What To Read On Socialism

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WHAT TO READ ON SOCIALISM

Compiled by Charles H. Kerr
Editor of The International Socialist Review
OF, BY AND FOR THE PROLETARIAT

The only great illustrated magazine that stands squarely for the revolutionary movement of the working class.

The little producers, who own a little capital, do a little work, and want a little reform, are being brushed to one side to make room for the greatest battle the world has ever seen.

On the one side are the great capitalists with a working and fighting organization that is stronger than all the governments of the world, and uses these governments at its pleasure.

On the other side are the wage-workers, just awakening to the fact that they produce everything and have nothing, irresistible in numbers, the only class without which the work of the world could not go on, but still blindly groping for an organization through which they can act together to take and enjoy what they produce.

Month by month the great capitalists are invading new fields, subduing the
forces of nature, and enrolling more men, women and children in the ranks of the proletariat.

Month by month the wage-workers are closing up their ranks and fighting here one skirmish and there another, in Mexico, Paris, Sweden, McKees Rocks, Spokane, sometimes winning, sometimes losing, but always growing into a sense of solidarity that will strengthen them in the greater battles to come.

It is the task of our REVIEW to keep its readers in touch with each new stride of industrial development and each new step toward a completer organization of the wage-workers of the world.

We are just learning how; we do it better now than when we began; we shall do it better still as thousands of fellow-workers all over the world learn what we are trying to do and help us with news of the great things doing where they themselves can see.

Send for a late number, and if we are doing the work you want done, help us to find more readers.

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MARY E. MARCY
Associate Editor International Socialist Review
WHAT TO READ ON
SOCIALISM

Modern socialism is the struggle of the proletariat—the modern class of propertyless wage-workers, against the capitalist class, who own the tools with which the work is done, and by this ownership appropriate most of the product.

The literature of modern socialism begins with the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels, issued in 1848, and still recognized by socialists of all countries as the best general statement of the principles and aims of international socialism. Next in importance to this among the briefer works is Engels' Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, while the other writings of Marx and Engels are likewise indispensable to any one wishing to make a thorough study of the subject.

This catalog contains the titles of nearly every important socialist book in the English language that can be obtained at a moderate price, and instead of a description we print under each title a characteristic extract which will to some extent help the reader to judge which books best suit his personal taste.
For a detailed guide to the study of this literature, we refer our readers to an admirable little book by Joseph E. Cohen, of Philadelphia, entitled Socialism for Students, cloth, 50c.

In the following pages the books are grouped according to size and price, starting with the more expensive books. An alphabetical index by authors will be found on page 63.

TWO-DOLLAR VOLUMES.

**Capital: A Critique of Political Economy.**

The fact that half a day's labor is necessary to keep the laborer alive during 24 hours does not in any way prevent him from working a whole day. Therefore, the value of labor-power, and the value which that labor-power creates in the labor process, are two entirely different magnitudes; and the difference of the two values was just what the capitalist had in view, when he was purchasing the labor-power.—Page 215.


It is to be noted that the capitalist, to use the language of political economy, advances the capital invested in wages for different periods. But in reality the reverse takes place. The laborer advances his labor to the capitalist for one week, one month, or three months. If the capitalist were * * * to pay the laborer in
For descriptions of his book see pages 6, 9, 28, 34, 42, 44, 52, 55
JACK LONDON, the greatest novelist in the United States, is a contributor to the International Socialist Review. We can still supply a few copies each of the numbers containing his "Story of Child Labor," "Revolution," and "The Dream of Debs"—the latter in two installments. Ten cents each; the four numbers mailed for 35c.
advance for a day, a week, a month, or three months, then he would be justified in claiming that he advanced wages for those periods. But since he does not pay until labor has lasted for days, weeks or months, instead of buying it and paying for the time which it is intended to last, we have here a confusion of terms on the part of the capitalist, who performs the trick of converting an advance of labor made to the capitalist by the laborer into an advance of money made to the laborer by the capitalist.—Page 247.

**Capital.** By Karl Marx. Volume III. The Process of Capitalist Production as a Whole. Cloth, 1048 pages, $2.00.

The value contained in a certain commodity is equal to the labor-time required for its production, and the sum of this labor consists of paid and unpaid portions. But the expenses of the capitalist consist only of that portion of materialized labor which he paid for the production of the commodity. The surplus-value contained in this commodity does not cost the capitalist anything, while it cost the laborer his labor just as well as that portion for which he is paid, and although it creates value and is embodied in the value of the commodity quite as well as the paid labor. The profit of the capitalist is due to the fact that he offers something for sale for which he has not paid anything.—Page 55.

**The Ancient Lowly:** A History of the Ancient Working People from the Earliest Known Period to the Adoption of Christianity by Constantine. By C. Osborne Ward. Cloth, two volumes, 689 and 716 pages. Each volume sold separately at $2.00.

"Let all men take warning from the past, that the plans of those great aristocrats (Lycurgus,
Numa, Solon, Plato, Aristotle) failed because they left the laborer out. * * * He rebelled, and in his crude numeric might, broke them up and killed them. He destroyed their governments at last, and is building a new era upon their ruins.

"Many years since, the earliest step of the writer of these pages, on determining to devote his life to the advocacy of labor's rights, was to visit the monarchs of the pulpit, in his simple, mistaken assumption that the Church was Christian. * * * To his surprise his cause was spurned. He was driven from the temples to lower zones; to truer Christianity; places of human sympathy; into dingy beer halls—and it was here, not in the churches, that open hearts and hands of welcome gave reception and incipience to a great movement."—Volume I, page 573.

**Debs: His Life, Writings and Speeches;**

with a Department of Appreciations.

Cloth, illustrated, 515 pages, $2.00.

Every effort is put forth by the exploiting capitalist to prevent workingmen from seeing the class struggle. The capitalist insists that there is no such struggle. The editor in the employ of the capitalist echoes "no class struggle." The teacher, professor and the minister, all of them dependent upon the capitalist for the chance to make a living, agree that there are no classes and no class struggle. In unison they declaim against class agitation and seek to obscure class rule that it may be perpetuated indefinitely.

We insist that there is a class struggle; that the working class must recognize it; that they must organize economically and politically upon the basis of that struggle; and that when they do so organize they will then have the power to free themselves and put an end to that struggle forever.—Pages 380, 381.
EUGENE V. DEBS
For descriptions of his books see pages 10, 54
GUSTAVUS MYERS
Author of History of The Great American Fortunes. See page 13
History of the Great American Fortunes.

They (the author is speaking of the "muckrakers") do not seem to realize for a moment—what is clear to every real student of economics—that the great fortunes are the natural, logical outcome of a system based upon factors the inevitable result of which is the utter despoilment of the many for the benefit of a few. This being so, our plutocrats rank as nothing more or less than as so many unavoidable creations of a set of processes which must imperatively produce a certain set of results. These results we see in the accelerate concentration of immense wealth running side by side with a propertyless, expropriated and exploited multitude.—Author's Preface.

Volumes II and III of Mr. Myers' History of the Great American Fortunes, ready early in 1910, will deal with the great railroad fortunes of Gould, Vanderbilt, Harriman, etc., etc.


It is impossible for human beings to change a law of nature; but it is not impossible for society to modify the conditions of the expenditure of human energies (knowledge, ideals, institutions, laws, morality) so that human energy, feelings and emotions will act to social advantage; human nature being the variable ways human energy
expends itself in society. In each case there are two factors; energies and structures in which the energies expend themselves; and while the energies can not be changed as to their nature, the structure in which they act can be changed, and that is all that is necessary to make the individual the perfecter of nature and society the perfecter of the individual.—Page 99.

**Ancient Society, or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery through Barbarism to Civilization.** By Lewis H. Morgan. Cloth, 586 pages, $1.50.

The idea of property was slowly formed in the human mind, remaining nascent and feeble through immense periods of time. Springing into life in savagery, it required all the experience of this period and of the subsequent period of barbarism to develop the germ, and to prepare the human brain for the acceptance of its controlling influence. Its dominance as a passion over all other passions marks the commencement of civilization.—Page 6.

A mere property career is not the final destiny of mankind, if progress is to be the law of the future as it has been of the past. The time which has passed away since civilization began is but a fragment of the past duration of man's existence; and but a fragment of the ages yet to come. The dissolution of society bids fair to become the termination of a career of which property is the end and aim; because such a career contains the elements of self-destruction. Democracy in government, brotherhood in society, equality in rights and privileges, and universal education, foreshadow the next higher plane of society to which experience, intelligence and knowledge are steadily tending. It
will be a revival, in a higher form, of the liberty, equality and fraternity of the ancient gentes.—Pages 561, 562.

American Communities and Co-operative Colonies. Second Revision. By William Alfred Hinds, Ph. B. Cloth, 608 pages, besides 33 full-page illustrations. $1.50.

Since the first edition of "American Communities" was published in 1878 new Communistic Societies have been established, some of the older ones have ceased to exist, others have been slowly sailing into their last harbor, while still others have undergone such changes that accounts of them written so long ago must be regarded as descriptive of their past rather than their present condition; hence the demand for its revision; and that it might better serve as a book of reference it has been enlarged to include accounts, not only of additional colonies, old and new, based on common property, of importance because of their numbers, principles or special peculiarities, but of many semi-communistic and co-operative societies.—Page 11.


It is true our present society carries an appearance of vigor and vitality which seems to defy assault, but if we put our ear to this exuberant life, we can hear the slow rumblings of death destroying it from within. A splendid mantle covers our civilization, but on looking more closely we see that it has already lost its sheen; its brilliant colors are beginning to fade, and ere long this splendid cloak will become the funeral shroud in which capitalistic society is to sleep its last.—Page 354.
INTERNATIONAL LIBRARY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE.


Men belong to parties by tradition, accident, or according to locality, no longer by conviction, because there are no longer political questions at issue. The real problems of life in America are neither ecclesiastical nor governmental, they are industrial. What men are struggling for today is industrial freedom. We have still to make any genuine Declaration of Independence, or to write a Constitution adapted to the needs of a non-political community. Doubtless it has been well that those who were publicly inclined have had the bauble of government to play with. They have toyed eloquently with the surface of things and left the deeper forces opportunity to become conscious and gather for emergence.—Page 14.


* * * But Darwin has lived. Beings have come into the world, we now know, through the operation of natural law. Man is not different from the rest. The story of Eden is a fabrication, bequeathed to us by our well-meaning but dimly-lighted ancestors. There has been no more miracle in the origin of the human species than in the origin of any other species. And there is no more miracle in the origin of a species than there is in the birth of a molecule or in the breaking of a tired wave on the beach. Man was not made in the image of the hypothetical
creator of heaven and earth, but in the image of the ape. Man is not a fallen god, but a promoted reptile.—Page 107.


In economic evolution there is no retrogression. It is only in universal combination that a complete consummation can be attained. Trusts must combine into a great trust, the Nation. There is no more possibility of our re-entering any of the past eras of production from which we have evolved than there is of the butterfly re-entering the chrysalis. The stage of handicraft and manufacturing, and even the competitive stage of modern mechanical industry has passed, or is rapidly passing, into innocuous desuetude. As slavery gave way to feudalism and feudalism to capitalism, so capitalism must give way to Socialism.—Page 25.


Not only philosophy but science in general has left its official mouth-pieces behind. Even where there are materialistic professors in the professional chair, there adheres to them some unscientific religious nuisance in the form of an idealistic remnant as pieces of egg-shell to the unfledged bird. Furthermore, one swallow does not make a summer, and the really scientific conception of one professor cannot take off the blot which sullies his whole class. As long as the middle classes and their leaders had to fulfill a civilizing mission, their academies were nurseries of learning. Since then, however, history has
moved forward, and the struggle for a higher civilization has been devolved on the working class.—Page 131.


The laboring mass already knows, or it is beginning to understand, that the dictatorship of the proletariat which shall have for its task the socialization of the means of production cannot be the work of a mass led by a few and that it must be, and that it will be, the work of the proletarians themselves when they have become in themselves and through long practice a political organization.—Page 59.

Ideas do not fall from heaven, and nothing comes to us in a dream.—Page 155.


In conclusion, it is evident that no very great change for the better in marriage-relations can take place except as the accompaniment of deep-lying changes in society at large. * * * With the rise of the new society, which is already outlining itself within the structure of the old, many of the difficulties and bugbears, that at present seem to stand in the way of a more healthy relation between the sexes, will of themselves disappear.—Page 109.


The new mode of production and distribution will not only produce a higher form of government but also a higher form of the family. The
ANTONIO LABRIOLA
For descriptions of his books see pages 18, 21
ARTHRUR M. LEWIS
For descriptions of his books see pages 43, 44, 45
highest form of the family can only evolve under economic conditions which make husband and wife economically independent of each other, so that no consideration of an economic nature will enter into the holiest and most intimate relations between two human beings.—Page 218.

9. The Positive Outcome of Philosophy.
   By Joseph Dietzgen. This volume also contains The Nature of Human Brain Work and Letters on Logic. Cloth, 444 pages, $1.00.

   A law which would presume to be absolutely right would have to be right for every one and at all times. No absolute morality, no duty, no categorical imperative, no idea of the good, can teach man what is good, bad, right or wrong. That is good which corresponds to our needs, that is bad which is contrary to them. But is there anything which is absolutely good? Everything and nothing. It is not the straight timber which is good, nor the crooked. Neither is good, or either is good, according to whether I need it or not. And since we need all things, we can see some good in all of them.—Page 146.


   History is like an inferno. It might be presented as a somber drama, entitled "The Tragedy of Labor." But this same somber history has produced out of this very condition of things, almost without the conscious knowledge of men, and certainly not through the providence of any one, the means required for the relative perfection, first of very few, then of a few, and then of more than a few. And now it seems to be at work for all. The great tragedy was unavoidable. It was not due to any one's fault or sin,
not to any one's aberration or degeneration, not to any one's capricious and sinful straying from the straight path. It was due to an immanent necessity of the mechanism of social life, and to its rhythmic process.—Page 109.


Society is in constant process of transformation, caused by material, not sentimental motives beyond the real control of men. I assume, therefore, that reason has had little to do with it, except to follow the impulses given it by material conditions. It was an evolution through, not by, psychical processes called ideas, and the ideas were formed by sensations from the objective environment.—Page 64.


We do not tell the world that man's salvation rests upon the benevolent impulses of good men, or that its disasters have flowed from the malignant influence of unfriendly spirits. We do not attribute the revolutions which have come upon nations to the crimes of the ambitious or to the strenuous virtues of heroes; but we declare these great events of history to be always and obviously traceable to the master-fact—the system of economic production, the way the people were getting their living before the revolution was forced into history.—Page 115.


The modern working people rise up against the
idea, inherited from ancient and medæval rulers, that work is an inferior and degrading activity, that another thing, called capital, is the superior of labor, that the producing class should be compelled to yield the largest and best part of their product to the idle owners of the thing called capital. They demand that work shall be shared by all, and that the thing called capital shall cease to exist.—Page 25.

By Austin Lewis. Cloth, 213 pages, $1.00.

The employer is bound to give educational opportunities to the proletarian that he may institute and manage the machines, and thus the education of the proletarian has changed from that which was appropriate to the production of individual small commodities, to the education which fits him for the management of great social economic instruments. So, out of the very class of the proletariat itself, are provided the officers who will be competent to manage the economic arrangements in the event of that class, by a political revolution, obtaining possession of the instruments of production.—Page 48.


It is the class of the proletarians that has the historic mission of tearing down the capitalist system of society. Remember well: not the poor man, nor the workingman, but the proletarian, is going to do this work. There were poor men before, so were there workingmen. But they were not proletarians. So may there be poor now, and even poor workingmen, who are not proletarians. The modern proletarian is not merely a poor man, nor is he necessarily a poor man
in the ordinary sense of the word. Nor is he merely a workingman, although he necessarily is one. He is a workingman—usually poor at that—under peculiar historic conditions. Those conditions are that he is not possessed of any property, that is, the only property that counts socially, means of production. By reason of this condition he is placed in certain social relations, both as to his own kind and to his social betters, as well as to the social machinery. Through this he acquires certain characteristics of mind and body, a certain mentality and psychology which make him particularly fitted for his historic mission.—Page 183.


Modern socialism is in its essence the product of the existence on the one hand of the class antagonisms which are dominant in modern society, between the property possessors and those who have no property and between the wage workers and the bourgeois; and on the other, of the anarchy which is prevalent in modern production.—Page 36.


Whoever controls the economic powers controls all powers. The government and all the economic powers are at the disposal of those who possess the economic powers. Hence the trusts run the government.—Page 229.


Which is worse, to be a Demagogue or an Infidel? I am both. For while many professed
FREDERICK ENGELS
For descriptions of his books see pages 24, 32, 33, 34, 54
If we were asked to recommend one book to an inquirer who proposed to take his stand for or against socialism according to what he found in it, we should select INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS. See pages 27, 52, 53.
Christians contrive to serve both God and Mammon, the depravity of my nature seems to forbid my serving either.—Author's Preface.


There is one thing the workers can never do, except by destroying capitalism; they cannot get wages equal to the full value of their product. That would destroy the capitalist system, which is based upon profit-making. All the luxury and wealth of the non-producers is wrung from the labor of the producers.—Page 110.


It is impossible not to see the direct causal connection between Marxian socialism and scientific evolution, since it must be recognized that the former is simply the logical consequence of the application of the evolutionary theory to the domain of economics.—Page 91.


The laborer works a day and averages to produce what retails at $10. He is paid a wage that will buy in the market one-fifth of what he produces, because his subsistence requires that much. He sells his commodity, labor-power, and receives its equivalent in other commodities. There are $8 worth of his product left. * * * Its distribution among those who live upon it is a matter foreign to his interests. What does concern him is, first, that the surplus-product exists and that its sole function is to feed parasites; and, second, what must be done to obviate all necessity for supplying the wants of this industrially useless horde of humanity; or, in other
words, what is the best method of doing away with the system of industry that exploits labor. Nor, in the long run, does the matter of prices concern him. If they rise or fall the change may temporarily affect him advantageously or otherwise; but a corresponding change must soon occur in his wage, for his fifth he must have and assuredly he will get no more.—Pages 27, 28.

22. **The Poverty of Philosophy**: Reply to Proudhon's "Philosophy of Poverty."

By Karl Marx. Cloth, 220 pages, $1.00.

Let us sum up: Labor being itself a commodity, measures itself as such by the labor-time necessary to produce this labor-commodity. And what is necessary to produce this labor-commodity? Exactly that amount of labor time which is necessary to produce the objects indispensable to the constant subsistence of labor; that is to say, to enable the workers to live and to propagate their race. The natural price of labor is nothing but the minimum wage. If the current price of wages rises above the natural price it is precisely because the law of value, postulated in principle by M. Proudhon, finds itself counterbalanced by the consequences of the variations in the relation between supply and demand. But the minimum wage is, nevertheless, the center towards which the current price of wages constantly gravitates.—Page 55.

**OTHER DOLLAR BOOKS.**


The purpose of Esperanto is to be a second language for those persons who have relations
with people whose native languages they do not know. * * * The aim of this book is to provide, in one volume, the means of acquiring a thorough, practical knowledge of Esperanto.—Editor's Preface.

**A Labor Catechism of Political Economy.** By C. Osborne Ward. Cloth, 304 pages, $1.00.

**Walt Whitman, the Poet of the Wider Selfhood. A Study.** By Mila Tupper Maynard. Cloth, 145 pages, $1.00.

It is truly puzzling to tell how he gained his grasp of evolutionary conceptions. Darwin did not publish the "Origin of Species" until 1859. Spencer's first elaboration of any phase of his doctrine was published in the same year in which "Leaves of Grass" appeared. In 1852 Spencer had issued a general statement, but it seems hardly credible that Whitman could have come into contact with so obscure a book. Nevertheless, had he been fully cognizant of every scientific fact and theory discovered or projected up to the moment of publication, his work would be quite as marvelous, so completely has the evolutionary universe become absorbed into his unconscious thought.—Page 33.

**Thoughts of a Fool.** By Evelyn Gladys. Cloth, 258 pages, $1.00.

When the wise speak of the non-interference with speech, press, assembly, and the like, they refer to these liberties as rights. Yet the thought of so thinking of them would never have occurred to any one had no invasion of these liberties ever been undertaken under the name of "rights."

* * * * * * * * * * *

A fool does not claim the right to laugh at the wise. It is enough to know that the wise have no rights against being the subjects of the laughter of fools.—Page 125.

The telegraphers held the key to the situation. They were Socialists almost to a man, their communication with headquarters was uninterrupted and they alone, as a class, could grasp and analyze the significance of the movement as a whole and keep in touch with the pulse of the nation at its mighty heart and through its myriad arteries. * * * The captains of industry were mystified and helpless, as was the general public, but they did not dare cut the wires. They had a horror of any further isolation and waited and hoped for the news they could not get, the relief that was not in sight, the messages that never came.—Page 90.

Rebels of the New South. A Novel by Walter Marion Raymond; Illustrations by Percy Bertram Hall. Cloth, 294 pages, $1.00.

Perfecting the Earth: A Piece of Possible History. By C. W. Wooldridge, M. D. Cloth, 326 pages, $1.00.

Since nations first began they have been wont to tax the energies of their people to the utmost in wars. * * * If now, turning such energy to constructive instead of destructive purposes, nations shall marshal and unify their spare energy to useful ends, the works to which the con-
tinuous energy of their millions should thus be given would necessarily be colossal. * * * It seems to me a perfectly rational, sane and legitimate exercise of the imagination, to picture such colossal works and study the effect which can be accomplished by them.—Page 19.

STANDARD SOCIALIST SERIES.


Marx's passion for cigars had also a stimulating effect on his talent for political economy, not in theory, but in practice. He had smoked for a long time a brand of cigars that was very cheap according to English ideas—and proportionately nasty—when he found on his way through Holborn a still cheaper brand. * * * That brought forth his political-economic talent for saving: with every box he smoked he “saved” one shilling and sixpence. Consequently, the more he smoked the more he “saved.” If he managed to consume a box a day, then he could live at a pinch on his “savings.”—Page 153.

2. Collectivism and Industrial Evolution.

By Emile Vandervelde, Member of the Belgian Chamber of Deputies. Cloth, 199 pages, 50c.

It can not be repeated too often that it is a stupid error to regard collectivism as an extension pure and simple of the present public domain. As long, in fact, as the social reign of the bourgeoisie continues, the public enterprises necessarily remain capitalist enterprises, exploited by the State as an employer, if not for the exclusive interest of the ruling classes, at least
taking the largest account of that interest.—Page 122.


The first step must be political union of the farmers and wage-workers for the purpose of electing their own class into power. When this is done, they will have control of their own government, and can enact measures in their own interests. This does not mean the substitution of one class tyranny for another. When the laborers secure power there will be no “others” for them to rule over, for all will be members of the producing “ruling class.” All classes will have been merged in a co-operative society.—Page 174.


The state is the result of the desire to keep down class conflicts. But having arisen amid these conflicts, it is as a rule the state of the most powerful economic class that by force of its economic supremacy becomes also the ruling political class and thus acquires new means of subduing and exploiting the oppressed masses. The antique state was, therefore, the state of the slave owners for the purpose of holding the slaves in check. The feudal state was the organ of the nobility for the oppression of the serfs and dependent farmers. The modern representative state is the tool of the capitalist exploiters of wage labor.—Page 209.

A social reform can very well be in accord with the interests of the ruling class. It may for the moment leave their social domination unchecked, or, under certain circumstances, can even strengthen it. Social revolution, on the contrary, is from the first incompatible with the interests of the ruling class, since under all circumstances it signifies annihilation of their power.—Page 10.


The modern State, no matter what its form, is essentially a capitalist machine, the state of the capitalists, the ideal personification of the total national capital. The more it proceeds to the taking over of productive forces, the more does it actually become the national capitalist, the more citizens does it exploit. The workers remain wage-workers—proletarians. The capitalist relation is not done away with. It is rather brought to a head.—Page 123.

As soon as there is no longer any social class to be held in subjection; as soon as class rule, and the individual struggle for existence based upon our present anarchy in production, with the collisions and excesses arising from these, are removed, nothing more remains to be repressed, and a special repressive force, a State, is no longer necessary.—Page 128.


Feuerbach’s idealism consists in this, that he does not simply take for granted the mutual and reciprocal feelings of men for one another, such as sexual love, friendship, compassion, self-sacrifice, etc., but declares that they would come to their full realization for the first time as soon as they were consecrated under the name of reli-
gion. The main fact for him is not that these purely human relations exist, but that they will be conceived of as the new true religion.—Page 78.


Middle-class reformers, as a rule, do not seem to realize the immense complexity and strict lawfulness of social economic life and activity. They believe in the miracle-working power of paper legislation. They fail to see that it is futile to even attempt to introduce legislative measures (however apparently salutary to the oppressed classes) which are out of joint with the entire system of the prevailing social-economic institutions; they fail to realize that such measures, even if introduced and passed, would have necessarily to remain either inoperative or even injurious to the very class they were intended to benefit.—Page 202.


The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Working men of all countries, unite!—Manifesto, page 64.

Pity for poverty, enthusiasm for equality and freedom, recognition of social injustice and a desire to remove it, is not socialism. * * * Modern socialism is the child of capitalist society and its class antagonisms. * * * Whoever conceives of socialism in the sense of a sentimen-
WILHELM LIEBKNECHT
For descriptions of his books see pages 31, 34, 55
ENRICO PERRI
For descriptions of his books see pages 27, 37
tal philanthropic striving after human equality, with no idea of the existence of capitalistic society, is no socialist in the sense of the class struggle, without which modern socialism is unthinkable. Socialism and ethics are two separate things.—No Compromise, page 35.

12. The Positive School of Criminology. By Enrico Ferri. Cloth, 125 pages, 50c.

If modern science has discovered the universal link which connects all phenomena through cause and effect, which shows that every phenomenon is the result of causes which have preceded it; if this is the law of causality, which is at the very bottom of modern scientific thought, then it is evident that the admission of free will is equivalent to an overthrow of this law, according to which every effect is proportionate to its cause. In that case, this law, which reigns supreme in the entire universe, would dissolve itself into nought at the feet of the human being, who would create effects with his free will not corresponding to their causes!—Page 39.


What the Christian proletariat dreamed, what the revolutionairy serfs coveted with yearning hearts, what the heroes of the early proletarian battles in the nineteenth century consecrated with their blood, that will be triumphantly accomplished by the proletarian revolution of the twentieth century.—Page 168.


Socialism is essentially a movement of the working class, and the interest of that class is its vital principle.—Page 94.

The labor of the mechanical factory puts the wage-worker in touch with terrible natural forces unknown to the peasant, but instead of being mastered by them, he controls them. The gigantic mechanism of iron and steel which fills the factory, which makes him move like an automaton, which sometimes clutches him, mutilates him, bruises him, does not engender in him a superstitious terror as the thunder does in the peasant, but leaves him unmoved, for he knows that the limbs of the mechanical monster were fashioned and mounted by his comrades, and that he has but to push a lever to set it in motion or to stop it. * * * The practice of the modern workshop teaches the wage-worker scientific determinism, without his needing to pass through the theoretical study of the sciences—Pages 49, 50.


No, socialism is not paternalism.

Capitalism is paternalism.

We have had paternalism for many centuries and we have it now.

Paternalism is the rule of the few. It is a man or a clique of men governing the people. * * * Socialism will accomplish industrial emancipation by abolishing industrial paternalism and introducing industrial fraternalism; in other words, by abolishing private monopoly and introducing the public ownership and the popular management of the industries now used to exploit the people out of the bulk of the product of their honest toil.—Pages 29, 31.
PAUL LAFARGUE

For descriptions of his books see pages 38, 42, 46, 50
ROBERT RIVES LA MONTE
Author of Socialism, Positive and Negative. See page 41.

The content of the new moral ideal is not always very clear. It does not emerge from any scientific knowledge of the social organism, which is often quite unknown to the authors of the ideal, but from a deep social need, a burning desire, an energetic will for something other than the existing, for something which is the opposite of the existing. And thus this moral ideal is fundamentally only something purely negative, nothing more than opposition to the existing hypocrisy. —Page 195.


Previous class struggles in America have ever been waged in the interest of a minority, but that minority * * * always represented the forces of social progress. * * * Today it is the working class which represents social progress, and which embraces all that is essential within our industrial process. * * * The working class is today in an overwhelming majority and has but to make plain the facts of history to its membership to be assured of victory.—Pages 119, 120.


Irreverence is ever a sign of a narrow intellectual horizon and a limited vision. The scoffer is the product of the limited knowledge characteristic of what Engels called "metaphysical materialism." Unfortunately the mental development of many in the past has been arrested at this Ingersoll-Voltaire stage. But with the growth of modern Socialism the tendency is for the metaphysical materialist to grow into socialist or dia-
lectic materialism with its Hegelian watchword, "Nothing is, everything is becoming."—Page 141.


Mankind would rather be free to walk, even though the pathway chosen be full of stones and thorns, then be led in paths of others' choosing, even though these be strown with flowers. If freedom and beauty in life are ever to be realized by the people, the realization must come from their common experience; it cannot be handed down to them.—Page 71.


The intellectuals, if they understood their own real interests, would come in crowds to socialism, not through philanthropy, not through pity for the miseries of the workers, not through affectation and snobbery, but to save themselves, to assure the future welfare of their wives and children, to fulfill their duty to their class. They ought to be ashamed of being left behind in the social battle by their comrades in the manual category. They have many things to teach them, but they have still much to learn from them; the workingmen have a practical sense superior to theirs, and have given proof of an instinctive intuition of the communist tendencies of modern capitalism which is lacking to the intellectuals.—Page 101.

22. Revolution and Counter-Revolution, or Germany in 1848. By Karl Marx. Cloth, 192 pages, 50c.

Wherever an armed conflict had brought mat-
ters to a serious crisis, there the shop-keepers stood aghast at the dangerous situation created for them; aghast at the people who had taken their boasting appeals to arms in earnest; aghast at the power thus thrust into their own hands; aghast, above all, at the consequences for themselves, for their social positions, for their fortunes, of the policy in which they were forced to engage themselves.—Page 169.


For ourselves, Social-Democrats, we have nothing to fear from the Anarchist propaganda. The child of the bourgeoisie, Anarchism, will never have any serious influence upon the proletariat.—Page 146.


If the history of biological science for the last half century were to be written by a socialist, who had no scruples about wresting the record so as to support his socialist theories, he would have nothing to gain by changing a single line. There is nothing in that history to contradict us when we assert the probability, or the certainty, of a social revolution. * * * Millions will hail with joy that social mutation which will kindle the fires of human liberty, and create, if not a new Heaven, at least a new earth.—Pages 95, 96.

If in a class society the acme of happiness is found in the hopeless social conditions which force the tender-hearted to take refuge in philanthropy, so much the worse for class society and the literature it produces; for this benevolence is exercised without affecting the prime source of wretchedness, class subjection.—Page 93.


Upon the basis of the iron law of political economy, according to Engels, a reduction of the value of labor-power follows at once upon every reduction of prices for the laborer, and is, therefore, followed by a decided fall in the wages of labor. This proposition holds good for all reforms which flow out of a saving or cheapening of the means of living for the laborer.—Page 157.


A commodity has a value, because it is a crystallization of social labor. The greatness of its value, or its relative value, depends upon the greater or less amount of that social substance contained in it; that is to say, on the relative mass of labor necessary for its production. The relative values of commodities are, therefore, determined by the respective quantities or amounts of labor, worked up, realized, fixed in them.—Page 57.


It was not Lubbock or Tylor or Spencer, but Marx, who proclaimed the economic and social
origin of all moral beliefs and ethical codes. Every new economic system brings with it new problems, and as it develops, its social processes impress themselves on the consciousness of those living within it. These problems call for new ethical concepts, and the moral codes of a past epoch will not serve.—Page 63.

30. Socialism, Its Growth and Outcome.
By William Morris and Ernest Bel-afort Bax. Cloth, 244 pages, 50c.

The one reality of modern society is industrial slavery, far-reaching and intimate, supreme over every man's life, dominating every action of it from the greatest to the least: no man and no set of men can do anything that does not tend towards the support of this slavery unless they act as conscious rebels against it.—Page 17.

By Arthur M. Lewis. Cloth, 192 pages, 50c.

Eternal Justice! Eternal nonsense. Justice is a creature of time and place. Justice is determined by class interests. Justice from one point of view is injustice from another. In the days of Plato chattel slavery was just. In the days of Burke and Chatham it had become unjust. Chattel slavery was just and unjust at one and the same time in two different parts of this country—just in the south, unjust in the north.—Pages 179, 180.


Against the political economy the science, the philosophy, the law, the morality, the art and the ideals of the masters, it submits its own political economy, science, philosophy, law, morality, art and ideal. Against the present labor offers the future.—Page 16.
In capitalistic nations the nobility have disappeared as a ruling class. The day that the capitalist ceased to have a function to perform in social production, the death-warrant of his class was signed. It remains but to execute the sentence pronounced by the economic phenomena, and the capitalists who may survive the ruin of their order will lack even the grotesque privileges of the pedigreed nobility to console them for the lost grandeur of their class. Machinery, which has killed the artificer, will kill the capitalist.—Page 158.

LIBRARY OF SCIENCE FOR THE WORKERS.


It is claimed that Darwinism is dissolving and disintegrating into a wild confusion of different opinions among the experts, and that not a stone of the original building of the principle of Darwinism will remain in the near future. But this is sheer nonsense, so far as that line of facts is concerned, which we have presented in this work, that line which connects all living beings by one common descent and locates man himself on this genealogical tree. These facts are daily becoming more impregnable and firm.—Page 151.


In its essentials, the sense-life of animals is only a higher developed stage of that of plants. The lowest animal, in this sense, is wholly comparable with the highest plants.—Page 144.

There can be no doubt that the terrible coldness of icy space will some time enwrap the earth and all other heavenly bodies, provided they do not come to a premature end through some catastrophe.—Page 120.


The proletariat has no science unless science steps into its ranks or develops out of its very life, for the purpose of combining scientific theory with proletarian practice. In this sense, then, I declare that my science is a proletarian science.—Page 7.


Do you hear the drops slowly falling down those stalactites? It is the ticking of the century clock. From this we can construct an instrument that shall be to time what the microscope is to dimension, and in whose illumination we shall see, not an enlarged chalk scale, but a landscape of grotesque majesty.—Page 114.


The reverse side of the instinct of life is the fear of death. The more of life that man has lived the more frightful death appears to him. What then is the meaning of this love of life which causes death to appear so frightful to mankind?—Page 153.
Owing to continued cooling, the earth becomes smaller, like any other body which cools off. Then its tough skin became too wide and folded up in creases. Slowly the sedimental strata were lifted out of the oceans and shoved along the massive rocks of the primitive mountains, like waves on the shore. Frequently they were pushed so high that they toppled over like the crests of waves. They settled over one another in the reverse order of their stratification. In this way new conformations of mountains arose.—Page 74.

Many acts are called bad that are only stupid, because the degree of intelligence that decided for them was low. Indeed, in a certain sense, all acts are now stupid, for the highest degree of human intelligence that has yet been attained will in time most certainly be surpassed and then, in retrospection, all of our present conduct and opinion will appear as narrow and petty as we now deem the conduct and opinion of savage peoples and ages.—Page 133.

"It's the folks whose fathers leave them heaps of money," I continued, "the folks who never have to stand on their own legs, who are always
so free with moral talk to the hungry ones.”

Mrs. Nome laughed boisterously again. “Take keer of the stummicks, sez I,” she said, “’en the morals ’ll take keer o’ themselves.”—Page 112.

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“Then, if you do not work, and he does not work,” asked Mercury, pointing in the direction of the beggar, “how comes it that you are a gentleman and he is a loafer? How is it that you are fat, well-dressed and happy, and he is lean, ragged and miserable? Why do you speak contemptuously of work and then blame the man because he will not do that which you despise?”

Furiously the old aristocrat replied: “Sir, your clothing and manners led me to mistake you for a gentleman, but I now see my error. You are a leveler, a revolutionist, sir.”—Page 41.

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The people who argue against the complete freedom of women ignore the fact that the countries where women are most submissive are the decadent nations. Yet they know that it is so and that it cannot be otherwise. Such women cannot produce great men.—Page 103.

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Socialism * * * is primarily an educational movement. Its task consists in teaching people to conform their philosophy of life, their social ideals and their moral principles to the new industrial conditions.—Page 5.

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The exploitation of man by the capitalist is so perfected that the most personal qualities, those most inherent in the individual, have been utilized to the profit of another. For the defense of his property the capitalist no longer depends upon his own courage, but upon that of certain proletarians disguised as soldiers; the banker consumes the honesty of his cashier, and the manufacturer the vital force of his workmen.—Page 27.

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"Heinrich Marx came in one day and talked very sadly about Karl. He said that Karl had wasted all his time at Bonn and learned nothing, only getting into a bad scrape and spending a lot of money. Father tried to cheer him up, but he was not to be comforted. 'My Karl—the child in whom all my hopes were centered—the brightest boy in Treves—is a failure,' he said over and over again.—Pages 18, 19.

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But the democrat, by reason of his representing the middle class, that is to say, a TRANSITION class, in which the interests of two other classes are mutually dulled, imagines himself above all class contrast. The democrats grant that opposed to them stands a privileged class, but they, together with the whole remaining mass of the nation, constitute the “PEOPLE.”—Page 28.


* * * Children living in these conditions do not have a reasonable chance to grow up with strong minds in sound bodies. * * * Born into such a world, growing up in such an environment, why should they respect anything or anybody? They do not. And the family disintegrates as soon as the children are old enough to declare their independence. Society has deprived the family of the means of securing normal living conditions for its future citizens. It is now confronted by the immediate and urgent problem of providing those conditions outside the family.—Page 58.


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The only way to cure these conditions is by equality.—Page 26.

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