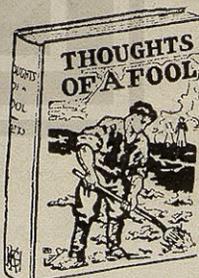
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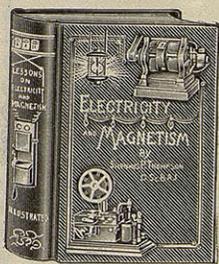
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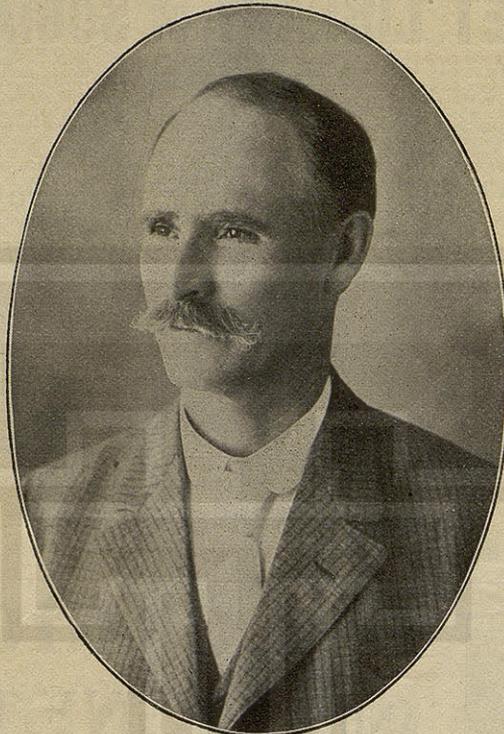
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FREE THOUGHT MAGAZINE.

APRIL, 1896.

ARE ALL THE TEACHINGS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT
INFALLIBLE AND FOR ALL TIME?

BY ARCHIBALD HOPKINS.

ONE of the inevitable results of the theory of the inspiration of the books of the Old and New Testaments, has been the belief that their teaching is in all respects perfect, infallible, and unlimited in application, binding upon all races under all circumstances, and incapable of modification or improvement till "the last syllable of recorded time." In fact, that it is the very utterance, in the very words, of God Himself. As the belief in inspiration is being swept away by the profound critical research of Biblical scholars, the growing enlightenment of the age, and the application of reason and common sense to this, as to all other subjects; and as the comparative study of the great religions of the world brings out in clear relief the fact that they all teach substantially the same morality as the ten commandments, with the injunction to do as one would be done by added; and as the further fact has become apparent, that all religions are manifestations of the same primitive instinct and idea, variously modified by environment and progress, no one more than another being a revelation, though all claim a supernatural origin; and that in the realm of morals, as everywhere else, the process of growth, improvement, evolution, has been going on, it has come to be a natural and proper inquiry whether the teachings of the Bible on sociological and moral questions are per-

fect, and final as applied to our age and conditions. In examining the subject somewhat in detail, we shall confine ourselves to the New Testament, for it is, if inconsistently, yet tacitly if not expressly, conceded, that many of the precepts and much of the conduct chronicled and approved in the Old, cannot be wholly endorsed or used indiscriminately for the guidance and training of the young.

That the New Testament morality is lofty and improving is not questioned, but are all its teachings to be considered as final, and binding on us? I think not. In citing examples bearing upon the discussion we must insist upon language being used in its natural, usual, apparent sense, without interpolations; for once a process of explaining it away by interpretation and inference is admitted, every one can reach, and as a matter of fact, does reach just such results as they wish.

These methods of interpretation are too familiar to require illustration. A text meeting the views of the expositor, is held to mean literally and exactly what it says, while the next verse will be given a meaning the very opposite to its plain import, and should any one question this method, he would probably be told he was incapable of discerning things spiritually. There are a number of topics under which pertinent observations may be made, and the first one we will consider is that of "non-resistance." It is inculcated in the broadest and most unmistakable terms. "I say unto you that ye resist not evil, but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man take away thy coat let him have thy cloak also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain." "Put up thy sword, for they that take the sword shall perish by the sword." There has never been a time since these words were uttered, when their complete opposite was more widely practiced in all Christian countries, and it may be fairly said, with the sanction of the churches, and there has never been any attempt, save partially by a small sect now rapidly disappearing, to carry them into effect.

Christian nations, as nations, were never so universally armed and trained for deadly conflict as now, military prowess and success never more looked up to, glorified and rewarded; and the whole spirit and tendency of training in schools and colleges, with the growing impor-

tance given to athletics, is contrary to their teaching. Indeed the churches stimulate this spirit, and while followers of the "Prince of Peace" put in practice the exact opposite of his teachings. And so we have Catholic, Presbyterian, Episcopal, and various other denominational cadets marching and camping, and drilling with real muskets, being made accustomed in connection with sectarian differences and as a part of them, to militarism and readiness to fight, which is encouraged by such exercises. Indeed there exist "Military Schools" named from the evangelists. Stranger things have happened than that some of them should turn their guns on each other.

The very missionaries, if threatened or interfered with, invoke the armed power of their governments, and demand the punishment of their assailants, and Christianity is in effect still propagated by the sword; nor, in countries like China and India where it is rightfully regarded as threatening the existing order of things, could it ever have obtained a foothold without force to back it.

Since the departure of the French expedition to Madagascar, the inauguration of a war for conquest and plunder, wholly unprovoked and as unjustifiable as the baldest act of piracy, the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris has, in a special pastoral, implored the Divine blessing on it, as begun and carried on for the extension of Christianity and its blessings, to the heathen.

The most fruitful source of foreign complications to-day, is the presence of missionaries in un-Christian countries, and if force were eliminated from the situation large numbers of them would be compelled to leave. The President's messages to Congress, touching our relation with China and Turkey, confirm this. So, much may be said as to the practice of non-resistance; just so long as courage, manhood and self-respect continue, just so long as bullies and highwaymen exist who will smite their unoffending neighbors on their cheeks, or rob them of their coats, just so long as large nations are rapacious and aggressive and smaller ones patriotic and brave, will the existing conditions last, and just so long ought they to last. Society is organized with police and armies that the individual may as a rule resist evil by society's recognized instruments, but if the occasion arise for a man either to defend himself or another under his care, or who by weakness or dependence appeals to his manhood,

it is his duty to do it, or justly be regarded as selfish and craven. Were it otherwise, ruffianism and the rule of the worst would soon prevail, and crime be the easiest way to a livelihood. The precept, carried out now, would be destructive of all social organization; and the clergymen themselves, who constantly repeat it as divine teaching, neither practice it nor intend to. Nowhere, not even in courts or in bodies organized for purpose of contention, is there exhibited more pugnacity, or less readiness to turn the other cheek, than in ecclesiastical assemblies, where members claim to hold divine commissions and to act under the special guidance of the Almighty.

Were the world what it ought to be, there would of course be no need of such teachings. With it as it is, they are surely out of place, and except as they may tend to a spirit which will minimize the sense of aggression, and conciliate rather than aggravate hostility, may be justly said to be, if carried out as written, under any fair interpretation which can be given to the direct and positive words used, mistaken and harmful.

Confucius, like Jesus, taught the principle of non-resistance, and China, much more than any other country, has adopted and been formed by it. As a consequence the classes looked up to there, and most influential, are the scholars, the mandarins and the great merchants. The vocation of the soldier is little regarded and no men of ability or ambitious of advancement or consideration seek it. The result is, China, with her swarming millions, was in an incredibly short time beaten into submission by her comparatively weak but warlike and disciplined neighbor. And this would have happened just the same, had Japan been the aggressor and wholly in the wrong.

The second general topic which we shall refer to is almsgiving. Here again the language is clear and positive, and the New Testament being supposed to furnish an exact code, the attempt to comply with it has worked infinite harm, and is still a menace to the welfare of society. "Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away." It is strict obedience to this and similar injunctions, resulting in indiscriminate giving, that has fostered idleness, encouraged vice, and contributed largely to the creation and continuance of a permanent vagrant,

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and resulting criminal class. This fact is now universally recognized among educated social reformers, and their efforts are mainly directed to methods and aims which patiently pursued will cure pauperism, and not to giving to beggars or even to raising money for charities, to which the efforts of the churches have been almost exclusively confined. Quite possibly the teaching as locally applied, where it was first made public, when life in all its conditions was so much simpler, may have been comparatively harmless, but it surely was not intended for the complicated system and changed conditions of our time. Like the teaching in regard to non-resistance, instead of being honestly repudiated, it is added to or taken from, according to the theories of him who uses it, and is "interpreted," that is, twisted from its plain, obvious meaning and unlimited application, to suit the most widely divergent opinions.

There is probably no series of maxims more thoroughly instilled and insisted upon everywhere, and with more forcible reiteration, than the duty and necessity of providence, forethought, laying up for a rainy day; or which, if followed, would do more to regenerate society. Fully carried out even the drink evil would disappear, for the two cannot exist together, and poverty itself would come to an end; and yet the New Testament clearly tells us to ignore and disregard all such teaching. "Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink, nor yet for your body what ye shall put on." "Take therefore no thought saying, What shall we eat or what shall we drink or wherewithal shall we be clothed?" "Take therefore no thought for the morrow, for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself." The usual method of getting over this, is to say that it of course *means* no anxious thought, or not an undue amount of thought, changing its sense and scope absolutely, but we must take it as it is written. It is needless to say, that it is only by taking constant and most anxious thought, coupled with steady endeavor, that the majority of mankind is able to live at all, and it is our bounden duty to controvert such doctrine, antagonize and try to remedy its results, and inculcate its direct opposite. The most probable explanation of its having been put forth is, that Jesus believed and explicitly and repeatedly taught, that the existing order of things was to end almost

immediately, and His Kingdom to be inaugurated with signs and wonders, before some of those with whom he was talking should "taste death." "Verily, verily," He says to emphasize it, "ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel till these things be fulfilled."

"Verily I say unto you, this generation shall not pass away, till all these things be fulfilled." "There be some standing here which shall not taste death till they see the Son of Man coming in His kingdom." "Verily I say unto you, ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel till the Son of Man be come."

Nothing could be more explicit and positive than the declarations and predictions of Jesus in regard to his speedy second coming. When Peter and James and John and Andrew "asked Him privately, "Tell us, when shall these things be?" first warning them to let no man deceive them, He spoke of numerous dire portents and terrible afflictions that would come, after which would be seen "the Son of Man coming in the clouds, with power and great glory." "And then shall He send His angels and gather his elect from the four winds, from the uttermost part of the earth, to the uttermost part of heaven." And He goes on addressing Himself all the time to them personally. "So ye in like manner, when ye shall see these things come to pass, know that it is nigh, even at the doors." And then to emphasize and put beyond doubt what He meant, He said: "Verily I say unto you, this generation shall not pass till all these things be done." "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my word shall not pass away." He says the same thing in substance again and again in different form. If there is any certainty in regard to anything which Jesus said, it is this, not simply because of its repeated occurrence, so plainly stated that it cannot be "interpreted" or explained away, but because it appears from their sayings if correctly reported, and from their actions, theories and conduct, that it had been taught to all his disciples, and that they all believed in his immediate second coming.

Paul says, "We that are alive and remain shall be caught up into the air," and he charges Timothy "to keep this commandment until the appearing of the Lord Jesus Christ." Peter says, "But the end of all things is at hand;" John, "For the time is at hand;" and James, "The coming of the Lord draweth nigh." In Revelations Jesus Him-

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self is made to say, "And behold I come quickly," and later, "*Surely* I come quickly." So strong was this belief, that in spite of disappointment, it persisted till the formation of the earlier creeds, in one of which the phraseology used is, "He shall *soon* come to judge." That generation did pass away, and nothing of the sort came to pass, nor ever has since, and yet we are told we must believe it was God Himself who said it would.

With a belief so confidently held and expressed, in the immediate coming of the Kingdom, of course thought and care for the morrow would be useless. That this mistake greatly affected the disciples' careers, and colored and distorted other of their views, cannot be doubted. How potent it was, may be seen from the fact that although the language used limits the prediction to that precise period, promising the disciples that they should rule over the twelve tribes of Israel, a promise made absurd by the sense now sought to be given to it; there are still those who are looking for a second coming, and the churches continue in a doubtful sort of a way to maintain it. It is to be said also in general, as has been before indicated, that improvidence in those surroundings would be much less harmful than in our day and place.

We now look briefly at the attitude assumed by the New Testament toward wealth and the accumulation of property. Were wealth a hideous disease, and its pursuits the blackest of crimes, it could not be more severely denounced and reprobated, and its consequences more deplored. "Woe unto you that are rich, for you have received your consolation." "A rich man shall hardly enter the kingdom of Heaven." "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth." And in the parable of Dives, nothing is alleged against him except that he was rich, which seems to have been of itself sufficient reason for his waking up in torment. In spite of all this, the principal occupation of all civilized nations from that time to this has been the accumulation of wealth, and it has only been as treasures have been laid up on earth, that nature has been subdued, civilization made possible, education advanced, charities founded, and Christianity itself proclaimed. The desire to get property, and the use of it when obtained, have been the most powerful factors in the world's progress. There is no Christian who will refuse proffered riches on

account of the risk to his soul, and all of these sayings, again by the use of addition and subtraction, and by a method of interpretation which can easily make black white, are qualified and modified and finally shown to tolerate and encourage, if not openly to advocate the very opposite to what they teach. They are, in fact, too straightforward and plain spoken to admit of the slightest question that they mean just what they say. "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon the earth."

In a city vast and opulent, where poverty and ignorance abound, and crime is rampant, we enter a magnificent church costing millions, lavishly decorated, aflame with colored glass, and luxurious with cushioned pews, where the garb of indigence or the stains of toil are never seen, built with earthly riches, not for the pleasure of men, the housing of fashion, or the promotion of ecclesiasticism, but purely to the "glory of God." The contribution plates are handed to millionaires, who pass them to people who the whole week through have striven above all things to become like them, and a clergyman whose very outline and tone expresses income, and generations of gathered treasure, says with serious countenance and solemn, rotund utterance, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon the earth." Whence, then, the expected thousands in the plate, to be credited in the heavenly account?

Of course believing, as we have seen Jesus did, and his disciples also, from his repeated teachings, that "the end of all things was at hand," any thought for the morrow and any accumulation of riches would be foolish and useless. Why attempt to apply theories having such an origin, to a condition of things for which they were clearly not intended, and are manifestly unfitted? Where limitations are so plainly declared, and so obvious, they should be respected.

Growing out of these teachings, and the communistic theories and experiments of the early disciples doubtless based upon them, have been the numerous futile and harmful socialistic doctrines and experiments, which, ignoring human nature and experience, and the fact that progress has been largely the result of individual discontent and aspiration, would reduce mankind to a dead level by enactment and hand over all the functions of society to the state.

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Such theories have always been attractive to the unthinking multitude, and of late different churches, in their zeal to bring "the people" within their special folds, have been like political parties bidding for votes, seeing which could go farthest in advocating them, under the name of "Christian socialism," thus adding another to the reasons which are fast alienating the educated thought of the time from them. The world owes every man a living, it is said, and the obligation would be met in every case, were each man in the first place, primarily through the means provided by the law, but individually if need be, to manfully resist and repel all aggression of whatever kind and from whatever quarter upon his rights; and in the second place, by adding to industry and temperance the most careful and painstaking thought for the morrow, earnestly seeking riches and treasures on earth, and having gained them, refusing to waste them in indiscriminate giving, and lending to whomsoever might ask for them, doing injustice to those dependent on him and fostering pauperism and crime. Thus, under the unrestricted play of individual capacity, and by entire freedom under impartial laws, gaining for himself and securing for others a natural and diversified development of character, talent and civilization, which, were the teachings we have quoted put in force, with their resulting order of things, must disappear. In short, it would seem that if the individual is to reach his highest development and society its best condition, it must be by disregarding the teachings attributed to Jesus in respect to non-resistance, almsgiving, providence and forethought, riches, and communism; and that they are totally disregarded and must be, none know better than they who continue to proclaim them as divine.

There can be no question that the teachings of Jesus, as we have them recorded, were communistic and socialistic, and the Church ought officially, as an organization, either to adopt and inculcate them as such boldly, as many of its ministers are doing to the great detriment of society, or else to recognize the plain fact that they do not fit this world and never will, their impracticability and lack of adaptation having been proved by long experience; and teach sociological principles that are abreast of the times.

There is an aspect of New Testament ethics which, while it is not

so positively declared, is yet unmistakable, and which is, I venture to believe, wholly indefensible. In the final analysis of human actions they are all traced by philosophers to one of two motives, or rather instincts—self-preservation and reproduction. Growing out of the latter, are most of the institutions and refinements which make life worth living. The home, love, the love of beauty, the desire to be beautiful and to please, music, the arts, poetry, chivalry, and all the tenderest ties as well as the greatest joys that exist, are shown to have been evolved from this instinct, and to be the outgrowth of the heaven-ordained sexual relation. And yet the attitude of the New Testament teaching toward it, is that it is something to be tolerated rather than encouraged and made the most and best of. Self-mutilation is commended, that the instinct may be eradicated, and matrimony is held up as something to be resorted to in an extremity, rather than to commit sin.

"His disciples say unto Him, If the case of the man be so with his wife, it is good not to marry." Part of Jesus' answer follows: "And there are some men which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake. He that is able to receive it, let him receive it." Matt. xix. 11-12.

Due to this teaching there sprang up in the early Christian times a sect, of whom the celebrated Origen was one, all of whom were self-mutilated, and it still exists in Russia. Needless to say, the morality and law of this day repudiate such doctrine, no matter for what purpose nor from whence, and forbid its practice.

"I say therefore to the unmarried, and widows, It is good for them if they abide even as I. But, if they cannot contain, let them marry, for it is better to marry than to burn." 1 Cor. vii. 9.

"It is good for a man not to touch a woman; nevertheless, to avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife, and every woman her own husband." 1 Cor. vii. 1-2.

"Art thou loosed from a wife? seek not a wife." 1 Cor. vii. 27.

No normal, healthy, high-minded man or woman will agree that their relation to each other has such a basis, or that but for that it would have been better to remain single. Surely matrimony stands on a higher plane than that, and surely woman's position has rightly come to be very superior to what he would have kept it, who wrote:

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"Let the woman learn in silence, in all subjection.

"For Adam was first formed, then Eve. And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression." 1 Tim. ii.

"Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands as unto the Lord." Eph. v. 22.

"For they are commanded to be under obedience, as saith the law. And if they will learn anything, let them ask their husbands at home." 1 Cor. xix. 34.

There is no limitation, and on the theory of all church teaching being the very will of God Himself, divinely inspired and revealed, it applies to all time, and is strictly binding upon every married woman of to-day. Let alone the question of morals, would any gentleman be willing to stand in such a relation to a woman.

Lecky and Draper, in fact all the best historians, show that it is due to such teachings, and the consequent attitude of the Church hostile to the development of woman, that she has been degraded and denied equal rights and education, to her own detriment and that of her race. A great many women are beginning to realize the true source of their enslavement in times past, and to speak out boldly, and they are not alone. Professor Boyesen says in a recent article in the *Forum*:

"I had heard so many times, both in and out of the pulpit, that woman owed to Christianity her social elevation and the amelioration of her lot, that I had come to accept it as a truism. At all events, it had never occurred to me to question the postulate until, one day, I read in the 'Germania' of Tacitus, that among the ancient Teutons a kind of sanctity seemed to pertain to women.

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"There is to me something very noble in the comradeship of husband and wife which appears to have existed among these rude and hardy warriors,—a comradeship half resembling that of boy and girl before the consciousness of sex has markedly differentiated them. Not even from the tribal council were women excluded. Tacitus expressly states that they were attentively listened to, and that their advice was never left unheeded. I was once inclined to suspect a bit of courteous exaggeration in this, induced by the writer's desire to emphasize the contrast between the weight of personality and serious worth of the barbarian women and the flimsy frivolity of his own countrywomen. But a deeper study of Germanic paganism convinced me that the suspicion was unfounded. Paganism in the North did, undoubtedly, tend to evolve sturdier types of womanhood

than Christianity has done; and it accorded a recognition to female intelligence which Christianity has been far slower in according.

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"I cannot but think that the Oriental view of womanhood, implied in the Bible, has had an enormous influence in forcibly checking the normal development. The Catholic church not only adopted, but immensely exaggerated the disabilities under which the sex had labored in Semitic lands; and the result was that the free-born, sagacious, and nobly self-dependent daughter of the Teutonic forests was dwarfed, subdued, and spiritually crippled until she became the commonplace, insignificant, obedient Hausfrau of to-day.

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"It would be an exaggeration, perhaps, to maintain that Christianity is alone responsible for this undoubted degeneration of womanhood, as regards civic worth, weight of personality, and strength of character; but that it has been the strongest of a number of co-operating factors is beyond dispute.

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"It will, perhaps, surprise many to learn that the legislation regarding marriage and divorce was in Iceland and Norway far more mindful of the wife's interest than it has ever been during the Christian era."

We notice here in passing, that Paul bases the position he assigns to woman upon the childish and exploded legend of Eve and the apple, and the fall of man, as he does the whole structure of his sacrificial and propitiatory theology. This foundation for both assumptions has crumbled to nothingness, but the Church, while silent on the woman question, still clings to his baseless theology.

The belief of both Jesus and his disciples in the speedy end of all things may have been at the bottom of such views: but upon whatever based, it was such teachings that led to the establishment of celibate orders with their hideous corruptions, and which still lead so-called Protestant monks, with the sanction of prominent bishops in imitation of a superstitious and ignorant mediævalism, to take vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. There lingers the false assumption that celibacy means sanctity, that everything relating to sex is of the devil, and that there is something unholy about marriage, else the vow of chastity could not be held to inhibit it. It is this false theory, probably an Oriental importation, which in order to exalt him, it was thought later on necessary to make the basis of the legend of the miraculous birth of Jesus.

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Another saying of Jesus we must either believe to have been mis-reported or must conclude that it should be disregarded. "If any man come to me, and *hate* not his father and mother, and wife and children, and brothers and sisters, yea and his own life also, he can not be my disciple." Under no circumstances can it be right to hate all those whom it is not only our natural instinct but our first duty to love, nor are we called on to do it for any cause, no matter how sacred. How many disciples are there now, or have there ever been, who meet this requirement? A great deal of very violent interpretation must be resorted to if the saying is left to stand as genuine, or is not repudiated in substance, and it is needless to say it has been forthcoming.

Two other things positively and distinctly taught in the New Testament are all but universally disregarded throughout the Christian world, and were it not so, two of the learned professions must cease to exist.

"Dare any of you, having a matter against another, go to law before the unjust, and not before the saints? Is it so, that there is not a wise man among you? no, not one, that shall be able to judge between his brethren? But brother goeth to law with his brother, and that before unbelievers. Now, therefore, there is utterly a fault among you, because ye go to law with one another. Why do ye not rather take wrong? why do ye not rather suffer yourselves to be defrauded?" 1 Cor. vi.

Perhaps the reason was that they knew as well as we do that such a course would before very long demoralize and destroy society.

If these injunctions were followed all controversies between man and man would be settled in the churches, and there would be no more use for courts and lawyers, and the cunning and strong would have their will.

"Is there any sick among you? let him call for the elders of the church and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord.

"And the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up; and if he have committed sins they shall be forgiven him." James v. 14, 15.

If this be true, doctors and medicine are worse than useless.

There is a small sect which follows these directions implicitly and Christian Science seems to be based on them, but the results in many cases have been such that the persons responsible have fallen into the hands of the law.

What reason, however, is there to suppose that these inspired teachings are less binding than any of the others? A good churchman, whom nothing would prevent from bowing at the proper time in the creed, will sue his brother in the secular courts, and will not anoint his sick with oil, nor have in the elders to pray over them.

Absolute and universal non-resistance; unlimited and unchecked beggary; improvidence for the future; prohibition of wealth under the complete sway of socialism; the discouragement of matrimony except on the lowest grounds, and the entire subjection of woman; the destruction of the courts by transferring all controversies to the jurisdiction of "the saints," and the abolition of disease by prayer and anointing with oil. No one can deny if we adopt the "plain and literal sense" of words, insisted on by the recent pastoral letter of the Episcopal Bishops, but which the theologians constantly disregard, that this program is authoritatively laid down in the New Testament, and it is the Holy, unchangeable word of God. How long would civilized society survive if an attempt were made to administer its affairs in accordance with these teachings, and be it ever so long, who would wish to remain a member of it? There is another doctrine which, while it may be considered theological, has always been supposed to be so closely connected with morality, and so essential to it, that it may be briefly referred to. It is, that there exists, and awaits a vast majority of the human race, an actual, literal and everlasting brimstone hell. Here the language of Jesus is too repeated and explicit to admit of the usual method of escape by interpretation, and it is to be said for the orthodox, that they have as a rule been too honest to attempt it. "Depart from me, ye cursed, into *everlasting fire*, prepared for the devil and his angels." "And shall cast them into a furnace of fire, where shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth." "Rather than having two eyes to be cast into hell fire." "And not that thy whole body may be cast into hell." "Than having two hands to go into hell, into the *fire* that shall never be quenched, where the worm dieth not and

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their fire is not quenched." "Fear Him which after death hath power to cast into hell." "And in hell lifted up his eyes being in torment . . . for I am in torment in this flame." "Whosoever shall say, 'Thou fool,' shall be in danger of hell fire." Notice in passing the monstrous disproportion between the offense and the penalty threatened, in the last sentence. There is no single doctrine so impregnably fortified by the repeated and emphatic teaching of Jesus Himself, as reported, as that of a literal, everlasting hell, of literal, actual fire. No imagination can depict the wretched foreboding, and the mental anguish and despair these words have caused. All the unspeakable horrors they imply, and which imaginations like Dante's and Milton's, reinforced by theologians of all sects, have but dimly shadowed forth, have been believed to be real, and under the theory of the churches they must be real, and no amount of agony and terror which they are calculated to inspire is sufficiently great, for they are the unquestionable, unimpeachable utterance, not of a great teacher, but of "God the Son," who can speak only unchangeable truth. A clever Catholic writer, St. George Mivart, has recently attempted to demonstrate that hell, while eternal, may be a very tolerable sort of a place, and the abode of happiness. He was promptly put under the ban of the Inquisition, and his book "indexed" for the avoidance of the faithful. Not very far back he would have been given opportunity of proving the correctness of his theory by means of temporal fires, as introductory to eternal ones. While the Roman church thus consistently and manfully stands by hell, the Protestant sects have of late made no official declarations on the subject, and have pretty much wholly ceased to discuss it. There it stands, however, the ineffaceable, reiterated, solemn teaching, as it is insisted we must believe, of "God the Son," and cannot be explained away. Silence is their only refuge. Meanwhile the developed moral instinct and emancipated common sense of mankind repudiate the doctrine with detestation, even with scornful amusement, implying on the one hand if it be of God, that He is not a God worthy of love, veneration or worship, but in reality meaning, whatever may be said, an underlying and prevalent belief that He who spoke such words, if indeed he did speak them, was subject to human limitations, and shared the mistaken beliefs and superstitions of his time.

The churches all teach criminals that they can be saved by blood at the last moment, while at the same time insisting in their creeds that a man of the best, most upright, unselfish life, who does not believe this, must go away into outer darkness and torments forever. Character counts for nothing unless a man has been consciously and with his own consent bought and paid for with blood and deserts not his own "imputed" to him. This whole "plan of salvation" that the sacrifice of God the Son to the Trinity alone enables the Almighty to take care of the creatures He has made, or them to find their proper place, as everything else in the universe finds it under unvarying laws, is barbarian in character and barbarian in origin; and its foundation in theology, the fall of man in Adam, has been destroyed by the acceptance of evolution. It is said, "Judas went to his own place," a law that will solve all problems. It is this "plan" which the Church still maintains in all its services which lead up to the crucifixion as the great central event of all time, without which there never could have been "salvation" for anybody, which requires a hell for its completeness.

The simple fact is that all these teachings, which there is not the slightest reason to believe were otherwise meant than the plain sense of the words indicate, and which, if carried into effect, would be destructive of the society of to-day, have been interpreted and manipulated by the church into conformity with its usages and subservience to its interests. The only alternative was to declare courageously that whatever may have been true when they were first promulgated, they are not appropriate or applicable here and now, but that would have involved the abandonment of too many cherished theological dogmas.

And here it may appropriately be said in closing, that while the records we have are of a character to give us certainty as to the general tenor of the teachings of Jesus, which is all that is necessary, it is impossible for us to know with exactitude anything he said, or beyond question what he did or did not say. The whole of the fourth Gospel is discarded by the best scholars, as neither historical nor representing Jesus' real personality or teaching. It begins with a ready-made Greek philosophy and theology, and is constructed throughout, to support that, on lines irreconcilably contradictory

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to the other three, and must have been written much later than the others by some other person than St. John. The nearest we can get to what Jesus actually was, and taught, is taking what the three synoptics agree in, which eliminates a vast amount of accepted legend, superstition and theology. Even then, it must be borne in mind that so confident were his disciples, relying on his own repeated words, of his immediate return, that for very many years after his death they wrote down nothing that he said or did; then when it was recorded, it was not by original disciples or by actual witnesses, or hearers, and had long passed from mouth to mouth undergoing great and inevitable change, suffering eliminations and receiving numerous additions.

Furthermore Jesus spoke Aramaic and what he said was either first written down in Greek, a language as different from Aramaic as English is from French, or was, if written as he spoke, subsequently translated into Greek, and that of itself, even supposing the best scholarship and the greatest care, means necessarily much change. Even to the diminishing number who cling to a belief in inspiration, the difficulties are numerous and formidable. Not only must every one who repeated these sayings and the original transcriber have been inspired, but the translators and copyists as well. Is it possible that God inspired palpable and refutable misstatements, incredible wonder tales, and irreconcilable contradictions? All of these are found, and are no longer denied by scholars, in the record as it stands. Then, too, of what was written down we have no copy earlier than the fourth century, and we know, supposing the first to have been inspired, how many changes must have crept into the numerous manuscripts that intervened in those many hundred years, between the first and our earliest one. It is, for instance, demonstrable with a certainty from which there is no escape, that the words, "Go ye, therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," by which the rite of baptism is made out to be of divine origin, the doctrine of the Trinity claimed to be established, and the duty of supporting foreign missions declared, were never spoken by Jesus at all, but were of much later ecclesiastical origin.

The impossibility of knowing just what He said on any subject,

and the absurdity of making systems of theology and salvation itself, turn on a word or a verse, is well illustrated by Lincoln's famous speech at Gettysburg. It was made on a conspicuous occasion, of which he was the central figure, with thousands present, eager to catch his every word, several reporters took it down as it was spoken, he himself furnished a copy to the press, and it was at once telegraphed over the country. In spite of all this, discussion and controversy are now going on as to just what he said, and there are two or three distinct and differing accounts extant, as to the place, time and circumstances under which the address was written.

The interpretation referred to, and which is so familiar, is simply an attempt to adjust the advance which has been made in the science of ethics to teachings, many of which are mistaken or outgrown and obsolete; and this attempt made by and in the interest of theology is essential to it, because theology claims that these teachings are either the utterances of God the Son, or of His inspired Apostles. But the time has come when the demand for a science of ethics based like all other sciences on observed and verifiable facts, and not solely on any teachings or opinion, however lofty, disinterested and sincere, can not be thrust aside. A science capable of being applied to things as they are, without interpretation so fantastic as to make it mean the exact opposite of what it says.

In all other spheres of intellect we have come to appreciate and insist upon absolute freedom of thought and investigation, in all that concerns religion and the Bible, we have been and still are hampered and enslaved by shackles that tradition, inheritance, and most of all, ecclesiasticism in its own interest, not in ours, have succeeded from childhood in fastening upon our minds. But we are learning to think freely and fearlessly here as elsewhere, and there are wide-spread signs of emancipation. ®

Doubtless every contending ism which traces its peculiarity of belief or observance, or the beginning of its priesthood, back to God the Son through unbroken Apostolic descent, each conflicting tenet and requirement being founded on inspired utterances interpreted to suit the varying phases of human character and preference, and each putting the other in the wrong, will say I am attacking Christianity. I do not so regard it. When the young man came to Jesus and

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asked him the fundamental and far-reaching question, "What shall I do to inherit eternal life?" He did not reply, you must believe I am God, or trust my atoning blood, or take part in any rites, or assent to any creed. All that was partly invented and partly adopted from pagan sources, long after. He said simply—and He surely would have told a sincere inquirer, as the young man evidently was, what He really believed and all that He thought necessary—"Keep the commandments." That is, learn the laws of the universe in which you are, physical and moral and conform to them. Add to this the golden rule, which He taught and exemplified, and reverence to "the Father," the great mysterious Energy in us and all around us, that animates and sustains all things, that we can not comprehend or define, the "power not ourselves, that makes for righteousness." That I believe to be the essence of Christianity as Jesus taught it; and I believe that through it, if at all, we are to slowly reach the solution of the problems that are pressing upon us. Anything more than that—creeds, dogmas, plans of salvation, prescribed experiences, compulsory rites,—is binding upon men's consciences and intellects, burdens too heavy to be borne, and under which widespread and incessant restiveness, amounting almost to revolt, is everywhere appearing.

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THE EARTH NOT CREATED.—FALLACY OF ALL COSMIC THEORIES.

BY DANIEL K. TENNEY.

PART III.

TRANSFORMATION BY GLACIAL AGENCY. Another agency most potent in the transformation of the earth's crust, deserves further mention. It is that of glacial action. Every one knows something about this. In my judgment it is not given credit for the immensity of its achievements. Geologists unanimously agree that there has been a glacial period in the northern hemisphere, during which the ice cap reached, in this country, from the north pole to and beyond the Ohio river, and on the European continent to the Mediterranean. It is a contested point between these scientists at present, whether there has been one such period or two. Now the astronomer steps in with his mathematics and demonstrates that glacial periods are as inevitable in the world's life, as the rising and setting of the sun. That they have occurred, at long separated periods, forever, and so will continue. Not one or two, but in number without limit.

The power and method of action of these vast ice bodies seem imperfectly understood. It is commonly thought that they exist exclusively or mainly on mountain ranges or upon lands at great elevation, that their action is chiefly confined to grinding their way down to a melting point, through gorges and ravines, or to the sea, where they are broken off and float away as icebergs. This comes very close to a description of all glaciers now known. But this is not a glacial age. At many remote periods the temperature of the northern hemisphere has been intensely cold. If it was sufficiently cold at the Ohio river to maintain there a continuous ice sheet for ages, how cold must it have been further north? How cold at the pole? The waters of the ocean, vaporized by the heat of the tropical regions, were wafted northward, descended as snow and remained

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unmelted on the earth. These periods were vast in extent. How much of the waters were thus transferred to the land? If the time occupied was long enough and there was nothing to prevent, every drop was thus evaporated and deposited. The snow became by its own pressure, ice. How thick was that ice? Some investigators place it at a few thousand feet, others at many miles. It covered not the highlands only, but the entire region northward. Those portions which covered the mountains, pursued the usual downward gravital struggle for an outlet, grinding into powder the rocks which obstructed their pathway, as we see glaciers doing to-day. That which covered the more level and much more extensive surface, could not so move, but continued to increase in thickness as the snows descended upon it. If this ice thus continued to accumulate until the waters of the seas were exhausted, what an overload would press upon the crust of the northern hemisphere! What great relief of pressure would be experienced on those portions of the crust formerly covered by the seas, constituting about three-fourths of the entire earth's surface! If such a state of things ever occurred, the polarity of the earth would have been changed, and may be the poles by reason of this greatly increased diameter, exchanged places with the equator, and thus that the ice load was melted away, or perhaps with this immense and unusual overlying weight at the poles and relief upon the crust before covered by the sea, gravity bore down the crust at the poles, and cast upward into elevated dry land, that of the former sea. Many of the contortions, depressions and upheavals which we know to have occurred in the history of the earth, are by some writers thus accounted for. The fact that the fauna and flora of the present polar regions are found in a fossil condition in the regions of the present equator, and that in like manner are found in present polar regions, the fossil evidences that tropical life once abundantly existed there, give color to such line of thought. My own judgment is that such was not the case.

As the entire northern country was thus deeply covered with ice, it seems to me that the immense pressure of such a body upon itself, would engender heat at the base. If compression produces heat, here you have it. Given a temperature of zero at the surface, the

pressure of only a few thousand feet of ice would be necessary to produce a temperature higher than the freezing point at its bottom, and this pressure might be either perpendicular or lateral. And so I think it was. The ice covered every mountain, every hill, every plain, every lowland, every marsh, with its vast pressure, and was gradually thawing at its base everywhere. The waters were forced to seek outlet. Moving along with almost irresistible force, they wore away and bore along the soil and abraded rocks beneath, to the southernmost coast of the ice sheet, where it was deposited as gravel, clay, sand and other material recognized as glacial, over the entire northern half of this country.

The volume of this universal river forced along under such vast overcrowding pressure, was almost inconceivable. It did its work well. As the ice sheet receded, the terminal deposits necessarily receded, and so gradually covered the entire traversed space with its accustomed deposits. River beds were formed, and the beds of what are now lakes were worn away, and washed out in places where the underlying crust was more soft and easily eroded, or where the glacial river was more fierce in action by reason of swifter current or greater overlying load.

Thus is reasonably accounted for, the vast drift formations with which all are so familiar. The theory that they are the product of glacial moraines, in the ordinary sense, or of icebergs, has not proved satisfactory, though the potency of these agencies is well understood. Thus also it is seen that the seas were only measurably exhausted, for though much of their water was vaporized and transformed into ice, it was later, and all along, gradually returned to them again, laden with glacial mud.

ALTERNATE SUBMERGENCE AND UPHEAVAL OF THE CRUST. Now it is certain that what is now dry land, has been alternately under the sea and out again, times without number. This is the conclusive testimony of the sedimentary rocks, all of which were formed under water and under great pressure. Equally certain is it that all present dry land will be beneath the sea again, many times, in endless succession. In like manner, it is certain, that as the present continents, or portions of them, subside beneath the sea, others will rise from the

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sea. The equilibrium of sea and land will always prevail. The product of the last glacial period, that is to say, the ground of this northern region, will disappear for ages under the sea. Upon it will accumulate sediments, as of old. These, by chemical action and under pressure, will become stratified rock. Likewise this glacial debris will be transformed into rock, and at some still remoter day will be elevated in turn, for the attack of the future quarryman and the investigation of the wiser geologist. So while in the present geological period there may be evidence of not more than one or two glacial epochs, there have been many of them in the past, and will be many in the future. If those eminent and patient scientists could determine with accuracy the origin of all the rocks within the vision of their investigation, surely they would discern several aggregations which were of remote glacial production. If the astronomers are right as to the past frequency of glacial periods, the ever patient and persistent geologist will before long find—if he has not already done so—confirmation of the fact in the rocky pages of the earth itself. The present crust of the earth is geologically recent. From eternity its materials have incessantly acted and re-acted, combined and been torn asunder, been alternately exposed to the sun and atmosphere, reburied, descended again into the depths of fusion, and will so continue in a never beginning and never ending sequence of modification and improvement.

TRUE SOURCE OF NATURAL LIGHT AND HEAT. Confirmatory of the eternity of the earth, as here presented, and further discrediting its nebulous origin, let us inquire into the source of its natural light and heat. In my opinion, natural heat and light come to us on a stupendous scale, just as the artificial article does on a smaller scale through the retarding coil of our incandescent lamps. In other words, there are interchanging currents of electrical energy between the sun and all the planets of the solar system, and between the earth and stars as well. By the direct and refracting course of these currents, retarded by the atmosphere of the earth, the sun and planets, natural light and heat are developed to us and to them, and in *no other way*. This theory is consistent with every known fact in science. It is inconsistent only with some scientific speculations.

On this subject Prof. Crossland says:

"If we suppose the sun and fixed stars to be gigantic fountains of magnetic influence acting upon our globe and its atmosphere, and likewise upon all the other planets, the phenomena of the universe would then become susceptible to the grandest and simplest interpretations."

Prof. Heysinger says:

"It is an absolute certainty that electrical currents of enormous quantity and high potential, are constantly passing between the earth and the sun, and that these currents have so free a passage, far more free than through any metallic circles that we know of, that they pass over this enormous distance absolutely without appreciable resistance. . . . Each of the planetary bodies, large or small, takes its proportionate part in the generation of electricity, according to its volume, mass and motion."

Prof. Stewart says:

"We cannot help believing that there is a material medium of some kind between the sun and earth. Indeed the undulatory theory of light requires this belief."

Aristotle, the father of science, declared even in his day:

"All terrestrial phenomena, every conceivable form of force, must be referable to the impulse of the motions of the heavenly spheres."

Dr. Rogers, an eminent scholar and philosopher, says:

"Brilliant and dazzling though the sun really appears, its brightness, like its heat, is but seeming. The same process which develops sun heat, also develops sun light. It is now well known that light diminishes in the direction of the sun, in the same ratio as heat diminishes. Captain Abney, of the Royal Society of London, found upon measurement, that at the elevation of simply one and one-half miles, the light of the atmosphere was only from one-tenth to one-twentieth as great as that at the surface of the earth. At a little over three miles, the sun appears no brighter than the moon, and at four miles, the sun's rays are no longer capable of producing the rainbow colors of the solar spectrum. The yellow only is seen, and that without lines. . . . Brilliancy is not a quality inherent in the sun. Its dazzling brilliancy, so far from being located at the sun itself, is actually confined to the earth's very surface. . . . Electricity is the sole power or agency through which all inter or retro-actions take place between the starry hosts. . . . The earth is a vast magnet and the atmosphere is more magnetic than any known substance, except iron, nickel and cobalt. . . . We may no longer claim that the vast power of the sun resides in itself alone, that heat and light proceed forth from it in all directions and to all distances, as

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from a great center. The law of the conservation of force stands as a demonstration that neither power nor influence can go out from the sun in any direction through the instrumentality of force inherent in itself."

Dr. Miner in his "Cosmic Evolution," in a general discussion of the nebular theory and that of the source of our natural light and heat, makes many pertinent remarks. I cite some scattering but exceedingly apt quotations:

"In all this there is no waste of energy, no force of incandescence, to light other globes. No radiation of heat into cold, dark, unrequiting space, as evidence of decaying suns or burnt out worlds. . . . The power that appears upon the earth as sunlight is awakened within the earth's atmosphere, and like the power of gravity, gives back to the sun just as much as it receives. . . . A high state of temperature at the surface of the sun, could have no possible effect upon the planets in shedding upon them light or heat. . . . As well might water flow up the sides of mountains, or stones and rocks be lifted into space, as the mists of the ocean are lifted, as that the light and heat of the sun should be radiated millions of miles across free space to the planets. . . . The sun and planets are vast magnets revolving in a sea of electro-magnetic force. . . . Sensation is as delicate between sun and planets, as between lovers at their bridal altar. . . . The light of the sun is confined to his own sphere of radiance. So is the light of the earth evolved at the base of its incumbent atmosphere, where the gravital sun currents and earth currents meet under the disturbance of the non-conducting atmosphere."

Judge Allen, an astronomer of repute, in his "Solar Light and Heat" says:

"The swift axial rotation of the planets opposite to the excited globe of the sun, by inducing the continual circulation of electric currents about each one of them, converts them all into powerful electro-magnets. Thus we have a solar system with a vast electro-magnet and 150 electro-magnets revolving around it, each rotating on its own axis. These act and re-act on each other unceasingly and with intense power, developing the phenomena of solar light and heat. . . . Discoveries of similar elementary substances in our sun and in other similar suns, render it not improbable that all the solar systems are constituted like our own, with similar molecules and similar inhabitants. . . . If the mere movement of one disc near another, develops light, and if the rotation of one cylinder opposite another excites a dazzling light, we may consider that the swift revolutions of more than 150 great globes about a sun 700

times greater than them all, are similarly employed for the conversion of their mechanical force into the light and heat of sunshine.

The great central orb may have an unvarying temperate climate exempt from extremes of summer heat or winter cold, with no nights of gloom. It may be a bright and cheerful dwelling place with sunny landscapes, a paradise of perennial verdure and ever blooming flowers."

That the earth is a vast magnet polarized in space, and that all the other orbs are likewise, is practically conceded by the scientific world. No less is it admitted that there is sympathy and interaction between the electro-magnetic currents of each and all the others, and especially between the earth and the sun. The forces animating the universe must at all times be in equilibrium. Heat, light and electricity are known to be different expressions of the same force, and are convertible into one another. Such being the case, and it being thus easy to see that electric currents proceeding from the sun, under appropriate conditions can be converted into our heat and light, and that we can actually convert them into heat and light ourselves, why should we longer entertain the ancient notion that these cheering forces are rejected from a planet many millions of miles distant, to travel through infinite cold and darkness before they can show their true colors here? The cosmos of Manabozho was not a greater delusion, nor that of Moses either.

VELOCITIES OF THE SPHERES. Let it be remembered that the earth revolves on its axis at the rate of twenty-four thousand miles a day, moves in its orbit at a speed of one thousand miles a second, and besides, that the earth, in common with the whole solar system, moves through space at the rate of seven hundred thousand miles every day, or two hundred and twenty-five million miles a year. Think of these bewildering velocities! Every orb in the heavens moves with speed somewhat similar to this. To what useful end are they thus whirling in space? Electricity is evolved by the rapid movement of material bodies in the presence of, but not in contact with others. Thus are engendered from the atmosphere, at the ordinary supply stations, the currents which supply the arc and incandescent lights throughout our cities, and heat and power for various purposes, even to the fusing of iron and steel. Now the heavenly bodies are magnetic

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globes, known to be such, circling with velocities inconceivably greater than any machines devised by man. They not only do, but must, engender vast currents of electrical energy which outflow to their fellows, each in proportion to attracting mass, and these currents must interact and reciprocate between all the bodies. They can move only in circuits. Such currents are conceded to be thus interacting. They are capable, by retardation and refraction, of producing our natural light and heat. Why deny then the achievement and attribute it to something else, which we now see cannot and does not accomplish it? For no other reason, than because somebody said so a hundred years ago or more, when even wise men were too ignorant to know any better. We have never seen the body of the sun or of any of the planets. It is their gaseous envelope, their luminous atmosphere only, that is perceptible. In my belief there is no demonstrated fact or just inference indicating that any one of them is not as fit an abode for health and happiness, as this little sky speck which we so much enjoy and for whose warmth and illumination we were formerly told all the others were placed in the sky above us.

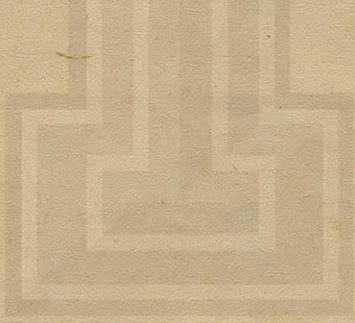
Prof. Guillamin, an eminent writer on astronomy, estimates that 77,000,000 *suns* are visible from the earth by means of the improved modern telescope. Allowing to each of these the same number of worlds that revolve about our sun, it is calculated that 10,000,000,000 planetary worlds exist within the range of telescopic vision.

WITNESS THE STARRY FIRMAMENT. When upon a clear night we view the firmament above us, studded with countless thousands of star worlds, of such vast magnitude and at such inconceivable distances as we know them to be, and reflect that all these are but scattering grains upon the threshold of the sky revealed by the modern telescope, and that even those thus revealed are as nothing to the infinite and invisible realms beyond, must we conclude that all these worlds and suns and systems were at one time "without form and void?" I think not. When science tells us we *must* adopt such a conclusion, we will. We should not do so before. Science has intimated that we ought to, but has never said that we must. It never will. Nothing is shown to justify any other opinion than that all the orbs of

heaven have from eternity existed, substantially as they are revealed to our vision to-day. Pursue the inquiry as we will, this must be the conclusion at last.

The sun appears bright and hot to us because the electric currents returning to it from all the other orbs, and perhaps those as well which proceed from it to them, engender light and heat in its atmosphere. For the same reason, the stars look bright to us and the earth to them. There is no permanent expenditure of energy. All is conserved by retroaction. These currents do not play, where there is nothing to attract and interchange with them. There is no waste. The sun is not going to cool off. The earth will not cease to be the happy abiding place of man. There is no universal ice-house approaching. No spent planets. Nothing but independent orbs, each in business on its own account. Evolution toward the good, full of life and hope, discontented to-day, happy to-morrow.

Such is the sun. Such the earth. Such the planets. Such the state of man. Doubt it who will. It is supported by the logic of all actual knowledge. Of proof to the contrary there is none. So "let the sea roar and the fullness thereof, the world and they that dwell therein, let the floods clap their hands, let the hills be joyful together, sing, rejoice and be glad."



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THE WOMAN'S BIBLE.

BY JOSEPHINE K. HENRY.

"An ounce of mother is worth a pound of clergy."—*Spanish Proverb.*

"It behooves us to gain this battle."—*Dante.*

THE crowning work of Elizabeth Cady Stanton's life is the "Woman's Bible," which is proving to be a bomb in the camp of ecclesiasticism.

The clergy are rivaling Luther in protesting against it, while the editorializing of the religious press shows conclusively that some one is desperately wounded. When a book provokes a storm of adverse criticism from the conservatives, it at once captures the thought of the world, which is the lever of civilization. It has been so through the ages. Woman's rights have been demonstrated by showing her wrongs. The thinking woman has arrived, and she has discovered that the Bible is the flaming sword that has barred her path to liberty, and that Bible religion is the most malignant scourge that has ever afflicted the mothers of the race.

Woman has waged a noble battle for freedom, but her efforts and sacrifices have been in great measure wasted because she never before struck at the taproot of her slavery. As long as she demanded only civil and political liberty, her cause was considered harmless. The fact that the ecclesiastical system rests on the sentiment and subjection of women, is indeed a justifiable reason for the alarm caused by women interpreting the Bible for themselves. As women are anathema maranatha in church councils, they have decided to hold their own council. Since men have been making, remaking, revising and interpreting the Bible to suit themselves for centuries, women are beginning to think that if God wrote the Bible, the ecclesiastics have so expurgated His errors, corrected His grammar, and revised His rhetoric, that the divine Author would not recognize His literary effort at this day. The most universal epidemic that ever attacked the world is the epidemic of thinking among women, and it would be strange indeed if the Bible escaped investigation. Women are given to details, and they are bringing to light some

things in the Bible about which masculine theologians have been either densely ignorant or severely silent. The most of the passages in the Bible relating to women, the clergy have never even dared to read from the pulpit; yet the teaching of these passages has been engrafted in creeds and canons, and their injustice, insult and brutality generously dealt out to the sex.

The clergy are finding out that they have a heavy contract on their hands to keep women in the church pasture. Those who escape into the high-road of investigation find such rich mental browsing that they refuse longer to listen to the mildewed pulpit platitudes from the Mosaic and Pauline codes, which teach that woman is the cause of all the evil in the world, that she is inferior to man, as man is to God, and that her highest privilege is to confess to her priest, and live in obedience to her lord and master. If there were nothing wrong in this system, surely the ecclesiastics should hail with joy the fact that women are studying the Bible, for the command to "search the scriptures" is most explicit.

Woman is obeying this command, and she is finding out that thought, and not theology, is the triumph of the soul. She is reasoning something after this fashion: Does it not seem that a book direct from God that has had six thousand years to work its way should by this time have exterminated sin, and transformed humanity into a race of saints? Does it not seem strange that the sex who are commanded to rule women, and out of which divines are made, compose in large measure our criminal classes, who reek with immorality and crime?

Does it not seem, too, if marriage is a Divine Sacrament, that conjugal infelicity and marital infidelity would be unknown, that poverty could not under Divine guidance overtake those whom God hath joined together, nor shame sully the innocence of maidenhood? The religionists are shocked at the audacity of the title, "The Woman's Bible," and even before reading it are warning women against it, and using their influence to bar it out of public libraries. Happily their influence is not what it once was, and this policy is the greatest aid they could render Mrs. Stanton and her co-laborers.

The word "Bible" simply means book. The "Holy Bible" means a

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holy book. The Woman's Bible does not pretend to be a holy book. Its object is to find out the estimate the Holy Bible puts on woman. A thorough examination of the Pentateuch reveals the fact that the Holy Bible estimate of woman is that she is the most unnatural, unholy, untrustworthy and dangerous creation of God. The clerical critics find "weak passages," and at times a "spirit of levity" in the "Woman's Bible." If they will con the Holy Bible they will find not only weak passages, but senseless, meaningless and obscene ones, and instead of a spirit of levity, they will find a spirit of brutality whose earmarks are on our ecclesiastical, civil and social codes to-day. The writers of the Woman's Bible will have to be attacked with softening of the brain and hardening of the heart, before they could write anything as senseless or unworthy as any orthodox commentary on the story of Eden. From a standard explanatory commentary written by leading divines (which means divine men) of the Presbyterian church, we find the following explanation of the passage in Genesis—"Unto the woman He said, I will greatly multiply thy sorrow." Comment: "She was doomed as a wife and a mother to suffer pain of body and distress of mind; from being the helpmeet of man, and the partner of his affections, her condition would henceforth be that of humble subjection." I challenge any one to find in the "Woman's Bible" any passage so at war with justice, morality, and common humanity.

The commentator proceeds concerning the serpent and the tempter in these words: "That it was a real serpent is evident from the plain and artless style of the history, and from the many illusions to it in the New Testament. But the serpent was the instrument of a higher agent, Satan, or the Devil.* Although Moses makes no mention of this wicked spirit—yet in the fuller discoveries of the Gospel it is distinctly intimated that Satan was the author of the plot. There being in the pure bosoms of the first pair no principle of evil to work upon, a solicitation to sin could come only from without, as in the analogous case of Jesus Christ. And as the tempter could not assume the human form, there being only Adam and Eve in the world, the agency of an inferior creature had to be employed, and the Devil was allowed by Him who permitted the trial, to bring

* The commentator dignifies the devil by writing his name with a "big big D."

articulate sounds from the serpent's mouth. He attacked the woman from his knowledge of her frailty—of her having been but a short time in the world, her limited experience of animal tribes, and above all, her being alone, unfortified by the presence and counsels of her husband." No such mental garbage as this ever emanated from a female lunatic asylum, yet it is paralleled in all commentaries on the Holy Bible which are accepted as the depositories of masculine wisdom.

The question is being asked, Will women read the "Woman's Bible?" We reply, Not if the clergy can prevent them. But can they do it? The fact that woman has the courage left to fight her way to truth and liberty, after being duped, driven, browbeaten and hoodwinked by priestcraft for ages, shows of what splendid stuff she is made. Launch an idea, and as well expect to stop the dew from nourishing earth's verdure, as to keep the idea from taking root and bearing fruit in woman's mind and soul. Elizabeth Cady Stanton has launched a cargo of ideas on the sea of thought, and in due time they will yield an abundant harvest "for the healing of the nations." Woman is discovering the cold, hard fact that Bible Christianity is the one drunken religion that is debauching the nations of the earth and striking back at her with terrible vengeance. She is realizing that Christian cannons have planted the "Banner of the Cross" on corpse-strewn battlefields, while Christian canons have enslaved wives, degraded motherhood, and insulted womanhood. Woman is discovering that the Christian reads his Bible with a shirt on for which he paid the woman so little to make that she is often driven to be either a harlot or a suicide.

Woman is realizing that here in Christian America, with its millions of Bibles, young college men who will soon seize the reins of church and state, mob in the streets of our cities helpless girls, while they rend the air with yells of hyena laughter, and the ribaldry of satyr lust as they pursue to disgrace and death their helpless victims, and not a preacher throughout our broad land utters a word of protest.

Woman is realizing that in this Christian land, illumined by the "blessed Gospel," the temple and the brothel flourish side by side, that men often marry one wife at the altar, whose supreme

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duty, the priest tells her, is to serve and obey her lord and master as long as life lasts, while the husband drives to despair, death, and the potter's field wretched women whom the world calls prostitutes. Church and state recoil in horror from the scarlet woman, while both church and state elevate the male prostitute to places of power and honor to make ecclesiastical and civil laws to govern the lives of women.

Woman is at last realizing that our present system is putting literally into practice the crimes the Bible records against her sex, and we call on the press of the United States to attest how well they are doing it, for never in the history of any nation were such atrocious crimes committed against girl children, maidens, wives, pregnant, insane, and aged women, and yet no protest from the pulpiti- eers.

Doubtless this is because the Bible, being the guide for American civilization, tells of the incest of a father with his own daughter (Gen. 19, 32), the murdering of women, and the ravishing of little girls (Numbers 31, 17-18), the treacherous rape of maidens (Judges 19, 23), filthy stories about concubinage (Judges 19). Perhaps the example of the holy men in the Holy Bible accounts for the epidemic of brutality and moral leprosy among the clergy and laity of to-day.

Bible Christians have no warrant for respecting womanhood either as maid or mother, yet they claim that woman owes all she possesses of personal purity, domestic happiness and social consideration to the Bible; yet the Bible teaches that woman is under an especial curse, and man a divinely appointed agent for the enforcement of that curse.

Lecky says, "Fierce invectives against woman form a conspicuous and grotesque portion of the writing of the church fathers." The Bible was the guide for these "holy men of God." Luther's ninety theses contained no assertion of the natural or religious equality of woman with man. It was the Reformer's maxim that "no gown or garment worse becomes a woman than that she will be wise." Buckle says, "When sulphuric ether was first used to lessen the pains of child-birth, it was objected to as a profane attempt to abrogate the primeval curse pronounced against woman." Man, with the world as his field of action, has well nigh deserted the temple, and be-

queathed to woman the faith he has outgrown, and she too is growing weary of the platitudes of the sermon-spinners, and of hearing the Church called "She" when in reality it is a "He" institution, with a He God, He Christ, He priesthood, He Bible, and only He angels in Heaven. The church has been forced to yield to man the right to do his own thinking, content if he will keep his mouth shut and his pocketbook open. Women are demanding the same right, yet the woman who reaches out after the fruit of thought is stigmatized as "a woman without a God." Religion among women is not what the clergy would have it; indeed, it is a very adulterated article. Let the man of God twaddle ever so divinely from the pulpit about woman's duty to her God, her church, her preacher and her husband, and an April shower patter against the stained glass windows of the church, and his female congregation will think more of saving their Easter bonnets than their immortal souls. Woman's Christianity is sadly mixed up. Redemption, predestination, sanctification and salvation are curiously blended with stunning gowns, jewels and six-button gloves, or with Matthew, Mark, Luke, or John of Beacon Street or Broadway. In woman's transition state the "Woman's Bible" will be a sprout from the tree of knowledge planted at every church door. The "Woman's Bible" will scatter seed that will bear fruit when commentaries and concordances have gone out of fashion, and the work of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and her co-laborers will be a greater factor in the coming civilization than that of the American Bible Society. If any man had done for his sex what Elizabeth Cady Stanton has done for hers, he would be canonized above all the saints in the calendar, for she has laid the ax at the root of that deadly upas tree, Bible theology, which has cursed the race through the subjection and degradation of women.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton is the deepest, clearest and most courageous thinker of our day. She is so wonderfully gifted that she is at once a philosopher, a stateswoman and a prophet, and had she possessed the privileges of a man she would be acknowledged as the greatest person of her time. Judging Gladstone by the ideas he has given to the world, he is a mere mental pigmy compared with Mrs. Stanton. If Gladstone's defense of the Bible, and the position of woman under Christianity, is sincere, and the best he can do, he is not

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entitled to a place among the world's great thinkers. It may be asked, why does Gladstone uphold the Christian religion if there is nothing in it? I answer, for the same reason that Lord Bacon denied the heliocentric doctrine as proclaimed by Copernicus. Gladstone is a politician, Mrs. Stanton is a philosopher, and there is a vast difference between the objects and methods of politicians and philosophers.

At this hour there is not in Europe or America a single eminent thinker who is an orthodox Christian, and since women are falling into the ranks of the world thinkers, they are discovering that the position of woman is more and more exalted as the power of priestcraft is broken and the light turned on Bible theology.

The law of God, given through Moses, in the 12th chapter of Leviticus clearly pronounces a woman who becomes a mother to be unclean and impure. If she had borne a son she was not allowed to touch any hallowed thing or enter the sanctuary for three and thirty days, but if she had borne a daughter she was doubly impure and was unhallowed and barred out of the temple for sixty-six days. This estimate of woman permeates all Jewish and Christian canons. In the old ceremony of the "Churching of Women," mothers had to remain on the church porch until the priest reconsecrated them with holy water, and to-day the Episcopal prayer book commands the "Churching of Women," which service consists of mothers prostrating themselves at the altar and giving offerings to the Lord to atone for the crime of having borne children. What worse can be said of a book or a faith than that it treats as essentially unclean the holy office of motherhood? This insult includes all women, for even the Virgin Mary had to pass through the "days of her purification." To say the least, this Christian tenet tends to throw suspicion on the Immaculate Conception. The few women who recently condemned the "Woman's Bible" in the National Suffrage Convention before they had read it, at once published to the world their mental limitations, and strictly obeyed the command of the clergy to condemn any work which demands going behind ecclesiastical returns. These women are more given to resolution than to reason, and have not yet recognized the cold, hard fact that ecclesiasticism lays an iron hand on their sex, but is politic enough to sheathe it in a velvet glove.

There is nothing so fragile as thought in its infancy; an interruption will put it to flight. But when it reaches maturity and is clothed in the majesty of conviction, it can overthrow dynasties and dispensations.

As woman enters the field of thought she locks the door of the Temple of Faith and throws the key away. The living woman of the living present has her face to the future, and in due time she will throw down the ecclesiastical bars and theological hurdles that have barred her path to liberty. When a truth once gets abroad in the world no power on earth can imprison it. The "Woman's Bible," whatever its defects, is heralding truth, and it will continue until the old fable of the fall of man through a woman will be superseded by the glorious fact that she was instrumental in the elevation of the race toward a higher, nobler and happier destiny. In the words of Clara Bewick Colby, we salute the immortal Elizabeth Cady Stanton: "Great and gracious woman! Thy birth was, for our sex, the dawn of a freedom which else this age might have missed. But for thee, strong and brave to meet the opportunity afforded by history's greatest need and most pregnant hour, earth might have waited longer for the redemption that draws nigh, when man and woman shall be free to be and do their best in mutual sovereignty and service."

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THE EVOLUTION OF RELIGIOUS BELIEFS.

BY HENRY CORLISS WYCLIFF.

II.

THE conception of the mind as a thinking entity, dwelling somewhere within the physical organism, is an idea so thoroughly fixed in current thought and common belief that it is almost impossible to imagine a time when it was not a part of human knowledge. But that such a time did exist in human history is abundantly evidenced by the absolute incapability of an untaught savage to grasp the conceptions necessary for such a conclusion.

To a mind furnished only with ideas that were self-gathered, within a very narrow range of experience, there is nothing which could by any possibility teach the existence of an internal activity, where all ideas and emotions take their origin. Things of the external world, as well as his own physical form, are present to the sight and touch, and it is only as such that the savage knows them. He thinks without being conscious of the thought itself, and so is never led to seek its source. He feels sensations only as related to external objects, and therefore has no conception of the internal conditions on which they depend. The abstractions of mind and consciousness are absolutely unthinkable by him, and without a means of expression in his vocabulary.

That these same conditions bounded the thought of our primitive ancestors is shown by the original meaning of every term applied by us to mental states and conditions. As, for instance, "I see" or "It is clear," expressed in terms of sight, and "I understand" or stand under, "I comprehend" or draw to me, in terms of position or sense of touch, and so with innumerable other examples, all pointing backward to a time when these expressions, now used in a figurative sense, had only a literal meaning.

Now, without this conception of the mind as a thinking entity, and deprived of the power of abstraction, how would *we* interpret the simple phenomena of dreams? Why, just as all savage and barbar-

ous peoples of the present interpret them, and just as primitive man must have done.

Let us examine the process.

To many, dreams are of almost nightly occurrence, and to all they are of frequent appearance, depending, as we know, upon the amount of disturbance, either external or internal, which affects the soundness of sleep. Hunger, one of the most common experiences of primitive life, was doubtless a fruitful source of vivid dreams. Baffled in every effort to secure food in the chase, the savage fell into an exhausted sleep, and influenced by the experiences of the day, he dreams of the stealthy pursuit of game in a distant glen, and as he is about to bring it down with a well directed blow he awakes, only to find that he is in his own miserable dwelling, with no food at hand to satisfy his hunger. Made vivid by his urgent want, every detail of his dream stands out with perfect clearness. He can remember distinctly every act of the imaginary hunt, and recognizes every foot of the ground over which he traveled in the chase, and yet when he relates it to his companions, who were awake while he slept, they tell him that he never left his place by the fire. How can he explain it? He cannot say, "I dreamed it all," for that implies a conception of the mind which he can by no possibility possess. He must of necessity interpret it in terms of his own experience. The presence of shadows, as we have seen, with their strange appearance and disappearance, the answering voices of the echo, and the wonderful transformations all about him, have irresistibly led to a belief in doubles; and this gives full and perfect explanation of his dream. It was his double that was away on the chase while his other self lay bound in slumber. Every dream, of whatever kind, lends ready confirmation to this belief, until at length it is as firmly fixed in his experience and as clearly evident to his mind as are even the incidents of his waking hours.

Coupled with this explicit belief in the realities of his own experiences is, of necessity, the thought that the persons and objects present in the dream are just as real; and if those he met while dreaming declare that they know nothing of it, then it is because their doubles have not told the other self, while his double has.

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that there are duplicate souls, and "one of these is free to go wherever it chooses during sleep, while the other remains behind in the body."

In New Zealand they say that "during sleep the mind leaves the body, and that dreams are the objects seen during its wanderings."

The Fijians hold that "the spirit of a man will leave the body during sleep to trouble others in their dreams." Even among the Peruvians, with as high a stage of development as they had reached at the time of the Spanish Conquest, it was believed that "the soul could not sleep, and that the things we dream are what the soul sees while the body sleeps." And so with the Jews, "sleep was held to be twin sister of death;" for in both the soul is free to leave the body, but in one case it must return at awakening, while in the other it remains away until the resurrection.

The importance placed upon things that are dreamed is everywhere shown, even among the enlightened as well as among the savages. The Indian holds that the things told by those met in dreams must be obeyed, and many of them fast and indulge in other forms of self-torture to produce this condition. The Congos think that "dreams come to them from the spirits," and the Malagasy believe that "the Daeman tells them in dreams what to do and gives them warnings of danger." The Kaffirs and other tribes of Africa maintain that the spirits of the dead appear to them in their sleep; and even among the Greeks and Romans we find abundant evidence, in their myths and legends, of the same belief. That the Hebrews held similar ideas is clearly shown by many passages in the Bible—Jacob's dream of Heaven's ladder, with angels ascending and descending and the promise of God made to him from the topmost round; Pharaoh's dream of Egypt's famine and the story of its fulfillment. "God came in a dream by night;" "The Lord came and stood and called to him in a dream," and a multitude of others of the same character; all establishing beyond question the Bible teachings of the objective realities of dreams.

And how perfectly natural this conception is! How inevitably it arises out of the experiences of primitive life! And how completely it explains to the savage the phenomena of his daily experience!

Closely connected with sleep in many of its physical manifestations are various other forms of insensibility, such as swoon and

apoplexy. The savage has noticed that sometimes the sleeper is awakened by the slightest noise, and again he cannot be aroused except by a shake or by loud shouting. This is easily accounted for by the nearness or distance of the absent double, or its disinclination to return to the sleeper. If he awakes easily and quickly the Dyaks say "the other self is near at hand; if the awakening is slow and difficult the double is far away and does not wish to come back so soon."

And sometimes, in spite of all efforts to arouse him, an exhausted companion still remains in heavy slumber, or a hunter is injured by a fall or a blow, and nothing can awaken him to immediate consciousness. Again, an aged or feeble person is observed to struggle for a moment and then fall insensible. Here are conditions which the savage recognizes as different from ordinary sleep, and yet so nearly like it as to necessitate the same general explanation. He notices that after a time they awaken from their insensibility, and in many cases they have long tales to relate of their doings while unconscious. Clearly these conditions, like sleep, are due to the absence of the double, only a little more prolonged and determined. The other self has merely gone away for a time on a long journey and refuses to return when bidden.

The Fijians call loudly on the name of the sleeper, and if the swoon lasts too long, "they sound the hunting cry or beat the war-drum to entice it back again." Many African tribes inflict punishment upon the unconscious body and threaten to destroy it if the double does not immediately return.

A feeling of faintness and signs of distress so frequently precede a swoon that they have come in the primitive mind to be a sign that the other self is leaving, and this gives rise to the use of various means to prevent its going. Among some savages, beatings and loud noises and threats are used. "The Fijian may sometimes be heard to bawl out lustily to his own soul to return to him." Sickness that weakens and debilitates the body is believed by many tribes to indicate an absence of one of the doubles, and prayers and incantations are offered to bring it back. In fact, the most of savage peoples live in constant fear that it will get away from them entirely.

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