Militant Socialism

John, I have terrible things to write of in this book and I wish that I had language that would sear like hot iron into the brain of every worker between the two oceans. To begin with I think that the wretched struggle that you endure, year after year, is a frightful outrage, a crime against every toiler who is forced to share in it. It is a crime because it isn't necessary. It could be ended in a short time and every worker and his family could share in the best that this century provides. Instead of the long and bitter struggle to pay the expenses of a low standard of living—and often fail to pay it—all workers could enjoy an abundant, happy life with a few hours of pleasant, healthful toil.

When I think of this possibility all the curses of a thwarted life roll to my lips to express my hatred of the life that millions live in unhappy America. When I think of the overworked and debtridden farmers of the Southern states, slowly sinking into slavery; when I think of the miners in the slave-pens of the mining regions, or of the sweatshop hells where the blood of children is drained to support an idle class of millionaires and remember also that many of us are indifferent to these things, I wonder if our power to think has not been suspended and we have lost even the impulse to protect our loved ones which is ever present even in animals. However, it is certain that more of us are thinking each year and when an iron chain of circumstances drags the Southern farmer's wife into the field, the miner's boy to the mines, or the factory workman's daughter to a sweatshop, and you should happen to be one of these, a lump rises in your throat and for once your thought is directed to what has remained to you a mystery. In that hour you ask yourself what I am asking now: WHY SHOULD MILLIONS BE IN WANT IN THE MIDST OF A WORLD OF PLENTY? The most hopeful thing in this world is that more of us are asking that question each year.

First let us find out what is the matter. I do not mind telling you that I figured it out years ago, and I want you
to follow my reasoning. When I state what is not so, you mark the statement, and as an honest man write me and tell me where I blundered. I will then call this book in and correct the error before another copy is sold. If each fact is a fact and I have proven my case and show that we are supporting a stupendous crime, then you will be another one added to the increasing thousands that are prepared to right the present wrongs.

Now let us learn why those who work to produce the world's goods have so little while those who produce so little have all.

**Our Resources.**

Here is a great continent having over 3,000,000 square miles of territory. All the climates from arctic Alaska to tropical Florida are found here. It is stored with vast natural riches to sustain life; it is filled with coal, oil, gas, minerals and other materials. From its soil is gathered tropical fruits and northern cereals. Its plains are abundant in pasture lands. In addition to its natural richness science has increased the yield of the farms and machinery has helped men to gather it.

In gathering the coal and crude mineral ores invention and steam have enabled us to do as much in a single hour as we did before in a month. Then there is the great factory system of the cities where steam and machinery enable a few men to produce in such abundance that it would amaze Ben Franklin were he permitted to witness it. Then we have a network of railways instead of the wagons that used to transport goods across the Alleghenies. The railway will carry a million tons ten times the distance in one hour that the wagon would carry one in a day.

The telegraph and telephone have also outstripped the mounted messenger of one hundred years ago so that while he carried news from New York to Philadelphia in one day, we now transmit news from New York to London, to Tokio, to St. Petersburg, to Calcutta, or around the world in an hour. Distance and space on this earth count for little any more. We have conquered them just as we have conquered natural resources and made them yield wealth in such vast abundance that the markets of the world are often glutted with it.

Now, John, contrast all these great advantages with those of 500 years ago. The people had none of them and
yet what they produced enabled them to at least live. And yet we who can produce a thousand fold more wealth per man today are told that we should be content with the beggar's existence that is the portion of great numbers. We produce it and then are told that we should have no share in the increase. It is a crime, an outrage.

Here are a few figures that show how much more we are producing in a few years. What a story the figures would tell if we had them for five centuries! These figures are from the government's report at the Louisiana purchase Exposition.

This will interest the farmer. With the new inventions the farmer raised eleven times more barley in 1896 than he did in 1830. Does he live eleven times better?

In 1895 he raised 3 times more cotton than in 1841. Is the cotton grower of the South 3 times richer than before the Civil War?

In 1896 he raised 10 times more wheat than he did 60 years before. Has his condition improved ten fold in this period?

Your experience gives the answer to these questions. You know that the successful farmer is the man who could not tell the difference between a plow and a phonograph. The successful farmer is a man like Joe Leiter who gambles in wheat, who corners it, and holds up a nation until bread riots threaten revolution.

Here is something for the wage worker. In making the delicate machinery of watches the worker in 1896 produced 17 times more than he did in 1862. Does the watch maker live on the boulevards and spend his vacation in Europe?

In printing and folding newspapers the worker produced 20 times more in 1895 than he did a few years before. Have you known any millionaire printers or pressmen?

In lithographing the worker produced 25 times more in 1896 than he did in 1867. Are all lithographers rich men?

Bear in mind that these are only a few illustrations among many and instead of the figures indicating the progress of five centuries they refer to a period of less than one century. They give some idea of our enormous increased power for producing wealth.
Our Reward.

Now what is the reward of the workers today? Does it enable them to live in decent comfort? If it did there would be no complaint and the world would move on contented and unconcerned: But the facts are astounding. The latest information that we have on wages in the United States is by Prof. Scott Nearing and I want him to tell you about it. In his recent book entitled "Wages in the United States" he calls our attention to the fact that Prof. R. C. Chapin estimated that a New York family consisting of a man, wife and three children under fourteen could maintain "a normal standard, at least so far as the physical man is concerned," on an annual income of $900. Prof. Nearing then made an investigation to learn how many workers get this living wage. Let us assume that the sum necessary to live decently is $600 instead of $900. Prof. Nearing says:

"It appears that half of the adult males of the United States are earning less than $500 a year; that three-quarters of them are earning less than $600 annually; that nine-tenths are receiving less than $800 a year. * * * Three-quarters of the adult males and nineteen-twentieths of the adult females actually earn less than $600 a year."

What do you see in these terrible figures, John? I see the wolf-stare of hunger in the eyes of unpaid men and women. I see the shamble of the beggar asking for bread. I see the palsied foot-steps of the aged tottering their weary way to the poor house. I see children in rags and girls tramping the streets engaged in a nameless traffic. I see the slums with their festering poor. I see men, grown desperate in the unequal struggle, blowing their brains into bloody froth. Yet they are all producing more wealth than their fathers did. And their "reward" is the miserable income mentioned by Prof. Nearing.

But even this "reward" does not come to all. There is that great army of unemployed, some of them becoming wandering outcasts and many of them criminals, that have no income at all. In their bodies and brains are stored labor power and genius that goes to waste year after year. If this great army had the opportunity to engage in producing useful things and with the added powers that steam and machinery give, how many little children could they not clothe? How many wretched homes could they not decorate? How much more material comfort and happiness could they not bestow on mankind? Yet their
labor power and genius are wasted, forever wasted, while they drift down to hell and their brothers starve in rags.

Now, John, there is another phase of this mystery. In spite of all the poverty and unemployment there is more than enough for all. In fact, when panics come there is such an abundance of good things on hand that we refer to it as "overproduction." Now this overproduction is the surplus wealth the watch makers, the printers, the lithographers, the farmers and other workers are producing. The figures showing the increased production by machinery show we are producing this surplus. The figures of Prof. Nearing show that we do not get it. But neither figures tell us just who is getting it. But common experience and the newspapers tell us who is getting it. When we read that Mrs. Blueblood gave a thousand dollar dinner to a monkey, or that Mr. Astorbilt spent $5,000 on a pup, we have certain suspicions that Mrs. Blueblood, Mr. Astorbilt, the monk and the pup, and others of the aristocracy, are getting the surplus that the watch makers, the printers, the lithographers, the farmers and other workers are producing each year. If they don't get it who does?

But if you want figures also to show who produces the wealth and who gets it, just spend a few minutes over the following diagram which I take from John Spargo's excellent little book entitled "The Socialists."

**SHARE OF EACH CLASS IN THE TOTAL WEALTH**

As compared with its number of occupied persons 10 years and over

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLASS</th>
<th>NUMBER OF PERSONS IN EACH CLASS</th>
<th>Per Cent of Total Number in Occupations</th>
<th>Wealth of Each Class</th>
<th>Per Cent of Total Wealth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PLUTOCRATIC CLASS</td>
<td>250,251</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>$67,000,000,000</td>
<td>70.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIDDLE CLASS</td>
<td>8,429,845</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>24,000,000,000</td>
<td>25.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROLETARIAN CLASS</td>
<td>20,393,137</td>
<td>70.1</td>
<td>4,000,000,000</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>29,073,233</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>$95,000,000,000</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plutocratic Class  $67,000,000,000

Middle Class  $24,000,000,000

Proletarian Class  $4,000,000,000
There you are John. Twenty millions of you own only 4 per cent while 250,000 men own 70 per cent of the wealth. The figures are only cold witnesses to the dreadful life that many are forced to live today. They show that plenty is produced for all but that only a few get it. They show that those who produce all get little, while those who produce little get all. What a wretched mess to make of the great powers we have for producing wealth! Every century for thousands of years has enabled men to produce more wealth than the previous generation. Now we have all the advantages of all the generations that have gone before, and yet millions suffer for want of enough to eat and wear. Did it ever occur to you, John, that this is a stupendous crime?

The Machine.

Now as a matter of fact it makes no difference to you and me, as workers, how much more wealth we may be able to produce with new inventions, we cannot hope to get the increase as things stand today. During the past century our power to produce wealth has multiplied repeatedly but our wellbeing has not multiplied accordingly. If it had most of us would be enjoying a big income instead of that miserable sum that Prof. Nearing has mentioned. If our fathers have not received the increase how can we hope to receive it under present arrangements?

In some of the steel mills of this country the process of rolling steel has become almost automatic. Where thousands of men were once necessary a few men now do the work. One throws a lever, another turns a wheel, still another presses a button and these motions control machinery that seize huge ingots, take them to the rolls, roll them into shape, cut them into lengths and dump them into cars ready to be hauled to the market. The former skilled workers are outside the steel mills wondering why every advance of mankind reduces more of them to beggars and outcasts. What has happened to the steel workers is happening to the glass workers, the molders, the miners and every other section of workers in modern industry. There isn't any less work done now than before. The difference is that machinery is doing the work instead of men.

Even the pick and shovel men are being thrust aside. There are machines for sewer and ditch digging now that
no man dreamed of fifty years ago. The ore docks along Lake Erie is another example. Thousands of men used to be employed to coal the ore boats with shovels and wheelbarrows. Go there now, John, and see cars of coal run down an inclined plane to a platform. Watch the great steel hooks grasp the loaded car and platform, lift them both high in air, turning the car upside down and dumping the coal in less than five minutes into the ship. Watch car after car run down hill on to the platform and unloaded in a few minutes and then think what this means for thousands of human beings who have been displaced by machinery.

Machinery that will do these things should be a blessing and not a curse. Let us analyze and find the reason why the workers must suffer in spite of the increasing power to produce wealth.

We will start with our last four words, “power to produce wealth.” This power resides in the blood, muscles, tissues and genius of the workers. It includes brain and muscle, for a weak-minded man is not a good worker. Before we had much machinery we depended on millions of human beings spending this labor power of their bodies in producing wealth. The workers sold it by the week or month to those who owned factories, mines, shops or other means of employment. But as men have learned that producing-power of much greater service can be secured from machinery, every effort has been made to invent machinery. So that today the power residing in the bodies and brains of workingmen has been transferred to machinery with an enormous increase in power. Every machine today represents so many hundreds or thousands of man-power. We measure the power of boilers by horse power. We should measure machine power by man-power, or by the number of men displaced.

Machines vs. Men.

Now if the power is transferred from men to machinery it means that so much labor power is not needed and so many workers are left on the market while machinery is doing the work. This process has been going on for more than a century and is still at work. Machine power produces more with less time than labor power does. So machinery is preferred to men. The machines work while
men are unemployed. Many machines are so simple that the child operates them while the unemployed father carries lunch to the little slaves.

Another point to be noticed is that the employing capitalist who owns the means of employment decides the question of whether he will use labor power or machine power. His decision depends on which is the cheapest and most profitable for him. The machine will produce more in a given time so the capitalist orders the machine. Besides, the machine never gets discontented, never strikes, never asks for an increase in wages, never objects to the number of hours it works and it is always on hand when wanted. From every point of view the machine is preferred by the employing capitalist. He decides. The worker has no voice in the matter. The worker is powerless to reverse the decision of the capitalist who decides to substitute machine power for labor power. So that this labor power becomes a drug on the market and the worker finds difficulty in selling it. It becomes cheaper every day. As the masters continue to buy machine power the demand for labor power decreases and the price of labor power also decreases. Cheap labor power means cheap wages and poor men. So the machine, with its mighty power to produce wealth, takes the place of men, and while piling up untold wealth for the capitalist employers it reduces thousands of workingmen to poverty.

Now do not think that I am against the machine, John: The machine enables men to produce vastly more wealth than we can by hand. The machine contains possibilities of happiness and plenty for all when it is used for all. Today the machines are the property of employing capitalists and the owners take all the benefits. If the machines can produce more than plenty for the few they can produce plenty for all. Capitalist ownership of the machines is a curse, for such ownership enables the capitalist to thrust the workers aside and take the increased production of the machine. The machine is not to blame. It will work for us and produce the increase for us when we know how to use the machine for the good of all.

The Farmer.

The farmer is largely in the same condition as the wage worker. You farmers in the southern states, especially, have a terrible struggle with poverty. The
Harvester Trust holds you up for your tools and machinery; the mercantile companies sweat you for the necessities you buy; the bankers charge you three rates of interest and demand a mortgage on your crop for security. If there is anything left after these fleecers get through with you the railroads and the gamblers in cotton take the rest. They have reduced you to such slavery that you cannot afford to employ help in your fields so that your wife and babies are forced to assist you on the farms in order to get an animal existence for yourselves.

Under existing arrangements the farmer finds himself in the same position as the wage worker when buying or selling. The wage worker sells labor power and the farmer sells the produce of the farm which has absorbed his labor power. In selling this produce the farmer cannot fix the price. It is fixed by his enemies, the capitalist class and the gamblers in his produce. He is helpless as a seller. In buying his tools, wagons, lumber and other materials he finds that his enemies, the capitalist class, also fix the price of these things. As a buyer he is also helpless. Here are two forces that bind the farmer to the soil like Wamba, slave to Cedric the Saxon, in Scott's novel, "Ivanhoe." These forces bind not only the farmer but his wife and children also and force them all to work like galley slaves for a scanty living and to pile up wealth for over-rich capitalists.

The Trusts.

The same class robs both the wage worker and the farmer and both should be united against the fleecers. The masters have combined into great organizations of capital and are rapidly gathering the scattered capital of America into one huge mass for their own benefit. These trusts have been slowly developing for a half-century and, like the machine, they give great power to the owners. Like the machine, also, they displace labor. In fact, they may be said to be great labor-saving organizations, as they bring scattered plants under common control and by scientific management they produce more wealth with less workers than the individual plants did.

Take the iron business as an example. There used to be thousands of iron plants, owned by thousands of capitalists. The ore deposits were owned by one set and
the coal deposits by another. The coke was made in a hundred different places, scattered throughout the United States and under separate management. The mills and furnaces were owned separately, and iron was bought here, coke there, and other materials elsewhere. All these materials were passing each other in trains going to the many points. There was no system, no science, in producing iron in an intelligent way. As soon as these mills and furnaces were brought under one control by the United States Steel Corporation, this senseless and planless way of producing iron changed to one of system and order. The corporation now mines its own ore and coal, and makes its own coke. It carries these products on its own vessels and its own railroads to its own furnaces, and then carries the iron and steel to its own plants. Nothing is left to chance. Everything is figured out in advance. Instead of thousands of office forces connected with thousands of small mills one or two good office forces are sufficient to keep the records of this great organization. The mills with old and poor machinery are closed, while those with good machinery are operated.

This is the sensible way to produce anything that men want. To advocate the old way of doing business would be as senseless as to advise that a postoffice be placed in every ward of a city, each with its own mail route to all parts of the city, instead of one big office with the routes planned to save time and labor. The postoffice is also a corporation, but a public instead of a private one like the iron and steel business.

The trust is the modern business organization. The machine is the modern tool. Both have been developing for centuries and each improvement has enabled each generation to produce more wealth than the generation before. Take the railroad as an example of the modern tool of transportation. Ages ago the savage transported goods on his back. Finally some of our hairy ancestors found that by taming the ox, the goat or the horse and by attaching two poles to the animal and allowing them to drag, they could transport more goods in a given time. Later on the idea of two rough wheels cut from a log and with a stout pole run through the center would carry a rough box and the first experiment in making a wagon was made. When the de-
scendants of these shaggy men learned to work in bronze and iron these arts enabled them to improve the first rude carts. Later they learned to make the iron tire and to bind many parts of the wagon with iron or glittering brass. Then came the Roman chariot, built to stand a terrible strain. This was followed by the various improvements down through the Middle Ages to the days of the stage coach, the horse car, the steam railroad, the automobile and finally the aeroplane.

Now, the important thing about this is to know that all the improvements in the tools and the methods of organization have come by a slow process of history, as we have seen in the case of transportation. Another thing to know is that these things, as we know them today, are not the results of our own genius. All of them represent the thought and patient toil of all the people of the past. Each generation, from savagery to civilization, worked out many improvements and then handed them on to another generation, who did likewise. So that every factory, every machine, every railroad, every great corporation, represents the thought, experiment, invention and achievement of all the generations that have lived on this planet, and no man can make an improvement without building on the work of all the others.

Now the trust is the latest, best and cheapest way to produce wealth. It is the successor to all the other methods of industrial organization. But the trouble—yes, the crime—is that these great and powerful organizations, that represent the sacrifice, experiment and genius of all the people that have lived for centuries, are now the property of a few wealthy capitalists. In other words, a few millionaire capitalists monopolize the achievements of centuries, while these things are really a social inheritance of all men living. Where did they get their warrant for possessing these social gifts of history?

The remarkable thing about it is that they received these things from YOU! You are a voter and by the ballot you can say whether the big corporations, the factories, the railroads and machinery shall belong to a class for its benefit or whether they shall belong to all for the good of all. You deliberately decide that you
shall not share in all the progress of the past by voting
all the great powers of producing wealth into the hands
of a millionaire capitalist class. All the inventions,
achievements, progress and historical advance are by
you given to a few in every election, and you then work
like galley slaves to win an animal existence like that
of the Roman captives during the time of the Caesars.

Labor Power a Commodity.

The labor power the workers sell to the employing
capitalists is a commodity. It is something that you sell
by the day and restore during the night. The workers
generally end life where they started in early boyhood
—by selling their labor power. It cannot be sold sepa-
rately from the body; when sold the man goes with the
sale. The difference between the slave and the wage
worker is that the first was sold by the master, while the
latter must hunt the master and effect his own sale. The
slave was sold for life; the wage worker is also sold for
life, but the transaction is broken up into numerous
sales to different masters and frequent periods of
idleness.

The worker must sell his labor power frequently.
He cannot hold it off the market and wait for a rise in
its price. On its sale depends the life of himself and
family. This makes it a forced sale, and the man who
is forced to sell anything cannot force the buyer to
meet his terms. The worker cannot send samples of his
labor power to the buyer. He must sell it by the day,
week or month, as he can.

As one writer says: "The laborer must sell to-day;
the employer need not buy till to-morrow. To the mas-
ter it is only a question of profits; to the laborer it is a
question of LIFE." The sale of labor power is not a
voluntary act, for his wants act as a lash to drive him
on to find a buyer. Worker is pitted against worker in
a glutted labor market, offering themselves for sale.
The strong, muscular man is pitted against the weak.
The consumptive girl and the child is also in the pit,
offering their labor power to capitalist buyers. It is a
world of human merchandise on the auction block, each
one offering his or her labor power for such terms as they
can get.
The masters recognize you as merchandise and often treat you as such. They build fences around their industrial slave pens with barbed wire at the top. You are then listed on the corporation books and given a number. A brass check with your number is given you, the same as though you were a tagged convict in a prison. You are henceforth known by your number or label in the same way that a certain brand of ham is known in the packing houses. Some corporations have reduced this to such a system that all that is necessary to make it identical with the penitentiary is to add the lock-step and the ball and chain. Before getting a job many require that you should fill out an application blank telling your age, whether married or single, how many children you have, where you last worked, whether you belong or intend to belong to a union. They want a full knowledge of the article they are buying, for they intend to use it up, together with other commodities in the factory. Human beings are thus reduced to merchandise; they are bought and sold, crippled, maimed, exhausted, killed in the service of the ruling capitalist class.

The fortunate thing for the masters and the unfortunate thing for you is that while they must buy labor power they do not have to buy all that is offered for sale. They only have to buy a part of all that is offered. The more labor-displacing machinery is used the less labor power is needed. So that thousands, yes, millions, stand in the labor market, offering tissues and brains for sale, with the certainty that all cannot be hired. This leaves a surplus of unhired, unemployed men, whose competition and needs have a tendency to reduce the price paid for labor power. Slowly the price sinks until it hovers about a wage that will barely enable the worker to have enough food, clothing and shelter to reproduce his labor power each night for sale the next day. The wealth he produces above this "living wage" is taken by the capitalist employers and is the source of all their accumulations.

The value of labor power and the values the worker produces are two different things. The worker may sell his labor power for $2 per day and yet produce $8 in values. If he works eight hours per day he is working for himself the first two hours; the remaining six
hours he is producing values for the capitalist that represent unpaid labor. The first two hours he is producing wages for the food, clothing and shelter he needs; the last six hours he is producing plunder that builds a palace on the boulevard and great incomes for the owners. The first two hours are necessary to you; the last six hours are necessary to the capitalist. If you quit after producing your wages at the end of two hours he would close up shop. He wants the last six hours and will not let you have the first two unless you work the last six also.

And you are helpless under capitalism, for he and his class own the opportunities of employment and you must come to his terms. If not, there is the great army of unemployed in the pit all around you, and there are many among them who are desperate enough to take your place. The capitalist knows it, the unemployed know it, and down in your heart you know it, too. Iron circumstances make it hard for the vendor of labor power. He is robbed if he sells and starved if he don’t.

The Tariff.

This is an “issue” that has served the two sets of political brokers for at least a century. It is so old that it has gathered moss, and yet many voters still yell themselves hoarse over it. It is said to represent “protection to American labor.” The theory is that it will keep out foreign-made goods, give the home market to American capitalists, and these in turn will share the advantage with the workers in higher wages. The answer to this is that the common experience of the workers for the last five years is a decline in wages, while the cost of living has increased so much that some necessities now sell for more than they did during the high prices of the Civil War. There is no theory about this. It is a hard, grim fact.

Take the iron and steel industry again. After the workers had supported the steel barons in politics for years, the masters finally rewarded them in the Homestead strike by mounting Gatling guns on the banks of the river, guns which belched forth a hail of death. The masters then broke up the union and reduced wages and
increased the hours so that to-day Homestead is a slave pen. Miss Margaret Byington, in her book, "Homestead, The Households of Mill Town," tells the wretched story of poverty and suffering the Homestead workers now endure.

In recent years the masters decided to wipe out the last of the unions and further increase profits by reducing wages. The last great struggle was made in the great tin-plate plant at Elwood, Indiana. This city and others in that vicinity were cities of tariff voters. William McKinley was a great statesman. The people named schools and streets after him. When he was a candidate for President enthusiastic delegations rode in special trains to Canton to pay their homage to "McKinley and tin." He was, in fact, a tin god to these unthinking workers. To-day, after a great and heroic struggle, the masters have beaten the union to pieces, wages have been lowered and McKinley is forgotten in their wretchedness. In the strike at McKees Rocks the men who voted for tariff had to see their children feed out of garbage barrels back of the company offices. What a terrible lesson these men have been taught!

On the other hand, the free trade countries present a spectacle just as bad for the working class. Neither a tariff on or free trade in the wealth we produce for the masters will help the working class. We want to protect human beings, not inert merchandise. The "protection" given the working class by means of Gatling guns and the blacklist is a sinister contrast with the rainbow promises of politicians. It is one big swindle, and the worker who can still be taken in by it should be examined by a specialist in brain diseases to find what form of insanity afflicts him.

What Shall We Do?

There are just two suggestions offered as a remedy for the trust evil. One is to break up the trusts and go back to the stage of fifty years ago, when thousands of small capitalists owned industries in small plants scattered about the country. The other suggestion is to publicly own all the big firms and industries, so that all men, being equal public owners, will come into their inheritance and share in the progress of the ages. To
"bust the trusts" is the plan of the Democrats and the reform Republicans. You may perhaps remember that an anti-trust law was enacted over twenty years ago and both parties have had a chance to try their hands at "busting." Every investigator knows that during these twenty years more trusts have been formed than in any other similar period of our history.

Now let us look at this question of "busting trusts." It means that we are to try to legislate ourselves back to the period of fifty years ago and stay there. Can this be done and is it advisable to try it? Have the parties who promised it, done it, while a rigid law has been on the books authorizing them to do it if they could? Not at all. You know that.

If it WERE done, would it benefit the workers? Is it not true that the opportunities of employment would still be in the hands of a class; a class of many small capitalists, instead of a few big ones? Of course. And the workers would still have to sell their muscle and brawn to the owners. Instead of being skinned by a few they would be skinned by many. Progress would give us more labor-displacing machinery, the unemployed would increase just the same, wages would remain close to Prof. Nearing's figures and the workers would be robbed and sweated in the same old way.

The golden age does not lie in the past; it is certainly not in the present, and if it comes it belongs to the future. It is of no interest to us whether a few big capitalists own the industries or whether many small ones own them. The fact is that in either case we, who operate them and do the world's work, do not own them. So long as we do not share in the ownership and control of industry we are slaves to those who do.

Now, as we do not want either a small or a large capitalist class to own them, neither do we want the ownership restricted to the present working class. We want public ownership by all men, which will abolish all classes; and every man, woman and child will be a part of the public that will publicly own, operate, and manage all industry for the common good of all. Our streets, our parks, our schools are common property. Would you vote to have them turned over to capitalists, to be managed for their personal enrichment?
then, vote them the machines, factories, railroads, industrial firms and trusts and allow them to be used as a basis for the greatest fortunes and the direst poverty the world has ever known?

We want public ownership not only of streets, parks and schools, but of all industries, mines, railroads and other great forms of capital. All-ownership instead of few-ownership. All industries public industries and every man an equal partner; that is the idea. Vote yourselves into the public ownership of all the means of employment and you will take from the masters the power to force the wage workers to sell their labor power at a loss, and you will release the farmers from the necessity of selling their produce at a loss. Give the wealth-producing classes the mastery of industry and the capitalist system is ended and the workers are free. Free from the bondage of unpaid toil and all its miseries.

We will then associate together in the factories, shops, mines and on the farms and control our methods of work and produce wealth to enjoy—not to sell and adulterate and poison our fellows with. Having such control, we will plan our work and do it with the best regard for our health and lives. No more death-trap sweatshops where working girls are cooked to cinders or crushed to bloody pulp on pavements while trying to escape a living hell. No more hundreds buried in unsafe mines. No more tearing of human beings into bleeding shreds at unguarded machines. No more of the human slaughter pen where in the United States more men and women are killed at their work every four years than died of shot, shell and disease on both sides in the Civil War. No! We will take the millions of unemployed whose labor power goes to waste and by reducing the hours of labor we will give them all a chance to live. We will have conditions on the farms also, to make work as pleasant and healthful there as in our planned and healthful workshops, mines and factories.

Having control of our means of employment, we will wipe out the dirt and disease breeding conditions of the present sweating hells of the capitalist class. We will co-operate and work in unity and fellowship and feel the joy of the artist in producing the best. Health, happiness and plenty will be the portion of all, for when the masters are no longer able to rob us of the enormous
wealth shown in the table on another page, that wealth will stay among us who produce it. The total of this wealth will be increased by the employment of the unemployed and the new inventions the new age will bring. Instead of reducing the income of the workers these inventions will still further reduce the hours and increase the share of wealth of each. This is the working class solution of the question. Public ownership of industry by all and private ownership of what you earn, payment for labor being made on the basis of the full social value to the workers.

That is Socialism. Nothing more is demanded and we will be satisfied with nothing less. Wealth to those who produce it, leisure to those who earn it, happiness for all, and not a brass farthing to the idler. Anything wrong in that? If you think so, then you are in perfect agreement with every grafter, every scoundrel unhung, every sweater of the poor; and you don't deserve the wealth, leisure and happiness that should be yours.

Parties and Classes.

Politics is the science of using public power to favor men whose interests are the same. Political parties are maintained to represent different classes, who have different interests and who do not agree on how that public power should be used. We have the banking interests, the big capitalist interests, small capitalist interests, and working class interests. All these class interests differ more or less. The banking interests are interested in laws that will favor banking. The big capitalists favor laws that will help the big combinations of capital. The small capitalists want laws that will check the big capitalist firms.

But while the bankers and large and small capitalists often differ as to legislation they are all united as a class against laws that favor the working class.
While not in complete agreement with each other, they are united against you. So that there are in reality two great and distinct classes in this country, the capitalist class and the working class. Their interests clash because the capitalist class takes the wealth the workers make, while the workers make the wealth the capitalists take. There is no harmony, no unity between the two classes, and the struggle between them we call a class struggle. The struggle often becomes one of brute force, as in the miners' strike in Colorado, when the mine-owning capitalists used the army to drive hundreds of miners out of the state, placed hundreds of others in 'bull pens,' and had miners' meeting halls shot up by thugs.

The class struggle is also waged to secure control of the law-making and governing powers. There are two great political parties that represent the two classes in this struggle. There is the Demo-Republican party and the Socialist Party. The first party is apparently two, but in reality it is one party with two headquarters, two sets of bosses, two platforms, two sets of candidates and one object—how to skin you. One set is known as Democrats and the other as Republicans, and both are, to intelligent people, known as plunderers.

Now, there are two reasons why the capitalist class must have two parties that are in reality one. The first is because they must give you two tickets and two parties to vote for in order to divide you. The other reason is that the politicians, in addition to representing your masters, find public office is a good place to fill their pockets, and there is often a real struggle between two sets of them for the offices. But though they may differ as to who should fill the offices, they are agreed that the offices and power shall not represent you. Graft and plunder for themselves and power for the capitalist class is the history of the two sets.
Let us return for a moment to the first reason. No subject class can be always ruled and fooled unless it is kept divided. Now, can you imagine any way by which those who rule you and those who fool you could do so by one party alone? It is impossible. It takes two. If the capitalist class only owned one party and refused to invest money in another, all the wealth-producing classes would soon trace all their wrongs to that one party and unite and overthrow it. Now, such unity of the working class is the very thing the masters desire to prevent. So they own two parties, two headquarters, two sets of candidates and two platforms and in that way keep you divided.

Here is an example: One set is in power. It has the courts, the governor and the legislature, which also means the police and military power. The workers elected them, as the workers have the most votes. The workers strike. The set in power has its judge issue injunctions, its governor to call out the militia and to hire Pinkerton thugs. A number of workers welter in their own blood; the strike is broken, the union is destroyed, and wages go down with the strikers. Now, if the capitalist class had only this one set of politicians the first capitalist victory would be its last, for the workers would organize politically and overthrow this set.

Here is where the masters display their cunning. They are ready to outwit the workers by the control of another party and another set of politicians. The "ins" nominate. So do the "outs." The workers naturally vote the "ins" out and the "outs" in. Should another struggle occur, the workers find that no matter who is "in," as between the two sets, the workers are always out. No matter which wins, you lose.

It is like a Punch and Judy show. You watch the two figures and you will swear that both of them are engaged in a fierce quarrel and fighting a real fight. But
if you look behind the curtain you will see one person making them both perform while they amuse and fool you. That is like capitalist politics in America. Democratic Punch and Republican Judy performing for the grown-up children of this country. The hand that controls both Democratic Punch and Republican Judy is the hand of the capitalist class.

Both sets are also brokers in legislation. Sometimes they become so eager to fill their own pockets that they blackmail the capitalists. They demand money for their votes for certain bills. Occasionally they even introduce some bills that threaten some capitalist interests in order to be bought off. They increase offices and jobs to provide places and salaries for their friends and heelers, and the capitalists find that they have to pay for this increased taxation. In this way we get our politicians like "Hinky Dink," "Bath-house John," "Boss Murphy," "Boss Platt," men who would be keeping step in the chain gang if they received what they earned. In this way we get our "jack-pot" legislatures, like Illinois, where, at the very time they were selling legislation on the auction block, over a hundred miners were being strangled to death in an illegal mine at Cherry.

Both parties are capitalist to the core. North and South they represent most anybody and anything except the workers who support them. They are two souls with but a single thought—how to skin you.

The Socialist Party.

Now, if each of the two great classes in society were to support only the political party that represented it, this would be the line-up: Every coward millionaire living on child labor, every respectable trust magnate, every sweatshop owner, every stock gambler, every owner of death-trap mines, every sweater of the poor, every grafter and political broker, all these, would sup-
port one political party. On the other hand, every useful worker, of brawn or brain, in the factories or mines or on the farms, would support the party of his own class. If the great mass of wealth-producers supported a party of their own class and the few masters supported their own, WHO WOULD WIN?

Do you think that the Punch and Judy show would last very long? Hardly. One election would find the wealth-producing class swept into control of the law-making bodies and capitalist politics and capitalist rule would be at an end.

The Socialist Party is organized and maintained to secure this unity of the workers at the ballot box. Anything that prevents this unity or that delays it is against the interests of workingmen. Citizens’ parties, Independent parties, Reform parties, all prevent and delay the unity of the workers that is necessary to their triumph. Special issues, such as “good government,” “lower taxation,” “down with the grafters,” civic “reform” and similar nonsense, keep the workers divided. Division means defeat; unity means victory. The capitalist class is united against you; do not divide for them. Unite for your class as the capitalists do for theirs. “You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to gain!” This is the unifying motto of the Socialist Party in every modern country.

Neither should you allow yourself to vote for any “friend” on any other ticket. Retain your friends if you can. If they are in distress extend personal help if you can. Do anything reasonable to help them in their hour of need, but do not help them to support a daily system of hell that robs childhood of happiness, that means slavery for millions, including yourself and your family. Save that friend from the muck and dirt of capitalist politics by helping to defeat him. For in the end he must suffer, too, by losing his self-respect and
becoming hardened to all the finer impulses that are making for a better world. You would think it strange if a friend asked you to help him to a position of leadership in a band of outlaws and knowing that they plundered you and your acquaintances. That "friend" would have the same relation to you that a "friend" elected on a capitalist ticket would have.

No compromise, no deals, no fusions with the enemy. There is too much at stake. There is a world of poverty on the one hand that the two sets of capitalist candidates will continue. There is the world of plenty, on the other, that the Socialist Party will bring. You are for your class or against it; you are in the camp of your enemies or in the camp of your friends. You are for Capitalism or for Socialism, for war or peace, for poverty or plenty, for slavery or freedom. If you are a capitalist you will want Capitalism, war, poverty and slavery. If you are a worker you will want Socialism, peace, plenty and freedom. What are you, a capitalist for Capitalism or a worker for Socialism?

Can We Get Along Without the Capitalist?

This is like asking whether the dog can get along without the fleas. The fleas would say that the dog can't. The capitalist class and its paid advocates say the same thing. Few dogs would agree with the fleas, but many workingmen agree with the capitalist class.

The Socialists have the only scientific answer to the question. The capitalist class has been very useful in history in playing their part in organizing industry on a large scale. This class was once useful, but it is not now. It is harmful to society, no use to itself, and a useless burden to the working class. This class in the great industries no longer manage or do any useful work. They hold stocks and bonds and shares and draw dividends, but they do no work. The mere holding of the
stocks, bonds and shares and drawing of dividends does not help to make an ounce of steel or run a railroad. The shares are often traded and pass into the hands of a number of wealthy gamblers in stocks in a single month, but these gamblers know little about making steel or running a railroad. A shrewd gambler or swindler may come into possession of the stock of a large mining business and know nothing of the processes of mining.

The owners haven't superior brains, many of them are vulgar, unprincipled men seeking to ruin each other. Their knowledge of history, science and learning in general is often so small that a school boy could shame them with questions. George Bernard Shaw, the great English writer, has written a great book, entitled 'Socialism and Superior Brains,' dealing with this question. He says that "The notion that the people who are now spending * * * the remarkable increase in unearned incomes * * * have ever invented anything, ever directed anything, ever even selected their own investments without the aid of a stock broker or solicitor, ever as much as seen the industries from which their incomes are derived, betrays not only the most rustic ignorance of economic theory, but a practical ignorance of society.'"

Answering Mr. W. H. Mallock, who claims that the capitalists earn their wealth by their superior ability, Shaw says. "Passage after passage in Mr. Mallock's anti-Socialist writings either means that a railway dividend is the reward of ability which invented the locomotive steam-engine or else means nothing at all. The obvious fact that the interest on railway stock in this country is paid mostly to people who could not invent a wheelbarrow, much less a locomotive, he treats as an ingenious Fabian paradox. And a cool assumption that every child, every woman of fashion, every man about
town, every common-place lady or gentleman who holds shares in an electric lighting company, or a telephone company, or a trans-Atlantic steamship company, is a Wheatstone, a Bell, an Edison, a Bessemer, a Watt, a Stephenson, he gravely reasons upon, and takes as a basis for elaborate statistical calculations and startling diagrams, as if it were sober sense, instead of the most laughable, extravagant bluff that has ever been attempted, even in a controversy on Socialism.

"I cannot seriously believe that if some relative were to leave him a million of money, he would say to his stock broker, 'I am not satisfied with being a well-known author; I wish to be a great engineer, too; so buy me some Manchester Ship Canal stock. I also yearn for fame as an aviator; get me instantly a few shares in the company which manufactured Monsieur Bleriot's aeroplane. As I wish to secure immortality as a great sculptor, I shall call a great statue into existence by my capital; no doubt Monsieur Rodin or some other professional person will put in the mere manual labor for a few thousand guineas. I have also, I must confess, a curious longing to be remembered as a famous actress; I shall, therefore build a theater and engage Sarah Bernhardt, Eleonora Duse, and one or two other female proletarians, who, without the aid of capital, would be selling oranges like Nell Gwynne."

The fact is that the great capitalists of our day merely accumulate wealth on their stocks, the mere holding of which bring them dividends. They may live in Europe, as many of them do, and never see the industries the stocks represent, and the dividends go to them just the same. They may die and leave their investments to a child or an idiot and the dividends go to the heirs just the same. Does the idiot do anything useful to earn the millions that flow into his pocket? Has he superior ability as a 'captain of industry'?"
manage to live if he did not take all above a living wage from you and other workers? Could the dog live without the fleas?

In the old days, when the capitalists owned small industries and one of them died, the industry closed until an efficient man could be found to take charge. The capitalist was then of some use to the industry by personally managing and directing it, and his death caused the temporary shutdown. Now, when a railroad king like Harriman dies or a trust magnate passes away there is no stoppage of industry, because they do no work that is necessary, or useful, or that is missed. They are only idle owners of shares and stocks, and all the useful work in the industries is performed by hired workers, from the managers to the laborers in the ditch.

Now, if the workers can produce wealth and turn it over to the idle stockholders, why can't they produce wealth and keep it after it is produced? If we get rid of these idle rich we will never miss them, no more than we miss one now when he passes away. They only draw on their stocks so long as we consent to it. When we withdraw our consent and refuse to pay dividends the whole product of labor remains with the workers and the problem is solved. When we refuse to pay dividends we repudiate the stocks and claim the industries as our own. We manage and produce the wealth and should also own it. Socialism is opposed to idle class ownership, and the way to withdraw your consent to such ownership is to support the Socialist Party in its demands for collective ownership and the full product for the workers.

In every age when a ruling class has faced the demand that it give up its privileges, there have been those who asserted that mankind could not get along without that ruling class. Warnings of disaster that would follow the defeat of a ruling class were always made by the
schoolmen and "educated" classes in general. But the ruling classes were overthrown and human progress continued as though they had never lived. The robber barons of the Middle Ages were perfectly sure that civilization would go to the bow-wows if they were interfered with. The Roman masters before them felt equally sure that they were essential to civilization. Both are extinct, and just because they and their class privileges were overthrown civilization has advanced. Now an idle class of sweaters and stock gamblers have their hands on the throats of millions, and when we demand release they threaten us with the same disasters the other ruling classes threatened.

The fact is disaster is our portion now because they rule. The useless capitalist class is a check to further progress. This class owns the opportunities of employment for its own enrichment at the expense of the workers. As long as profits can be sweated out of men, women and children this class will allow us to produce them. When industry becomes unprofitable millions are deprived of the opportunity to earn a living. Their private gain, not our wants, determine the question. Capitalist profits are pitted against our happiness and welfare and the former wins. We can not only get along WITHOUT the capitalist; we cannot get along WITH him. With them we have poverty and without them we will have plenty. With them poverty, vice, crime, war, disease and death. Without them we will have abundance, peace, purity, health and life. We can get along without them, but they cannot get along without us. Their privileges depend on us, not we on them. All of their class can vote to continue their class ownership, but unless they get the workers to vote with them they are in a helpless minority. Yes, we can get along without idle exploiters, but they cannot get along without us. Knowledge of this by workingmen is a power that the masters fear.
29

We Have Paid.

Ah, but how will we get possession of the great industries and firms? Can we ever pay for them? we are asked.

John, we have paid for them in full, paid for them years ago, and we are paying for them over again. As I write a newspaper informs me that 5000 miners have been murdered at their work in ten years. Here are a few items of the death toll: Fraterville, Tenn., 200; Hanna, Wyo., 175; Jacob's Creek, Pa., 250; Cherry, Ill., 265; Littleton, Ala., 125; Briceville, Tenn., 89. This is only a part of the ghastly record. Having first been robbed of the larger part of the wealth they produced, these men were strangled or crushed to death. They paid, the heartbroken mothers, wives and children also paid and are paying to-day. The wealth that is sweated out of every generation by capitalist fleecers more than pays the value of the opportunities for producing wealth. We pay for them with blood, sweat, tears and death, and though we give all this to the end of time the fleecers would still hold out itching palms and ask for more. The figures on a preceding page show how much we are paying to-day. They show that no matter where the toiler works or who he is, he pays his installment daily to the capital-owning class. Take the blighted lives and blasted hopes of millions; the children whose bodies are dwarfed, minds stunted and future denied; the measureless depths of misery of the slum dwellers; the shocking waste of life in coal mines; the dreary servitude of factory slaves, and the lack of common comforts for millions, and who will say in the face of all this that we have not paid for the industrial plants ten times over! Who will say that the masters do not now owe us and shoud be glad if we decide to square accounts by generously forgetting the past?

On the other hand, it is well to remember that it is not an honest debt the masters ask us to pay. There
isn’t a railroad in America that was paid for by the present owners. The first owners bribed Congressmen and Senators to give them the land, or they stole it. Millions of miles of land for railroads were secured this way. Then by a process of stock juggling and swindling they or their successors amassed great fortunes without investing an hour of useful labor or risking a dollar of their own. Through the control of government many industries were also nursed to giant size by the same methods which, together with the normal methods of robbing workers, brought great streams of wealth into the hands of the masters. The development of capitalism is one long record of fraud, swindle and piracy. Never having paid for the industrial equipment they own, they ask us to pay for it. We have paid. We are paying now. We will pay again and again so long as capitalism lasts and the fraudulent owners will never be satisfied.

The terrible price we pay is told in the following poem by an unknown writer, who voices the protest of the dead and the dying workers of every generation.

"We have fed you all for a thousand years,
And you hail us still unfed;
Though there’s never a dollar of all your wealth
But marks the workers dead.
We have yielded our best to give you rest,
And you lie on a crimson wool,
For if blood be the price of all your wealth,
Good God, we ha’ paid it in full.
There’s never a mine blown skyward now
But we’re buried alive for you;
There’s never a wreck drifts shoreward now
But we are its ghastly crew.
Go reckon our dead by the forges red
And the factories where we spin;
If blood be the price of your accursed wealth,
Good God, we ha’ paid it in."
We have fed you all for a thousand years,
For that was our doom, you know,
From the day that you chained us in your fields,
To the strike of a week ago.
You ha’ eaten our lives, our babes and our wives,
And we’re told its your legal share,
But if blood be the price of your lawful wealth,
Good God, we ha’ bought it fair.’’

We have bought it fair, we have paid in full. Our task now is to capture as much of the law making and governing powers as will enable us to transfer wealth-producing plants into the hands of the people and thus overthrow the present ruling class. Never mind just how it will be done. It may be through another emancipation proclamation, it may be through seizure in the name of the sovereign people, through a slow and peaceful process of legislation or in the throes of civil conflict. It may bring with it ‘‘airs from heaven or blasts from hell.’’ No one can say with certainty. But come it will, for everything drifts with the rising Socialist tide. The best guarantee for a peaceful change is to make the Socialist majority so overwhelming that the cowardly hearts of the masters and their paid defenders will quake with terror when they see the great hosts that demand surrender.

The Power of the Ballot.

Although impossible to estimate the loss working-men sustain by voting the tickets of the capitalist class, some conception may be gained from figures disclosed of John D. Rockefeller’s income. In October, 1907, Wesley H. Tilford, treasurer of the Standard Oil Company, on the witness stand in New York City, made admissions that show that Rockefeller’s income from oil alone for the eight years previous was $21.25 per minute.
A better conception of this sum may be had from the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Interval</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$21.25</td>
<td>Per minute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$1.275.00</td>
<td>Per hour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$80,600.00</td>
<td>Per day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$214,200.00</td>
<td>Per week</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$856,800.00</td>
<td>Per month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$11,838,400.00</td>
<td>Per year</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conceding the average wage of the workers to be $2 per day, this means that Rockefeller received ten times as much per minute, day and night, as the workingman gets each day; or 15,300 times as much in one day as the workingman gets in one day.

Rockefeller does not invest in oil alone. If he did, he and his class would never retain their power; their incomes would be gone. He invests in politics also, and this investment makes all the others secure. He has oil, railroads, mines, factories and steamships, but not the votes. What he hasn’t got he buys. The working class have no oil, railroads, mines, factories, or steamships, but they have the votes. These votes they give to political parties without thinking of their value. Rockefeller and his class own the political parties who get the votes the workers cast in the election booth. In owning the parties Rockefeller and his class get the political power of the working class and use it to protect capitalist interests.

In this way Rockefeller, with only one vote, controls the votes of millions for himself and his class. That is why the capitalist class have the police and military powers, the judicial and executive powers on their side when they need them. That is why the worker pays a fine or goes to jail for taking a loaf of bread, while a fine of $29,000,000 cannot be collected from Rockefeller.
What he gets from oil is part of the cost of the workers' votes. The moment these votes are withdrawn from capitalist parties the income of every industrial king stops. When the working class invest in politics for themselves and vote with their class, this enormous legal theft will be impossible. The long hours of hopeless toil, privation and suffering will pass away with the triumph of the working class. As the cost of slavery is the misuse of the ballot by workingmen, so the price of freedom is united political action by the working class.

The Socialist Party may not win in the coming election, but it can and it is raising working men to power. One Socialist elected is a victory, though all the rest are defeated. A Socialist elected to a law-making body is so much power to be used in defense of the working class. We must have this power to overthrow capitalist rule.

And we will have this power. If not this year, then the next or the next. It is the issue in this election as it has been in the past, as it will be in the future until the working class possess all power and is forever free.
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