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The object of the INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST SOCIETY, established September 1905, is "to promote an intelligent interest in Socialism among college men and women." All present or former students of colleges interested in Socialism are eligible to active membership in the Society. Non-collegians are eligible to auxiliary membership. The annual dues of the Society are \$2, \$5 (contributing membership), \$25 or more (sustaining membership.) The dues of student members-at-large are \$1 a year. Undergraduate Chapters are required to pay 35c. a year per member to the General Society. All members are entitled to receive The Intercollegiate Socialist. Friends may assist in the work of the Society by becoming dues-paying members, by sending contributions, by aiding in the organization and the strengthening of undergraduate and graduate Chapters, by obtaining subscriptions for The Intercollegiate Socialist, by patronizing advertisers, and in various other ways. The Society's Quarterly is 50c. a year, 15c. a copy.

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THE INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST

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No. 2

The Eighth Annual Convention This year, as in previous years, the chief event of interest in I. S. S. circles during the college year, is the Annual Convention of the Society to be held in New York City, on Thursday, Friday and Saturday, December 28, 29 and 30, 1916.

To the general public the dinner of Friday night, December 29th, on "What Should be the Foreign Policy of the United States?", promises to be of greatest importance and interest. The brilliant speakers who have been secured for that occasion are Morris Hillquit, the foremost exponent of Socialism in this country, and Gardner L. Harding, author of "Present Day China" and an editor of Dr. Sun Yat Sen's *Chinese Republican* during the Chinese revolution. Willard Straight of the International Corporation, who negotiated the American side of the Chinese loan, will be present and will answer questions arising out of the addresses. Professor Vida D. Scudder of Wellesley will preside.

The dinner will be held in the Palm Garden, 150 E. 58th Street, New York City, and will begin at 6:30 P. M. Tickets may be purchased at \$1.25 from the Society, and must be obtained not later than Thursday noon, December 28th.

The Convention proper will be opened on Thursday afternoon at 2:30 o'clock at Miss Stokes's Studio, 90 Grove Street (near 8th St. Station 6th Avenue "L"). Miss Helen Phelps Stokes, chairman of the Convention Committee, will call the meeting to order. J. G. Phelps Stokes, president of the Society, will preside. The organizing secretary will read the report of the year's activities. This will be followed by reports from the delegates and by the discussion of Chapter problems.

On Thursday evening, the delegates, members of the Executive Committee and a few invited guests will meet for an informal supper at the Rand School of Social Science, 140 E. 19th

Street, at 6:30. Following the supper, the delegates and friends will attend the lecture of Professor Scott Nearing on "The Germs of War" at the Washington Irving High School, 17th St. and Irving Place (about two blocks from the Rand School). The lecture will be followed by a reception at the Rand School to Professor Nearing.

On Friday morning at 10 o'clock the discussion of Chapter problems will be continued in Room 206, School of Journalism, Columbia University. In the afternoon session, which will convene at 2 o'clock, this room, the usual Question Box on Socialism will be conducted. John Spargo and Dr. Harry W. Laidler will answer questions on Socialism and allied problems. Dr. Jessie W. Hughan will preside.

Following this session, as already stated, comes the dinner. The final session, Saturday morning at 10 o'clock, will be given over to the thrashing out of the problems of Alumni Chapters. This will be held at Miss Stokes's Studio, 90 Grove Street.

It is hoped that this Convention, both in attendance and in general interest, will surpass any conference held heretofore. All members and friends of the Society, interested in the great national and international questions that are facing this country, are cordially invited to attend.

A Question and Answer Department College students interested in Socialism are constantly being called upon to answer certain questions concerning the theoretical or practical phases of the Socialist movement. Frequently they do not have at hand the information that will enable them adequately to give satisfactory answers nor are they conversant with the sources of such information. Should our student members in the future be confronted with such a situation, *The Intercollegiate Socialist* will be glad to receive the question and will attempt to deal with it in a later issue.

The Sentimental Aspect of Preparedness

By W. P. MONTAGUE

We Socialists may judge the present agitation for military preparedness from two distinct standpoints—the material or economic and the ideal or sentimental. On the economic side the movement for preparedness is a movement to divert an increasing portion of the nation's energies from the productive channels of peace to the destructive channels of war. For this economic waste, urged by the advocates of preparedness, there is the economic justification urged secretly by the advocates of imperialism—viz., the acquirement by our country's financial interest of a greater and greater share of the world's wealth. For if we are thoroughly prepared in the matter of armaments we can, in the first place, defend securely the foreign possessions which we already have; we can, in the second place, develop new holdings in the weaker and less advanced countries; and we can, in the third place, aspire to conquering from other great nations the markets and properties which they now possess. What the consequences of our entering this imperialistic game, whether the game is worth the candle (especially if all nations play it), and whether the chronic misery to the workers that results from trade battles will be improved by risking the acute sickness of actual war, may be decided by those who know.

It is not the economic but the sentimental side of preparedness of which I wish to speak. The whole preparedness movement teems with sentiment. There are the school boys who thrill to the sounds and sights of the soldier. There are the great mass of citizens who are moved by an honest patriotism to wish their country secure against attack and capable of playing a more important part in international affairs, and finally, there are the few who dream the dreams of Cecil Rhodes, and who would have America attain to world empire.

It is my contention that if we would influence in any way the preparedness movement we must reckon very seriously and very differently from our custom with the spirit and the sentiment of those who favor it. It is, to be sure, a habit of

the Socialist philosophy to view all such movements in the light of economics and to regard sentiments as based upon economic interest. And in the case of the preparedness agitation the material interests are so obvious, not only of the munition makers, but of those who through their foreign investments would profit indirectly by the success of the policy, that it might well seem a waste of time to bother with the sentiments in which those interests may happen to be cloaked. And yet if we only reflect, we should realize that the minority who stand to gain through preparedness would be quite helpless without the sentimental response of the disinterested majority. Even if it were true (and I do not think it) that the feeling in favor of preparedness was entirely the result of the machinations of a few greedy profit seekers, it would only show that those same profit seekers were wise enough to see that the way to win people to a cause is to appeal to their hearts. There is an ancient legend that man is a rational animal and a legend less ancient to the effect that man is a greedy animal, and both beliefs are of course well founded. But more essentially true than either is the discovery of modern psychology that man is a sentimental animal; and that appeals to abstract reason and to material self-interest are alike impotent when sentiment stands in the way. All practical politicians have this knowledge and use it effectively. Why should not the Socialist politician take a leaf from their book?

I feel that not only in the matter of preparedness but in most other matters our propaganda has been needlessly retarded by the contemptuous indifference to the sentiments or emotional prejudices of those whom we would convert. We do not need to abandon the Marxian doctrine of economic determinism in order to remedy this defect. It may be perfectly true that in the long run and for large groups of men, the non-economic sentiments tend to neutralize one another and the steadily persistent economic interest determines the entire cultural life of the group—its art and morals no less

than its forms of industry. We do no dishonor to Sir Isaac Newton in recognizing that though all bodies *tend* to move toward the center of gravity of their system, yet no one body ever does actually so move. Nor need we dishonor Marx if we recognize that human individuals and human groups, when clutched by a strong emotion, are no more apt to move in the direction of their material self-interest than are leaves and papers to move towards the earth's center when in the clutch of a hurricane. If evidence other than that of psychology is needed to prove that the path to the pocketbook leads through the heart and that in concrete matters interest does not control sentiment, but is controlled by it, we have only to observe such phenomena as the collections at Billy Sunday's meetings or the contributions of hard-headed business men to Mrs. Eddy's mystical religion, or to turn from the trivial to the sublime and terrible, consider the soldiers of France sacrificing every individual interest, not only of property but of life to a sentiment of patriotism. Both types of instance witness the same fact, viz., that to control a man's conduct you must control his sentiments.

How then should the Socialist proceed so as most effectively to check the menace of militarism in this country?

While in most matters sentiment operates as a powerful factor, it has an added force in the matter of military preparedness. For here it is the youth which are primarily concerned. And the extent to which our nation will become militaristic will depend in the last analysis not upon the motives and activities, selfish or otherwise, of those who pay for the movements, it will depend upon the emotional attitude of the nation's youth. If we wish to have a real influence on the situation we must be prepared to deal more directly and more effectively with the young men and boys who are already thrilled with the combined spirit of adventure and of sacrificial service, which constitutes military patriotism at its best. From this standpoint all plans of propaganda for coping with the situation, however they may differ in detail, must embody the two following principles: (1) A generous, ungrudging appreciation of the essential nobility of the desire to fight

and the willingness to die for one's country. (2) The devising of a practical substitute for the army whereby the splendid and adventurous altruism of adolescence may be utilized constructively for the furtherance of life rather than destructively for the ends of death.

Let us begin with a consideration of the first of these principles, and as a preliminary illustration I would take a sentiment not identical with the military sentiment, but closely related to it—namely, patriotic pride in the achievements of one's country. Suppose that you, a Socialist, discover a well intentioned jingo friend boasting of the riches and power of America and of the glorious victory won over Mexico in 1846. Two kinds of answer are open to you. You may sneer at your friend's pride in country and compare America to its disadvantage with other nations, winding up with a general attack on patriotism and a paean of praise in favor of an internationalism in which all frontiers are obliterated. The effect upon the Chauvinist of such an answer will be two-fold. As far as the ideal of internationalist humanity is concerned, the response will be purely negative and he will regard you as asking him to give his devotion to a fanciful ghost in place of the concrete flesh and blood of dear Uncle Sam, and the appeal leaves him cold.

But the response to the first and negative part of your argument, i. e., to your attack upon America and upon the patriotic sentiment will be instant and positive. He will see you as a cur and a traitor, a man who would acquiesce in the ruin of his own people at the hands of an alien foe. For while you, the internationalist, are considering as an alternative to an exclusive patriotism an inclusive devotion to humanity, your nationalist friend considers as the only alternative to patriotism a cowardly willingness to submit one's own country to the tyranny of a foreigner. You two are completely at cross purposes and there results nothing but mutual misunderstanding and contempt. That way of meeting the jingo is, from the standpoint of Socialist propaganda, worse than futile.

Suppose, however, that you take a different tack,—you tell your friend that

you also are proud of our country, though for different reasons than those which move him. You rejoice more, for example, in our withdrawal from Cuba and our establishment of its freedom and independence than in the power by which we conquered Spain or the severity with which we subdued the Filipinos. As to Mexico, your patriotic pride is based not on our former war of conquest, but rather upon that recent policy of international altruism whereby President Wilson, in defiance of sordid precedents and in the face of tremendous odds, used American power to help the Mexican democracy to rid itself of a murderous tyrant and to establish the foundations of spiritual freedom and economic justice. Surely such conduct on the part of a greater to a weaker country is a basis for real pride and points the way to a new kind of patriotism in which the right rather than the might of one's country is the thing to be cherished and defended. No matter how chauvinistic our friend may be, he will find it difficult to take offense at such an argument, and if his love of country is really sincere, its destructive jingo form may be painlessly changed so as to be in no way incompatible with an internationalistic ideal.

The same dilemma and the same opportunity confronts us as Socialists and pacifists where we see a working class lad who is eager to enter a military training camp or the army itself. Shall we begin by telling him of the folly of serving a rotten country and one in which his own stake is so small? The rich own the nation, let them do the fighting. A live coward is better than a dead hero. One does not look pretty when torn open by shrapnel. Let him substitute sense for sentiment and serve his own interest rather than the interests of the master class. This argument has one great advantage; if the Socialist propagandist takes the attitude of a lyric poet who wishes to voice a mood and to get something off his chest, he succeeds in doing it. But the subjective satisfaction of venting sneers and bitterness is his only reward. The effect upon the boy may be either one of two things—he may be repelled by the sentiment expressed and go his way with the firm and lasting conviction that the Socialist is an enemy of all

that is brave and decent. Or, on the other hand, he may be convinced—he may lay his enthusiasm aside and take the lesson to heart that a man's first duty is to number one. If the boy is won over in this way the gain will not be worth the cost. A fine and generous impulse will have been killed and something cheap and nasty will have been put in its place. The boy's heart will have been permanently poisoned, and in making a convert we shall have spoiled a man. For later on there may come a time when that same lad engaged in industrial fight will be approached by a strike-breaking agent and the old argument will be given a new turn—consider interest before sentiment. If a live coward is better than a dead hero, why is not a prosperous scab better than a suffering striker? Why should one not prefer one's own advancement to loyalty to one's comrades?

Socialists should have no room in their ranks for recruits of this stamp, and they will be of this stamp if they are won by such arguments.

Would it not be infinitely better, not only in general, but in the interest of advancing the Socialist propaganda, to render honor and generous appreciation to all sincere sentiments, however misguided, and to reserve the sneer and the curse for cases of plain hypocrisy and intentional malignity?

If we could show the youthful military enthusiast that all his instinct for service could be utilized in the cause of Socialism in ways helpful and constructive, and that the waste and horrors of war were not the only or the necessary goal of his enthusiasm, then we could win a convert that would be thoroughly worth while.

To do this effectively, however, we should have to put into practice the second of our two principles for coping with the preparedness movement, a substitute for the army, or as William James puts it,—a moral equivalent for war.

At present the usual alternative to military training is training in industry or trade. And if it were to be always necessary for the Socialist to choose between the nation in arms and the nation in business, the former would be less uncongenial to the spirit of the co-operative commonwealth.

The thing that is really needed is of course an institution that combines the constructive side of industrial life with the co-operative side of army life, i. e., an industrial army in which every boy and every girl could be trained for a brief period of, let us say, a year in some sort of public service.

Such an organization, with its individual membership, possessing a continuous corporate life with its own traditions and *esprit de corps*, would achieve a two-fold purpose: it would provide a means whereby much of the disagreeable and difficult work of a community could be performed without degrading those who performed it,—and secondly, it would give an opportunity for the adolescent instinct of self-sacrificing service to ripen in action. It is well known that an instinct, if ungratified at its first appearance, will tend to atrophy and die. If a youth is denied the opportunity to serve when the altruistic passion is hot upon him, the passion itself will soon be lost and he will settle down to a permanent state of contented selfishness. If all the boys and girls of the nation could be permitted to do their bit as soldiers of the common good, the instinct of service would be permanently incorporated in the characters of the future citizens, and the nation would be transformed and regenerated.

It is easy to see the desirability of an industrial army, but difficult to see how to make it an actuality. There are three ways of proceeding that occur to me as possible for those who believe in the soundness of an ideal.

First, we might join forces with those who believe in universal conscription in the hope that the army thus constituted might be progressively de-militarized. And, as the caterpillar is changed into the butterfly, so might our army of soldiers, skilled in the arts of destruction, be metamorphosed into an army of constructive workers. This might seem to be the easiest and most immediately practical way to achieve the desired end, but its dangers are obvious. Army life, as it now exists, is not likely to serve as a chrysalis, and the soldier is not always willing to undergo the desired metamorphosis.

Second, a safer and surer method would be to go at the matter directly and agitate for compulsory universal training in a non-military and purely industrial form of community service. As Randolph Bourne, in the "New Republic," has suggested, "The affair could most naturally attach itself to the school and be organized as an extension of the compulsory education which we already possess." This would undoubtedly be the best way, if it could be made practicable; but such is the novelty of the undertaking, and so great is the mental inertia of the people, that this plan appears to me to have but a small chance of success.

Thirdly. There is a third plan of procedure that is far less ambitious than either of the foregoing, and which would perhaps be preferable. It is, as I understand it, the line of action that is favored by Dr. Felix Adler. We could follow on a more modest scale the method of those who, while they work and wait for military conscription, are advocating, and with the aid of the government establishing, voluntary training camps, such as those at Plattsburg. It would not be a too difficult task for Socialists to organize in many localities bands of boys and girls who, if not themselves Socialists, were at least willing to work in the Socialist spirit and volunteer a portion of their time without pay to serving the community in whatever capacity they were needed. An attitude of friendly tolerance on the part of the community officials might be expected from the outset, and in time we could reasonably count on some sort of government subsidies to increase the efficiency and extend the scope of the work. It is not inconceivable that the movement should grow to the point where it would be incorporated and a regular part of the school systems. And if the agitation attained national proportions, we might even hope to see the federal government aiding in the organization of Socialist Plattsburgs, where the youth of the country could get their training as fighters for the common good.

Whether any or all of these plans are workable can be discovered only by experiment. Of one thing we may be sure: the present trend towards militarism should be met in a spirit of more sympathetic appreciation for the high and sin-

cere sentiment that animates the many who are working disinterestedly for it, and secondly, some alternative to the army that is at once more positively institutional in character and more lofty in aim than individual self-seeking in industrial life, must be offered to the youth if the glamor of militarism is to be counteracted.

The Socialist does not raise his son to be a soldier. Let us hope that neither does he raise him to be merely a smart business man.

If each of them is displeasing, we must create a third that will be free from the drawbacks of either and that will possess the advantages of both, viz., the industrial army.

The Appeal of Socialism to a Christian Mind

By WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH*

There are something like 40,000,000 Christian people in this country. Their mental outlook and reactions are determined by Christianity. They do not readily admit anything to their mind which contradicts their Christian conviction. Some Socialists in the past have exhibited qualities and beliefs which have repelled Christian people. Nevertheless I believe that Socialism is here under divine compulsion. There is saving in it and we can not get away from it.

Socialism is many sided. It has a special appeal to artists and educators. To the working people it offers the hope of emancipation from poverty and unfreedom. It appeals to Christians on moral and spiritual grounds, and to me that appeal is irresistible.

First, like Christianity in its infancy, Socialism is a movement of the common people. The wealth and splendor of some churches is not an argument for them, but raises the presumption that the church has fallen away from its origin. Some of us are deeply troubled by the fact that the churches are losing the very people among whom Christianity originated.

The Socialist demand for justice appeals to the fundamental moral instincts of every Christian mind. It demands that all income shall be based on labor and service. Incomes based on power and the control of necessities have no moral quality. As a Christian man I cannot help assenting to these propositions, and I feel that Christians cannot afford to leave the protest against the fundamental injustice of our civilization to people outside of the church.

Christianity and Socialism both are "concerned for the lost," for the derelicts of society. Christianity by evangelism and by charity had dealt with single cases, but society manufactures the lost faster than the church can heal them. Socialism has concentrated attention on child labor and prostitution, on the choking of the family by high rent and long hours and low wages. I stand for combining the methods of Christianity and Socialism.

Jesus said that the rich are in extreme peril of soul. His belief was that a rich man is in a situation where a real Christian life is almost impossible. A camel can pass through a needle's eye sooner than a rich man can enter the kingdom of God, where justice and fraternity are the law. Salvation can come to the rich only by simplicity, productive labor and fraternity. Capitalism breeds a wealthy class and separates them by aristocratic living. Socialism would save them by bringing them under the law of work.

Socialism joins with Christianity in setting life above money. Socialism may have a materialistic philosophy, but our capitalistic industry has the materialistic practice. It makes profit supreme, and uses up the life of the workers and consumers if necessary to make profit. At present the aim of the whole productive process is profit and not the sustenance of the people. This makes industry mammonistic. Socialism would produce for use, and therewith humanize our system of production.

Socialism has an appeal to a Christian mind because it creates solidarity. Jesus taught the duty of love and forgiveness to create unity. Wherever men were separated he crossed the lines.

*This is a portion of the address of Professor Rauschenbusch delivered at the Sherwood Forest Conference.

Capitalism splits society into two groups with opposed interests, and with manners of life, thought and feeling so different that fraternal understanding is exceedingly difficult. Christianity becomes unworkable where the extremes of society are too far apart. Socialism would reduce the differences. It would level up the poor and level down the rich, making the extremes perhaps something as they are to-day in college faculties. It would answer the prayer of the wise man, "Give me neither poverty nor riches."

Christianity is here to reveal sin and to redeem mankind from sin. But religion has always a temptation to stickle on trifles and to overlook the fundamental sins. As Jesus said, religious people strained out drowning gnats and swallowed live camels. They cleaned the outside of the cup and left the inside full of greed and excess. Socialism uncovers the master iniquities of civilization. Nothing will give a

Christian man so much new insight into the damning nature of sin as to combine the Christian with the Socialist comprehension of the evil in human society.

There is no doubt that Christianity is for peace. No imagination can picture Jesus Christ working a machine gun. In actual practice Christianity has usually abdicated its own law and spirit, and sanctioned the spirit and practice of war. We are in a painful and unsolved dilemma between the call of the Christian spirit and the summons of governments to help hate and kill. Socialism re-enforces the Christian instinct by analysis of the causes of militarism and by its organized stand for international solidarity. Those Christian men who have taken a pronounced and effective stand against war have practically all been under Socialist influences. Combine the Christian spirit with modern social knowledge and you have an effective combination.

Co-Operation

BY SENATOR HENRI LA FONTAINE
of Belgium

Co-operation ought to be the watchword of the future. Competition was the curse of the last century and has thus far been the curse of the twentieth century. Pride, greed, violence, war are the results of competition. These things ruled in all past autocracies and oligarchies as they are now ruling in the oligarchic democracies of the present day.

Co-operation was inaugurated by the working classes and these classes will impose it on the world. It has given to them or, at least, to some of them, strength and consciousness. The movement may be hampered; it cannot be stopped.

We must henceforth consider the world as a co-operative commonwealth. Labor ought to become a service, no longer a subjection. It ought to become healthy, cheerful, attractive, no more a burden, but the gift of each to promote the welfare of all.

War has made co-operation the common rule of the belligerent nations. Will this great lesson be forgotten or will the nations understand that what made them strong for warfare will strengthen them alike in time of peace?

Now how can co-operation be fostered? Perhaps it is necessary to discriminate between industrial, political and intellectual co-operation.

In industrial co-operation the consumer is the leading master in the markets. Production has to supply his needs, not to insure profits.

Political co-operation will be the problem of to-morrow and will include the creation of administrative, legislative, juridical institutions and the enlargement of those already existing. Peoples should be convinced that the earth exists for their use and not as a battlefield for greedy competitors.

Intellectual co-operation is already

with us, whether we like it or not. Literature, art, science no longer compete. A network of international associations is covering the world and making for progress and understanding, but the world does not realize that such a co-operation exists and the governments are as indifferent concerning

these associations as are the peoples.

Such a broad conception of what co-operation should and could be imposes on mankind a gigantic task and presupposes a deep and revolutionary departure from the individualistic tendencies now overwhelming the mind of the masses.

The Intellectual Weakness of Socialism

By WM. B. GUTHRIE, Ph.D.,

Associate Professor of Political Science, College of the City of New York

There are various views as to the forces which make for social progress. Guizot says that society depends upon ideas. Giddings makes society rest upon intuition, consciousness of kind; an innate recognition of likenesses and repulsions that integrates or disintegrates society. Lester F. Ward bases social progress and change on intellectual activity. Bluntschli says the constructive force in society varies; in Asia the inertia depends upon morals; in Europe the dynamic force is intellect. Rousseau said civilization began when people recognized land as their own and staked it off. Engels says the state, family and property came in at the same time and depend vitally upon each other. Any one who has thought at all appreciates the complex nature of that thing called society. He knows that only in a qualified sense is there a world society, a society in the generic sense of the word.

The life of this great organism or, as Spencer says, this great superorganism has various manifestations. At one time or in one place its animating principle may be religion as in Asia all the time and in Europe at various times. Again its cohesive force may be kinship in these nations and ages when family life was all-absorbing and created the binding emotions that maintained social cohesion. Again the social organization may depend upon militarism as in Germany since 1870. In some places social consciousness is very local as in Russia; in other places it is national reaching toward international society in the widening circle of its sympathies and knowl-

edge. National political parties, national issues, national characters, national news agencies, national dangers, all produce a large community where you can truthfully say Society exists.

Not only so, but society lives in its activities. It lives in its amusements or recreations that are as broad as that society. It lives in its charities, the display of its heart. It lives in its intellectual pursuits which means that it creates an educational system after its kind. It lives in its industries which provide for the "manger" of which Aristotle tells us. It lives in its pursuit and its appreciation of the heroic or ideal in some form or other.

Now, these integrating organizing forces in society are always battling with numerous anti-social forces as red corpuscles with the myriad pale assailants of the genus microbe within us. There are various forms of intellectual skepticism, encyclopedists and the like, which assault the intellectual and moral basis of society. There are professional critics, walking delegates of discontent, philosophers who through pride of heart, dissect and vivisection and by analysis kill and destroy society. There are many persons who through physical disability and mental nonconformity and moral turpitude disturb society and perhaps menace its very well-being and even its life. Then there are those who menace society on its economic side; there are two types, sometimes unhappily called the dregs and the foam, the upper and lower classes. One cares altogether for himself and not at all for society, the plutocrat; the other cares not

at all for himself but altogether for society who has been designated the Socialist. It is to this last class I am to briefly address myself, not to criticise their theories but rather their modes of thought.

Socialism has lived under two captains called by Engels "Utopian and Scientific," one descriptive up to Marx, the other descriptive since Marx. One based on faith, the other presumably on knowledge. One hopes, the other predicts. One indulges the poet's dream of the "good time coming when all shall be better than well"; the other traces the lines of social and economic causation and posites Socialism as a scientific realization. The distinction is badly overworked. No wise doctor will diagnose his own case and it's a poor lawyer with himself for a client. Socialists are avowedly reformers and propagandists and generally of the most pronounced type. Reformers are always biased. Good lawyers make poor judges. Statisticians with a program are unreliable. Figures don't lie, but liars do figure. The *sine qua non* of science is the objective viewpoint. Socialist reasoning is always subjective. It should be remembered that facts are as available for the juggler as are theories. There never was a scientific Socialist any more than there is a scientific abolitionist or a scientific prohibitionist. Engels's distinction is purely verbal not actual. This is a fatal intellectual defect, and no amount of plumbing can straighten this leaning tower.

Among Socialism's worst mental defects is bad perspective. This is due to the necessity of the reformer. Poulitices in place of a major operation. Phillips saw only the slave sore; Lincoln saw the rift menacing the nation's life. This brief introduction intimates that Socialism's economic analysis is fragmentary. He has hit only one premise, probably not the major one. It is like the "Mathematiker's" fallacy of over-confidence in his geometric plotting of economic phenomena. Even the German jokes with the phrase, "*Wenn man weiss was man ist, dann weiss man auch was man ist,*" and no sincere man ever believed the oesophagus is the gateway to human

destiny. You can find monism and dualism in ancient cosmogenics and historians who call Peter the Hermit a common peddler and Luther a *Norddeutscher* travelling man; but only intellectual easy-marks are satisfied with the simplicity of such pseudo-science.

This imperfect analysis crops out in bad historical and factual blunders. The theory of economic struggle proves too much and too little. If this were the sole dominating force, then each individual would war forever with each individual. Hunger is an individual, not a social impulse. Moreover, not even have classes struggled against each other. Evolution is rather a result of community survival, and this holds true not only of primitive but of later life. It was national ideals not class interests that animated the soldiers of our Civil War. Not class interests but national existence maintains the European controversy.

The Socialist who accepts this underlying doctrine of economic determinism should see where it surely leads. Nothing is left but to accept the Hegelian doctrine of eternal flux and change. Had the doctrine not been ready-made a quick order Pythagorean concoction was imperative. And still this theory of constant flux entirely nullifies the Socialist contention. What becomes of this sacrosanct theory of social co-operation in the light of this revelation? The value of Socialism and the hope of man both vanish as this eternal "movie" shifts the film. Film changed every hour! If Socialism seems rational as a step in evolution it is utterly meaningless as a social solution.

In the last analysis, Socialism's worst intellectual weakness is its failure to appreciate human psychology and to evaluate human emotions. As I write, I watch a vine clinging to a solid wall. Wind and weather fail to shake its hold on its natural support. Thinking will prove sound and permanent and helpful as it lines up with certain great principles of human conduct. A prominent silk stocking Socialist said recently that whenever the mass of men would abandon private wealth he was ready to stop clipping coupons. Delightful self-abne-

gation and a pretty safe gamble. In the face of universal history and experience to the contrary, it is preposterous for Socialists to assume that their artificial attitude toward property is or ever will be the normal human attitude. Property always has been and always will continue to be the foundation of society. Socialism underestimates the need of motive in economic life. During great crises as during a war, social motives do outweigh personal motives but not in normal times. Socialism needs a new psychology; it also needs a new man and a new woman. Socialism accepts without question the ultimate conclusion of the trend explained by Spencer and Paten that evolution is away from military society and out of the pain economy into the pleasure economy. Now, so far as I am aware none has seriously examined what this state of plenty and ease would mean to mankind. Mercantilism was a system whose motives were plenty and power; but it was aggressive and militant. American democracy has been aiming at plenty, ease, and material comfort, but under a competitive regime and no end of struggle. Socialists and

pacifists and all others who have the good of mankind sincerely at heart must consider William James's inquiry for a "moral equivalent for war." It has no doubt been the consensus of opinion of all classes and all faiths that not happiness but virtue is the highest end of life. Happy is that people to whom these are co-terminus. But it must be remembered that they are not necessarily synonyms. Any scheme for reorganizing society must provide for virtue, must assure self-realization. To the extent that Socialism on one hand advocates plenty without power, it is weak. To the extent that Socialism releases the individual from the necessity to struggle for his very existence, it is weak. So far as Socialism unburdens the individual, it is weak, and so far as any scheme of Socialism or paternalism lessens the man's chances of self-realization and self-reliance, such scheme misses the main point in life and insults the intelligence of every self-respecting man. Vice may be had in abundance without trouble; the way is smooth and her dwelling place is near. "But before virtue the Gods have set toil." (Hesiod.)

How Shall We Measure Weakness

By ORDWAY TEAD

If all that Professor Guthrie imputes to Socialism is true, its intellectual weakness has become senility and decrepitude. He renders a service by his statement since he makes it possible to redefine the issues. If Socialism involves a static point of view about society, has only one premise, fails to understand human nature and therefore has an artificial attitude toward property, if it abjures all else in search for ease and material comfort, it is in very truth a bankrupt dogma.

Professor Guthrie applies the soundest criterion we possess when he says, if I may rephrase him, that thinking and therefore conduct will prove sound and permanently helpful as they line up with certain great facts of human nature—and I take it he means that too much comfort, too much dependence upon

others, too little stimulus to effort, initiative, creative expression, all endanger the essential fabric of personality. The ultimate test of human purposes and aims is in the extent to which they summon the whole being, all the passions, sentiments and hopes, into the service of "virtue" and "self-realization." Nothing less than the whole of our human nature given play in the whole wide field of life can satisfy. Let us hasten at once to subscribe to this broad hypothesis, no matter to what conclusions it leads.

If, in Professor Guthrie's opinion, it leads to the conclusion that Socialism is effete, it is important to know the grounds for his decision. It is not sufficient to say that he lays low a straw man who has been badly handled this last three decades. That is in a meas-

ure true. But any body of hopes and fears about which organization grows up is almost immediately in danger of serving the ends of organization without accurate regard for growth and change. Professor Guthrie clearly implies that this has happened here. Has it?

Do we find ourselves gloating over a name, rolling the sweet morsel of a phrase on our tongues, sinking back into the ease of abstraction in the face of a variegated parade of complex events? Do we find ourselves taking refuge from the disagreeable duty of making bricks and laying a foundation, in the enervating contemplation of affairs "under Socialism"?

Professor Guthrie unwittingly raises a question of profound concern. He assumes that Socialism intellectually considered is a body of *opinion* about certain facts, that it is a dogmatic method of social analysis, that it is a pretty aspiration devoid of relation to the present limits of human power and self-mastery. Truly, it has been for some.

I had conceived it otherwise. What we need is a tentative hypothesis of the organic nature of human living; a completely scientific attitude, objective and subjective in the material it recognizes; a painstakingly patient effort to get all the data the planet offers about the way people live and work together; a rigorous devotion to experimental developments in industrial and civic reorganization; a more adequate notion of the time units in which changes in human organization can come.

We have the choice of construing Socialism as a party movement and a party platform, or as an attitude toward the problem of human living—a point of view in the light of which adjustment between the parties of industrial and civic affairs can be intelligently worked out—the description of a tendency in thought and activity toward a more cohesive and co-operative human relationship plus an effort to work constructively in harmony with that tendency.

The article which we are here discussing assumes that Socialism is the former of these. On this assumption much of its criticism has force. My reply assumes the second interpretation, which need not exclude the first, although the political question as to how ideas are to be brought into action must always be subservient to the question as to the wisdom of those ideas.

The objection may be raised that my interpretation is too broad to be definitive, incisive or effective. I doubt it. Nothing less than a completely open-minded and critically constructive attitude about human nature and the ways and means of satisfying its high yearnings can stand as a working principle. The application of intelligence and of good will—the two are twins—to the organization of our common life, this the supreme need. Socialism must stir and inspire to this enterprise, must *be* this enterprise, or it must be relegated to the antiquities.

I am grateful that the professor has provoked a statement of the alternatives, Socialism and Socialists must choose.

Does Universal Military Training Educate?

A lively discussion on the educational value of universal military service was held Thursday evening, November 2nd, at the Rand School under the auspices of the New York Alumni Chapter. Dr. John Mez and Dr. Frank Bohn expressed their opposition to such training, while Walter E. Kruesi emphasized its advantages.

In condemning universal military training, Dr. Mez, the German pacifist, said:

"No less than 10,000 young men under colors committed suicide during the last

forty years in the German army. Ill treatment in barracks was found wherever barracks existed. Prior to the war Rosa Luxemburg secured no less than 1,000 witnesses willing to testify concerning cruelties perpetrated in the military system. The Dreyfus trial in Paris illustrates the evils of army life in France.

"Of course there is good in everything. In Germany military training took a man away from his small farm, thus widening his vision. Marching in the open gave him a certain physical education and taught him to walk decently. But one could have this education without military training; and

there are many bad physical features under the military regime, such as standing in rain for hours, marching all day on hot dusty roads. Furthermore, the age at which a person can be most benefited by physical training is between 8 and 14.

"The moral education of military training is also emphasized by advocates. It is said to instil patriotism, to induce the individual to place the national above his personal interest and to sacrifice himself for his country. As offsets to this, however, military training is likely to lead to self-glorification. Many a man joins the army because he is too proud to do constructive work. Most people suffer terrible harm from military service. Whole nations have been poisoned and demoralized in thought by it. There are many evil influences around barracks life—drinking, social evil, etc. I have seen men who have burned out their eye and cut off their finger rather than serve. The state must also necessarily incur a very considerable economic loss. Social service, rather than military service, is the desired ideal. Such service, properly organized, would bring out all the good points of military service and eliminate the evils."

Walter E. Kruesi, who had experimented at Plattsburg, in replying to Dr. Mez, declared that while he was a pacifist he was not a non-resistant. He said in part:

"The mis-education spoken of by Dr. Mez was due to autocratic military training under a caste system and not to such democratic military training as is seen in Switzerland and Australia. The evil physical effects of such training are not evidenced in the United States except in the militia. There is little indoor exercise in such camps as Plattsburg. One does not see the old tight-fitting suits and brass buttons. In the Swiss system one rooms in his own house and, in the voluntary system, entirely under canvass. It is claimed that games would make a good substitute for military service, but the games as played in America generally take up a large amount of room, do not enlist the mass of people and, I believe, the cost of participation in the game may be shown to be higher than participation in military manoeuvre."

At Plattsburg, instead of enlisting people who are too proud to work or too lazy, the system there made it necessary to work fourteen or fifteen hours a day. Bad moral effects are generally observed in long service of a professional character where a person has too much time on his hand. In Plattsburg such immoral conditions as are supposed to surround camp life were not observable. One did see there a certain democracy, an unconventionality of relationship between one's fellow men, a comradeship based not upon the fatness of

one's pocketbook but upon one's worth. The administration was businesslike; the drill taught people quick action as well as an ability to take and to execute orders to the limit of one's power. It gave a distinct mental discipline; taught one to sink his own interest in order to obtain definite social results; developed fidelity to responsibility; made the soldier decide and execute quickly and to face problems squarely. A spirit of fairness and generosity prevailed as well as a spirit of simplicity derived from discipline."

Dr. Frank Bohn, the final speaker, declared that one of the most tragic things that has recently happened in America is that such sweet, intelligent souls as Mr. Kruesi should be carried away by this sort of spirit. He said that Plattsburg was not military training at all and described his first experience when serving as a soldier at the time of the Spanish-American War, when he was compelled, with the thermometer at 120 in the shade, to help carry and bury a dying mule.

He depicted the life of his fellow soldiers, their looting of saloons, the committing by them of every abnormality known to the human mind and declared that if the people of the United States knew of the conditions which actually existed in the army there would be an immediate revolt from them. Dr. Bohn continued:

"The purpose of education in the modern world is to train individuals to be strong in mind, body and spirit. Military discipline is based on self-abnegation. Plattsburg is not typical of the ordinary military service. In the army in this country we generally find that the officers come from West Point. They are selected from the upper middle class or well-to-do families of the Middle West and elsewhere and consider themselves an entirely different class than the enlisted men. Military service is the opposite of democracy. It is also bad education. We put in the same ranks men with good hearts and with bad hearts, with rapid minds and with slow minds, with long legs and short legs, and try to get each one to do the same thing. You can't educate people by putting them all in the same hopper. As far as physical training is concerned, one can obtain much better training by tramping with a group over hills into the country, and every good thing that is said in behalf of military training could be secured under co-operative labor."

Mr. Bohn also spoke of the great desire of those who were trained in the army to get into the real game of war. He said:

"Let militarism get a seat at the national table and it will eat us up. If you adopt the idea of Comrade Kruesi and have training without weapons, without machine guns, without banners and without nationalism, you won't have military training, you will have co-operation. Allow military training to get into the schools and you will find the youths wanting to play the game. Substitute democratic co-operative labor, communal music and a social spirit in place of universal military training and we will gradually arrive at real democracy."

In describing the Australian system and the Swiss system, Dr. Bohn declared that the Swiss system would not last fifteen minutes in case of any real attack of the country. He declared that a soldier could not be made in a few weeks; that it takes two years for real military discipline. In the discussion Dr. Mez declared that it was not true that the Germans did not go through Switzerland because of the universal military training found there, but because Belgium was a more strategic country for that purpose. The Belgians had a larger army than the Swiss, as well as a stronger fortress. He continued:

"The Swiss military training is becoming more and more Prussianized, for the officers are hobnobbing with the officers of other countries of Europe and are imbibing their autocratic spirit. Prior to the war there was a discontent in Switzerland, amounting almost to a revolution."

Dr. Edmund T. Dana pleaded for co-operative discipline without training in the art of killing people, which has as its aim the abolition of poverty, unemployment and ignorance.

In closing the discussion Dr. Bohn answered the objection that the United States should be China-ized or India-ized by giving attention to non-military pursuits. He said that the only possible country that would desire conquest in the United States was Japan, and that country had but \$13,000,000,000 of wealth as compared with between \$100,000,000,000 and \$200,000,000,000 in this country.

"The Japanese could land only about 30,000 troops at a time and it would take them two months longer before they could land another 30,000. The whole idea of a nation desiring to gobble the United States is preposterous."

H. W. L.

Public Lectures at Yale

ROBERT W. DUNN,

President of Yale Society for the Study of Socialism

A radical young girl from Syracuse once asked me why we didn't throw bombs at Yale. I replied that bomb-throwing was not a Yale tradition, that we have a Battalion here with orders to use guns against such violence, and finally it wouldn't be tactful. Which of these explanations of our docility impressed her most I never discovered. I do know, however, that my last reason truthfully told her why we do nothing out of the ordinary in New Haven. We practice nothing unusual, nothing sensational; in a word we are conservative. For conservatism, strange to say, is tact—that is, at Yale. It is also the synonym of success.

In arranging meetings under the auspices of the Yale Society for the Study of Socialism we employ the accepted channels of publicity. For to be freakish in our methods would be fatal. We

secure a date for our meeting on which are scheduled a few or no other college events. As soon as the speaker is definitely dated, a short announcement of the fact appears in the *News*, the college daily. One week before the address we hand in a little more copy on the man, his position, works and titles (if he has any). On the day of the address we give them a longer article, with perhaps a cut of the speaker at the top. We find it pays to be either on, or well acquainted with the Board of this college paper.

Four or five days prior to the meeting we tack up our three dozen posters, modestly-printed cards announcing the place, time, speaker and subject. These are placed on the boards, trees and fences about the campus. Two or three are put each in the Public Library and the New Haven Socialist Local. Sev-

enty-five to a hundred words on the meeting are mailed to each of the four city papers the night before the event. If the speech is on a subject which pertains particularly to some course given in the university, we have it announced in the class-room the day of the meeting. Personal work, of course, counts a lot. The nine members of our executive committee give invitations to everybody they meet on the day of the lecture. We emphasize the opportunity of hearing an informed and expert speaker discuss the subject announced.

No admission is charged at our meetings which are held in Lampson Lyceum, the second largest hall in the university. A collection is taken at the exit to help cover expenses. The meeting is con-

ducted as informally as possible. No professor introduces the speaker, our aim being to keep the meeting altogether free, informal and democratic. A period for heckling is allowed at the end, with the result that we invariably have to reward the janitor an extra four bits before we can empty the hall of the students, professors and townspeople who stay for more intense and interesting arguments with the speaker.

The size of our audiences has ranged from 150 to 550, the capacity of the hall. The student attendance is always in the majority, though the New Haven public is always a close second. It is not an easy task to get these audiences out. But as yet we have not resorted to bombs.

How Rutgers Seeks New Members

The following excellent letter was sent by the Executive Committee of the Rutgers Chapter to all of the students of Rutgers College, urging them to join the I. S. S. Chapter.

"The result," declares Gustav Patz, the secretary, "has been extremely gratifying."

It is to be hoped that other chapters may follow the example of Rutgers.

"Last March the Rutgers College Chapter of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society was formed with the object of studying the important problems of modern economics and politics. Our meetings are largely devoted to the study of Socialism, but we hope to include in our discussions many of the other chief problems of the day. Since our founding we have held three public lectures at Rutgers, addressed by John Spargo, Harry W. Laidler and Rose Pastor Stokes. When you realize the prominence of these lecturers you will see that our record in bringing good speakers to the college is unequalled by any other undergraduate organization. Our Chapter is backed by a strong central society having branches in more than seventy universities and colleges. We mean during the coming year to take full advantage of this splendid backing, and to make our meetings of vital interest to every member. We will have lectures by speakers of prominence from out of town as well as by

members of the faculty, and informal papers and discussions by the active members.

"We assume that you have already some interest in the great problems that confront the whole world to-day; for example, the war, strikes, labor organizations, unemployment, etc. Surely no educated person should be ignorant of the underlying causes of these things, and it is just such problems that we will discuss at our meetings. Moreover, there is no other undergraduate society that discusses such questions. Perhaps you have never thought seriously about Socialism; if not, we hope that you will read carefully the two pamphlets that are enclosed, "Why Study Socialism" and "Socialism and the Student"; we are sure that they will convince you that Socialism merits your attention at least. Our organization is non-partisan, and we want your membership, whether you favor or oppose the Socialist movement, or if you have formed no judgment of it, so that we may have every point of view represented.

"The dues are sixty cents a year, including membership in the central organization and the free receipt of the quarterly magazine and publications.

"Whether or not you expect to join, keep the evening of Wednesday, November 8, open, and attend our first regular meeting, which will be held on that evening at 7:30 P. M., in Prof. Barbour's room, Van Nest Hall. At that time we will be able to give you a fuller and more definite outline of our plans for the year, and shall be glad to answer any questions or discuss any point that you may wish to bring up."

Book Reviews

POVERTY AND RICHES. By Scott Nearing, Ph. D. Philadelphia: John C. Winston Company. \$1.00 net.

When a book does not appeal to you, your egoism is apt to find itself asking to whom it does appeal and why it was written. This "study of the industrial regime" kept me wondering, as I read it, what Dr. Nearing thought he was doing when he wrote it. The treatment of the economic relation between social classes is so elementary and "popular" that the student will find nothing in the book that he has not bitterly mulled over many times before. And if the book, on the other hand, is intended as a primer of radicalism, it is doubtful whether even the amateur will find his attention held very long. Is there really much place for books of economic radicalism which fall outside of these two classes—of the serious scientific work, like John A. Hobson's, or the literary and prophetic like G. Lowes Dickinson's? To which, of course, should be added pungent pamphleteering such as Benson's "Inviting War to America." Dr. Nearing's work is neither scientific, literary nor arousing. In fact, in its mixture of figures and poetry of analysis and exhortation, it leaves no very definite impression on the mind of any point of view, except a very vague and obvious need of "doing something." He may have hoped that his newspaper fame might persuade a sub-elementary public who had never heard the words "industrial democracy," or seen a social statistic. But personally I should like to get my first notion of the class struggle from some more clinching primer of social radicalism.

"Poverty and Riches" follows a conventional plan, passing swiftly over the development of the industrial system in England, the analysis of machine industry as it affects labor, and the too familiar social evils by which the worker is exploited and deprived of opportunity. There is a good discussion of the standard of living and of the inadequacies of the school system. But the conclusion is vague, and does not lead into that socialist exposition which one expects. Industrial democracy is scarcely a sufficiently

definite ideal, unbuttressed by the socialist philosophy of history and the economic class struggle. No book that I know of shows so clearly the unsatisfactoriness of a radicalism that does not eventuate in sound socialistic economics. Dr. Nearing hammers home the antithesis of his title with many a naive and dualistic illustration, showing the living conditions of the rich, set over against a similar situation for the poor. But how far do we get to-day with such an issue? The Hebrew prophets were full of this age-long iniquity of the exploitation of the poor. What we must do is to view the class struggle as fundamentally a conflict to socialize the economic surplus, which now, because of superior power, is diverted to the reward of capital, instead of to the community as a whole. To set poverty and riches helplessly confronting each other, with a vague ideal of industrial democracy for the neutral "public," is not encouraging. Dr. Nearing is a promising case, but he is still in the intellectual bogs. He has performed invaluable service in the way of rousing a public to criticise industrial institutions that they usually take for granted. He is a devoted worker, and has suffered persecution in the cause of freedom. But his talents seem to lie almost wholly in the field of social agitation. His writing lacks force and grace. It is not well coordinated, and seems to lack the compelling idea. He forgets that the technique of speaking is different from that of writing, and that a manner which would hold and stir an audience may fall flat and stale on the printed page.

RANDOLPH BOURNE.

NEW WARS FOR OLD. By John Haynes Holmes. N. Y.: Dodd, Mead & Co. \$1.50.

"New Wars for Old" is unique among peace books. John Haynes Holmes wastes no time in detailing the horrors of war. He devotes none of his pages to a prospective League of Peace. What he does is to attack force without reserve and preach non-resistance without reserve, first taking care to define the latter term.

In using the word non-resistance, he says:

"I accept none of those unfortunate and immoral implications of acquiescence, cowardice, feebleness, which the word seems inevitably to suggest. Non-resistance . . . means to me an essentially positive and aggressive state of mind and attitude. The true non-resistant is militant—but he lifts his militancy from the plane of physical, to the plane of moral and spiritual force."

He then proceeds to take up in turn the logic and the fallacies of force, the meaning, exemplars, and practicability of non-resistance, leading up to the point-blank question, is war ever justifiable?

Mr. Holmes declines to claim benefit of clergy and take refuge in the ethical and religious side of his case, but carries the war boldly into the enemy's camp with the discussion of practicability. He contrasts the experience of the non-resistant Quakers among the Indians, the non-resistant Bahaists among the Turks, with that of the Puritans on the one hand and the Armenians on the other. He does not dodge that trump card of belligerency, the old conundrum, "What would you do if a highwayman should attack your wife?" Even China, the last refuge of the preparedness advocate, he quietly claims as an argument for pacifism.

Socialists will miss certain elements that they have grown to think essential in a treatment of war. The economic aspect of the subject is frankly omitted. He says:

"I am convinced that war can never be abolished until the capitalistic system of domestic and foreign competitive exploitation is first abolished. But, as a student of human history and of human nature, I am also convinced that war can never be abolished, even under a Socialistic regime, until mankind is fronted right morally. These two questions are of equal importance. For my purpose in this book, I have chosen to separate them, and have deliberately chosen the latter for my discussion. Economic students, more competent than I, have discussed, and will continue to discuss, the former."

There is also not a trace in this book of the doctrine that we find even in Ruskin that modern wars are waged by the whole of society for the benefit of the capitalistic class.

Valid as are the author's reasons for omitting certain phases of the subject, it is to be regretted that these omissions prevent the book from being a complete setting forth of the problem of peace and

war. It is, moreover, in the argument form, and will therefore be accused of one-sidedness, notwithstanding the fact that the author has endeavored, with remarkable success, to give the enemy every advantage of exposition. The absence of page references, furthermore, detracts from the scientific value of the volume.

There is one place, and only one, where the idealist seems to waver a bit, in the footnote of page 262, where he consents to an international police force as a "compromise, shameful and yet necessary." Until it is applied to every nation of the world will not the international police force be merely an enlarged league of peace, and when that universal application is possible will not the period of compromise be past? And to the idealist is any shameful compromise ever necessary?

Possible criticisms are few, for those of us who have heard John Haynes Holmes's ringing words against war recognize in these pages the same fire and brilliancy, the same argumentative power that we know in his public speeches.

It is easy, however, to anticipate academic criticism. The book will be called sentimental, because it stands for peace. Keeness, logic and well-marshalled facts are always denominated sentimental when used in a humanitarian cause. It will also be declared that Mr. Holmes's arguments are adapted only to a changed human nature, notwithstanding the fact that all his examples are taken from real life among unchanged human nature, the Turk, the Indian and Bismarck himself.

To those members of the I. S. S. who have decided that the war against war must be without compromise, the book comes not only as an argument, but a call to action.

"If war swept down upon America as upon Russia in Manchuria and we remained faithful as did Leo Tolstoi, we might possibly have to suffer loss of freedom, of property, and in the last emergency of life itself."

The storm has already swept down our comrades in Great Britain, those of the I. L. P. and the No-Conscription Fellowship; 2,000 men in July, when the War Office cut off the news, were suffering imprisonment for the principles which this book upholds. If we in America do not wish to be left behind in the onward sweep of radicalism, it behooves us to give these

principles on non-resistance a careful hearing.

A paper edition of "New Wars for Old," to retail at twenty-five cents, is being considered. Any I. S. S. chapters that wish to bring about serious discussion of this important subject can help greatly by sending in advance orders to the publishers or the I. S. S. office.

JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN.

CAPITAL TO-DAY—A Study of Recent Economic Development. By Herman Cahn. N. Y.: Putnam's Sons. \$1.50.

Only the courageous reader will persevere in the perusal of this volume. The author very properly says in his Preface that "The dialectics of the first few chapters make somewhat difficult reading." But no doubt one should expect this in a volume which finds it "necessary to start with an exposition of the foundation of all knowledge." If there is anything more difficult to understand than the author's logic throughout the treatise, it is the basis for the gigantic conceit displayed *pari passu*. In the early chapter on "Economics, A Science," he shows that, aside from the Marxian conclusions, all economic theory is philosophical rather than scientific. In order to prove that Marx's work is scientific the author first sets forth the "missing feature in Marxism," namely, Dietzgen's theory of "what is correct thinking." Why this work of nearly fifty years ago should serve as a better basis than some recent treatise is not made clear. But this prepares the way for the following remarkable conclusions (p. 22): "Now, every student of Marx's *Capital* knows that there is not a sentence in the whole stupendous work not based, in concrete statement, on sense-perceptions, nor a single abstract statement which is not a generalization of those same sense-perceptions." Indeed the author is not satisfied to have Marx's work considered as ordinarily scientific, but must prove it extraordinarily so. Hence in comparison with geology which draws conclusions that cannot be tested by experiment, "every sense-perceived economic phenomenon treated or mentioned by *Capital* is capable of demonstration by actual experiment." In view of this exactness and finality in the treatment of

economic fundamentals the author wonders at the strange indifference to *Capital* on the part of academic teachers of economics. The explanation of this is found in the fact that philosophy is to capitalism what religion was to feudalism (p. 25) and hence "scientific economics never will be taught within the universities, while the state remains a class state, though millions may be familiar with its conclusions outside." Thus the author to his own satisfaction and probably to that of many of his readers proves that those academic teachers who do not accept Marxian economics are either knaves or fools and at the same time proves by indubitable evidence that he is a thorough-going dogmatist who has accepted *Capital* as his economic bible, the conclusions of which by their character of sacred truth are forever removed from further questioning, and may be taken as the premises of all subsequent thinking. Whether this be a scientific or a philosophical attitude, let the reader judge. Moreover, if all that Marx wrote was so indubitably proved, what ground could there conceivably be for a revisionist movement among his followers?

The foregoing will give a fair presentation of the general character of the book. It has much in it that is worthy of commendation, but mixed up, often in an illogical manner, with assertions that are purely dogmatic in character and theoretical statements that do not obviously lead to any broad general thesis. Throughout the devotion to Marx is complete; it is almost touching in places (p. 208). To such eulogy of his patron saint we may all assent, and yet wonder what it proves with reference to the author's contribution. It seems to have become a good deal of a fashion with some socialist writers to lambast the college professors. This brings gleeful satisfaction to a certain class of readers, tends to fix beliefs more firmly than would inductive proof and is a most excellent substitute in a treatise of a polemic nature for sound cogent argument.

In Chapter II a basis for subsequent discussion is laid by a presentation of the Marxian theory of value. The principal statements of this chapter will be familiar to students of socialism, and even to stu-

dents of economics, in spite of the author's sophomoric remark that "the validity of Marxian economics is not impaired because the universities choose to ignore its existence." To the reviewer the reasoning in this chapter does not seem perfectly logical. We may all pray for the day when values of commodities will be actually in proportion to the "socially necessary labor" involved in their production, but that this warrants the conclusion that the price of an article is different from its value is not clear. The author himself seems to be aware (p. 40-41) that the term "social" requires the estimate of society. Since this estimate may be actually far from the real labor time involved in the production and since this would simply mean that labor thought to be "socially necessary" was really not fully "socially necessary," but only partially so we get back to the old formula of supply and demand as determination of value and money price as merely a convenient measure. Consequently such statements as "Supply is not an element in the determination of value, but merely affects the temporary market price" (p. 100) are confusing and illogical.

Much that the author says in the chapters dealing with the theory of money is orthodox doctrine for both the counting room and the academic hall, but the author's drift is very hard to grasp and one continually finds himself dazed in an effort to discover how it is all related to a central theme and purpose. The chapter on money of account seems to the reviewer only vain imaginings. The author seems to think (pp. 123 and 188) that bank accounts originate in profits which are secured by robbing the workers. Capitalists are not the only persons who have money on deposit in banks. If wage-earners succeed in making such deposits, as thousands have, how did they get it? Here, of course, is involved the familiar thesis that labor produces all. But if so, why not destroy capital and have an end of such robbery? Would a socialist state dispense with capital? Would it give the entire product of industry to present labor or would it as a part of good business bookkeeping set aside not merely a replacement fund, but also an interest fund representing the legitimate return on publicly owned cap-

ital? If it didn't do the latter it would fail to do a very common-sense thing. Is not, after all, the real issue here, not whether labor produces all (which is so patently untrue as commonly used), but whether the private ownership of capital with the power thus conferred is expedient in comparison with the public ownership of such capital?

The later chapters, as the earlier ones, give considerable that is unquestioned as matter of fact along with theoretical matter that is difficult to seize as a thesis or body of doctrines. It would seem that on the whole the reading of this book is a waste of time. If the author has something new let him first set it forth in brief form as a clearly defined line of argument so that the ultimate significance of what he has to say may become manifest.

F. H. HANKINS,
Clark University.

THE "SOCIALISM" OF NEW ZEALAND. By Robert H. Hutchinson. N. Y.: New Review Publishing Association. \$1.

After eight months' tour in New Zealand, Mr. Hutchinson became convinced of the need of a new account of that country's institutions. As a result of her wonderful decade of progressive legislation, 1890-1900, in which she led the world, an Alpine glow of enthusiasm has suffused all writings on the subject. The hour has now struck, the author believes, for a revaluation of this progress. The country has come to the end of this era of so-called "socialistic" legislation, and now stands at a turning point where it becomes necessary to study anew her progressive adventures. He, therefore, takes up in turn the most salient reforms with the object of proving that while they worked a kind of revolution in transferring power from the large capitalists to the small farmer and city laborer, it was in no sense a real revolution since it left unchanged the economic and political structure of society, and unsolved the real problem of capital and labor.

He is much concerned over the fact that the general public, and also many writers, especially Henry D. Lloyd, ex-

told these measures as "Socialism," and he, therefore, seeks to enlighten his readers as to the difference between State-Socialism and Socialism, and the dangers of the former. This is a valuable service and well performed in his interesting resumé. In regard to Mr. Lloyd, however, it is only fair to say in passing, that his comprehension of the social phenomena of his era was far too profound to allow him to mistake New Zealand reform for "Socialism." He had grave fears that New Zealand might fail because she did not go far enough. "What has been done is merely an object-lesson." The whole labor situation in Australasia seemed to him to be very weak. He saw the country moving toward the same conflict with monopoly as the United States, but in combating it New Zealand would, he believed, have an enormous advantage as a result of this same progressive legislation.

The author devotes chapters to the railways, post and telegraph, and other state business, to the public debt and land administration, to industrial arbitration and conciliation, to woman suffrage, to social legislation and labor conditions. In all of these he gives the latest economic and political news and surveys it from the Socialist viewpoint. In his "Conclusions and Observations," he draws a discouraging picture, especially since the advent into power in 1913 of the Conservative or Reform Party, and their nullifying of much of this legislation, notably in the amendment to the arbitration act, whereby the country seems given over to strikes.

There is more or less repetition in the recital, which is, however, not always undesirable, except perhaps where a quotation is repeated on pages 101 and 137. One occasionally feels inclined to criticise the writer's logic, as in admitting under the book's title a chapter on "State Socialism and the War"; but especially in his failure to estimate New Zealand's progress as a necessary and valuable evolutionary phase. He admits that "the working-class of New Zealand is of a higher level materially and intellectually than perhaps any-

where else in the world," but in his reasons for this does not include any benefits accruing from their advanced social environment. CARO LLOYD.

THE HOUSE OF THE DEAD. By **Tyodor Dostoevsky.** From the Russian by Constance Garnett. N. Y.: Macmillan, 1915. \$1.50.

This translation of Dostoevsky's "House of the Dead," which forms the fifth volume of a comprehensive English edition of the great Russian novelist's masterworks, is not without its large significance to those who regard an ever-growing world-exchange of literary goods as an important factor in creating the "international mind." It has often been noticed with regret that Russian literature, which has been, for the last four decades, eagerly studied and deeply appreciated in Germany and France, has had practically no part in the literary life of the English-speaking countries. Even Tolstoi and Dostoevsky received but a cool reception among the general reading public, until the war aroused a sudden poignant interest in that enigmatical country, whose soul has not yet definitely chosen its hiding place between Europe and Asia.

"The House of the Dead," which first appeared in 1861-1862, records, behind a very thin veil of library make-up, Dostoevsky's own experiences during his four years' penal service in Siberia. The book is unique of its kind and deserves a prominent place in every Socialist's library. The microcosm of the convicts' camp reflects the social structure of the Russian empire with an astounding directness; and never has the wasteful and cruel destruction of human energy which characterizes our conventional penitentiary methods, been more powerfully arraigned. Dostoevsky was not a Socialist, however. Though he was, indirectly, through his new and bold conception of the outcasts of society, a most effective promoter of the Socialist movement, he personally adhered to a policy of non-resistance against evil. In his later political and philosophical writings he preaches, in contradiction to his earlier revolutionary activities, absolute acquiescence in the God-ordained rule

of the Czar, since he considers suffering and humiliation of the unruly individual will as essential for the formation of a truly Christ-like character.

At first thought, it seems paradoxical that Nietzsche, the prophet of the Superman, should have frequently referred to Dostoevsky's "House of the Dead" as supporting his own view of the criminal as a superior type of man. But such was the power of Dostoevsky's literary genius: his masterful portrayal of the greatness of human nature even in its lowliest specimens proved a source of inspiration to the Socialist as well as to the uncompromising individualist.

T. BÖHME.

FAKES IN AMERICAN JOURNALISM.

By Max Sherover. Buffalo, N. Y., Publishing Company. Price, 25c.

To those who still believe that the press of the country prints the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, on important public issues this pamphlet will be an eye-opener. In its hundred or so pages it gives photographic reproductions of many misleading and absolutely false headlines which have been printed, before and after the war, in many of the papers of the country, presumably with the idea of manufacturing a certain kind of public opinion.

If one wishes a clinching argument to prove the unreliability of at least many of our newspapers, especially during labor controversies and of the necessity for a press published by and in the interest of the common man, he can do no better than to read this monograph by a former newspaper man. The reader may not agree with all of the conclusions, but he cannot fail to be impressed by its telling facts.

H. W. L.

THE BROOK KERITH. By George Moore. New York, Macmillan. \$1.50.

There is a preliminary question to be considered before proceeding to the review of this book. Was it lawful to write it? The average church member

will say No! with emphasis. And besides the average church member will not go on reading after getting an inkling of what the story is about. And very naturally and properly, for the author has taken the reader's God and treated him in the story as though he were simply a man who, after being crucified, was revived and lived as a shepherd for a convent of Essenes on the hills of Judea.

In 1911 George Moore published a scenario for a drama in three acts called "The Apostle." Its hero is Paul, and the climax is brought about by Paul's killing Jesus to prevent the latter's going to Jerusalem to undo Paul's Gospel of the Resurrection. In the preface Moore tells the genesis of the play. Hatred of England during the Boer War drove him back to Ireland, the land of his birth. There he was impressed with the venality and superstition of the Catholic Church. "There is no heresy in Ireland; Ireland is as incapable of independent thought as Thibet: a sort of Western Thibet. And from that moment," he goes on to say, "I recognized Ireland as an essentially unreligious country and myself as one of the few Irishmen interested in religious questions." As a child of Catholic parents he grew up unacquainted with the Bible. In 1898 a friend gave him one as a Christmas gift. For the last eighteen years it has been his constant companion and chief literary interest. He approached it as a man of letters and as one interested in religious problems. He fell in love with Paul—the Knight of the Rueful Countenance as he calls him—and the notes for the drama, "The Apostle," were the first fruits of his new interest.

"The Brook Kerith" is a closely printed volume of nearly five hundred pages, in which are no quotation marks, and the conversations are printed without a break in the long paragraphs. This is somewhat confusing at first, but one soon gets reconciled to it, and the effect is to give a Biblical and archaic flavor to the composition.

In the first part of the book the hero is Joseph of Arimathea, the son of a rich fish dealer in Magdala who was willing to give up all to become a disciple of

Jesus, the prophet of Galilee, but not the forsaking of his aged father. It is Joseph who, having got from Pilate the body of Jesus who had been but three hours on the cross, where death does not usually supervene till the third day, and who nursed him back to life. Jesus goes back to the little group of Essenes whom he had left to undertake his career as prophet, and resumed once more the care of their flock. Joseph now passes from the scene, having been killed in Jerusalem, and the latter half of the book depicts very beautifully the shepherd life of Jesus in the hill country until one day Paul, a wandering traveller, seeks the shelter of the monastery. When Jesus discovers what Paul's career has been as herald of the risen Jesus, he endeavors to undeceive him, but in vain. Paul thinks him a madman and not his Jesus who rose from the dead and became the Christ. Then "a great pity for Paul took possession of Jesus as he listened to the story. Were I to persuade him that there was no miracle, his mind would snap, Jesus said to himself, and he figured Paul wandering demented through the hills." The outcome is that Paul goes back to Caesarea for his journey to Rome, and the last we see of Jesus he is about to join a company of monks on their way back to India.

If we admit that it is not improper to write a book with such a theme, there is this to be said—that the work has been done as successfully as perhaps was possible under the circumstances. There is consummate art in the way the oriental contemporaneous atmosphere is suggested. The scenery, the modes of thought, the manners and customs, are depicted with a master hand. Slips there are, of course, but surprisingly few, and if the story dealt with the hero of some other religion than our own, say, Buddha, or Mohammed, the due mead of appreciation and recognition would not be withheld. In the Christian world, however, it must perforce be anathema.

CHAS. P. FAGNANI.

Union Theological Seminary.

INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS IN SPRINGFIELD, ILL. Part of the Springfield Survey, made through the Department of Surveys and Exhibits, Russell Sage Foundation.

This survey of industrial conditions in a typical American city is in every sense typical. Its facts, the point of view from which those facts are enumerated, are typical of those who believe that the pressing reforms in modern life can be adequately furnished by benevolent legislation under a capitalistic organization of society.

There can be nothing but praise for the thoroughness with which the investigators have done their work, from their particular angle of approach. The facts they disclose are not pleasant to contemplate, but they are the facts which even a superficial observer of modern life has come to visualize. For instance, it is interesting, but not eye-opening, to know that at least half the industrial accidents in Springfield within the past five years were avoidable; that the various benevolent laws of Illinois are almost nullified by lax or openly corrupt administration; that fire hazards and occupational diseases are prevalent; that workmen's compensation is helpful more in theory than in practice.

Still interesting, but not eye-opening, is it to know that children under fourteen do work, and that all ages of children work illegally long hours; that irregularity of employment is ever strongly present, though the survey was made in so-called "boom" times; that, although a miner earned \$5.00 a day and other mine laborers earn \$2.75 a day, irregularity of employment throughout the year reduces these figures to an average of \$3.25 and \$1.85 a day; that, despite the skilled nature of the work, despite the fact that these men are almost entirely so-called "Americans" (81 per cent. of Springfieldians being native-born and 6 per cent. negroes), despite the high degree of organization among these men, the average yearly income of a mine worker's family does not rise above \$600—several hundred dollars short of the various estimates of the income needed in a working-class family to maintain a decent standard of living.

Nor is it any more eye-opening than interesting to learn that in those marvels of modern efficiency known as "Five and Ten Cent Stores" the average wage was \$4.50 per week; that many and miscellaneous classes of working people were compelled to work every day in the week; that in four-fifths of the working-class families the chief wage-earner is so poorly paid that the family must rely upon the assistance of its other members—usually, of course, children; that 10 per cent. of absolutely normal families visited had been compelled to seek assistance from some form of charity.

No, the significance of this survey of industrial conditions arises, not from the facts disclosed, but from the light furnished as to the remedies to be adopted. The question is that of reforms to be granted to the lower classes by the upper classes versus reforms to be achieved by the lower classes for and by themselves. Aside from the principle involved, the material evidence adduced on this question by the survey before us is all in one direction. That direction is towards the greater and greater increase in power of the proletariat. For instance, in practically every industry in Springfield where trade unions were powerful, the lot of the workers was better than in those where the workers were safeguarded only by

benevolent legislation. Women in Illinois are supposedly protected by legislation far in advance of that provided by most States east of the Mississippi, and yet the legislation-protected women in Springfield were under far worse conditions than the union-protected men. Springfield is an excellent example of the results of economic benevolent despotism, and the results cannot hold a candle to the results of economic democracy.

From the capitalistic point of view which directs the mind of the Russell Sage Foundation staff, their survey was complete when it covered the condition of the employees. Along with the wages paid the shop-girls should have gone the profits amassed by the department store owners. Along with the number of rooms occupied by the miners' families should have gone accounts of the mansions of the mine-owners. One hundred working-class families were studied intensively. Is it too much to ask that an intensive study should have been made also of one hundred capitalist families? At least, such a request opens up pleasant mental vistas. For one thing, the investigators on their rounds would probably have been told, and in no uncertain terms, to attend to their own affairs.

BERTRAM BENEDICT.

The Real Logic of Pacifism

A REPLY TO MISS HUGHAN

It is with considerable regret that I take issue with Jessie Wallace Hughan on her *Logic of Pacifism*, since my position on armaments is exactly the same as hers—total disarmament, regardless of what other nations may do.

In recognition of the principle of economic determinism, no doubt, and with the knowledge of course, that it is the capitalistic interests of the nation which demand armaments, Miss Hughan attempts to prove that it would be to the economic interest of the capitalist class to favor disarmament. For the United States, being no longer a capital-absorbing nation, offers no market to foreign capital and therefore presents no economic incentive for foreign attack. Now, when a grocer has a competing grocery in the next block, he wishes to exterminate his competitor not for the customer he may thus gain in his vanquished rival but in order that he may gain that rival's customers for himself. In like manner, though the United States may not in itself offer a market for foreign capital, it has its own foreign custo-

mers which conquest would assure to the conquerors.

Nevertheless, I do not believe we need greatly fear foreign conquest. The day is past when one nation can deliberately and wantonly declare war for the express purpose of conquest. We see in Europe each nation at war going before its own people and the people of the neutral world in an eager attempt to justify its own conduct. Each nation denounces the other for "aggression" in order that its own actions may appear pure and necessary and thus command the support of its citizens. With what show of logic could any nation maintain that it was compelled to go to war to defend itself from the aggression of a *totally unarmed nation*? What would be such a nation's chances of getting the support of its own people and what nation to-day could fight a war—especially such a difficult one as a conquest of the United States would entail—without the support of its citizens?

Yet let us suppose the dire calamity as having

come to pass—foreign invasion. As a Socialist, a class conscious proletarian, what have I or any other worker to fear? Since war is commercial and economic and since workers have no economic interest besides their jobs, what have they to lose? Should a foreign nation invade and conquer this country and gain control of all its industries, it would still need workers to operate those industries—since its sole object in getting control would be to garner unto itself the surplus product of the workers' toil. Therefore the workers' jobs would be safe and why should they care whether they are exploited by American or German or Japanese capitalists? For all the worker knows, the stock of the corporation for which he labors may to-day be owned by foreign capitalists, and if such is the case—which it undoubtedly is in many cases—that worker is in essentially the same position as he would be should foreign invasion and conquest come.

But for our "American liberty"—what of that? Do we wish our democratic form of government trampled under foot and the autocratic despotism of Russia, or the militaristic rule of Germany substituted? Do we wish to be subjects of heathen Japan? O horrible reflection! O direful consideration! And yet of such kindergarten fears it is that patriot slaves are made! Surely all enlightened people to-day realize that political conditions are but the reflex of existing economic and social conditions—that capitalistically developed United States, France and England demand a democratic form of government just as feudalistic Russia demands an extensive autocratic nobility and Germany, but freshly capitalistic, is but just outgrowing the autocracy of her recent feudalistic days. Then whence the fear that a foreign conqueror would attempt the childishly futile task of imposing an outgrown form of

government on capitalistic United States, thus confusing and restricting economic output and curtailing the profits in search of which he undertook the conquest?

Now let us consider the effects of disarmament on the United States in time of peace. The foregoing paragraphs have considered simply the possibilities of foreign attack and its effects on the working class if such an attack should come. Let us now assume that the United States is allowed to go her way in peace, unarmed and undefended—what then? Undoubtedly the very earliest result of disarmament would be a tremendous, unprecedented commercial panic. Without the moral and potential physical support of a strong navy to back up its commercial aggressions, foreign trade would languish and die; our tremendous economic surplus would accumulate and the usual panic from such conditions would result. Economists all look ahead to the day when all nations shall be capitalistically developed, each producing its own surplus—the world then being in the position of several washerwomen trying to live by taking in each other's washing. By disarming a nation we can artificially force it into the position it would find itself in when that final capitalistic stage should be reached. And what then? Well, as Socialists, we, of course, can see but one solution: the elimination of the production of the fatal surplus through the establishment of the Socialist co-operative commonwealth.

There is an economic logic to pacifism—but not of a sort to appeal to the capitalist class. This, however, should cause us but little concern, in view of the fact that the main issue which we are agitating has little economic attraction to that class. Let us be pacifists, let us be logical pacifists—but let our logic be really logical.

Denver, Colorado.

HARRY ADLER.

I. S. S. Notes

In the untimely passing of our comrade Jack London our Society has lost one of its pioneers, our first president, and for a long time our earnest friend and helper. In our first year, he wrote with Upton Sinclair one of our earliest leaflets: "What Life Means to Me." In that same year he made a lecture trip across the continent under our auspices, during which he began by startling the serenity of the University of California and ended by delivering the famous "London shock" to conservative Yale. During his last years his efforts have mainly been directed to his literary work, but he was still young, and our

Society might well have expected a renewal of his help in later years. His own words best testify to his ardent belief in the Society's work.

"I went to the University," declared London at Yale. "I found the University in the main, practically wholly so, clean and noble, but I did not find the University alive. I found that the American University had this ideal, as phrased by a professor in the Chicago University, namely: 'The passionless pursuit of passionless intelligence'—clean and noble, I grant you, but not alive enough And the reflection of this University ideal I find in the conservatism and unconcern of the American people who are suffering, the people who are in want. And so I became interested in an attempt to arouse in the minds of the

young men of our universities an interest in the study of Socialism. . . . We do not desire merely to make converts. . . . If collegians cannot fight for us, we want them to fight against us—of course, sincerely fight against us. But what we do not want is that which obtains to-day and had obtained in the past of the university, a mere deadness and unconcern and ignorance so far as Socialism is concerned. Fight for us or fight against us. Raise your voices one way or the other; be alive. That is the idea upon which we are working."

Since our last issue, our brilliant Inez Milholland Boissevain has passed on, having fallen exhausted on the field of the woman's suffrage campaign. The Executive Committee wishes hereby to express its tribute to her valued and earnest work for the Society both at Vassar and Princeton, as well as in New York, and their appreciation of her ardent, self-sacrificing devotion to other good causes for which she gave her life. They desire to testify also to that attachment and admiration which all of us who knew her felt and which make her going a personal loss.

TRIP OF ROSE PASTOR STOKES

Letters from Rose Pastor Stokes give interesting glimpses of the field for I. S. S. work in Southern colleges. Starting in at Baltimore, Mrs. Stokes went to Goucher. Here she found great enthusiasm among the girls, although prior to her arrival this had been dampened by their learning that they would not be permitted to organize a Chapter. A very successful meeting was held in the large hall, the President of the college cordially introducing Mrs. Stokes, and several influential college officials who came to sit in judgment remaining through and proving favorable. Mrs. Stokes found the students very keen and interested. That evening there was held an informal discussion with the alumni Chapter on worth-while topics, such as the relation of Socialism to capitalistic social reforms, of the radical social worker to charity. The discussion struck deep and at the end three of the four or five outsiders present joined the Chapter.

In Washington, the meeting in the Library was highly successful. The hall was crowded, and the audience full of a responsive good nature.

The next lecture was at Howard. Both here and at Randolph Macon much interest was awakened, some of which, however, is not perhaps quite ripe for definite organized work. In Richmond Mrs. Stokes had a hearing at the Trades and Labor Council before about 40 members.

The Sunday afternoon meeting at Richmond was surprisingly large considering the reputa-

tion for conservatism the city enjoys. There were "Eastsiders, Westsiders, suffragists, educators, Catholics, Jews, atheists." The meeting started at a few minutes after three and did not break up till after six.

MR. LAIDLER'S TRIP

Harry W. Laidler, organizing secretary, visited a number of the colleges of Pennsylvania and New York during the last two weeks of November. In Pennsylvania State College he addressed five meetings, of which four were before combined economics and sociology classes. At the open meeting, at which James H. Maurer, president of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor presided, a group of more than thirty students joined the reorganized Chapter at the college. B. F. Krumrine, was elected temporary chairman and Calvin C. Cope temporary secretary.

On November 16 Mr. Laidler spoke at the University of Pittsburgh before Professor Wright's and Professor Tyson's classes in economics and sociology on "The Municipality" and "The Family" and under the joint auspices of the Socialist Study Club and the International Polity Club on "The Worldwide Co-operative Movement."

The Chapter at "Pitt" has this Fall conducted a number of splendid meetings, including one for Lincoln Steffens, and one at which candidates representing the Republican, Democratic and Socialist parties discussed the issues of the campaign. G. F. Piazza is president and J. J. Paglin secretary. A. Epstein is still doing his usual active work in behalf of the society.

On Saturday, the 17th, the Pittsburgh Alumni Chapter was formally organized at the Hotel Henry. Isador Ladoff was selected chairman and Dr. I. Williams secretary.

On Sunday afternoon Mr. Laidler spoke in the Academy Theater, Pittsburgh, under the auspices of the Socialist local on "The City—Its Present and Future," and proceeded on Monday to Grove City College, where he addressed Professor Brown's class in economics on "The Ideals and Achievements of Modern Socialism" and the college body at chapel exercises on "Socialism and War." Professor Brown, Professor Carl Doxsee and others are assisting in the organization of a Chapter at this college. At Alleghany College an address was given Tuesday night at the regular monthly dinner of the Current Problem Class.

At Buffalo Mr. Laidler spoke on Thursday at the Buffalo Seminary before the college body and on Friday addressed two of

the economics classes of Professor Wm. Kirk and Professor Meyer Jacobstein at the University of Rochester. Here a Chapter was reorganized with E. D. Salmon as temporary secretary. At noon the organizing secretary also addressed some of the social workers of Rochester on "The Boycott in Labor Disputes."

Friday evening a talk was given before the Bankers' Institute of Syracuse on "Some Reform Methods of Distribution." Lectures on "Socialism and the Labor Movement" were delivered Saturday morning, November 25, before Professor Roman's economic classes at the University of Syracuse and on Saturday evening a strong Chapter was reorganized at that University, with Messrs. Christian and Milner as temporary officers.

On Monday morning there were further

lectures on "Physical Aspects of Socialism" and on "Financial Aspects of Socialism" before the economics classes at Syracuse University and on Monday evening Mr. Laidler held forth at Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y., on "Social Reform and Socialism" under the auspices of the Economics Department.

The final lecture of the trip was that at Cornell on Tuesday evening, November 28, subject, "The Socialist Challenge to the Collegian." G. A. Gerber presided at the meeting and about twenty members joined the Chapter following the address.

In Buffalo and Syracuse conferences were held regarding alumni Chapters. In all, the trip proved most successful. Everywhere a marked increase in interest in Socialism was evinced.

College Notes

NEW ENGLAND COLLEGES.

Eugene A. Krauss, secretary of the *Yale Chapter*, reports the addition of a group of new members, bringing the total to 57. At the November meeting Mr. James R. Brown spoke on Single Tax.

The Chapter at *Clark University* progresses slowly but surely. W. J. Barr, secretary, reports a membership of 25, of whom 5 are socialists. Rev. Beals of Worcester recently lectured on "The Relation of Socialism to Christianity." Harry W. Laidler is scheduled to speak before the Chapter in December.

MIDDLE ATLANTIC STATES

The C. C. N. Y. Chapter is flourishing. "More than two and a half times as many attended public and private meetings as in any previous term," writes the secretary, J. Liebshtein. Three study meetings have been held with total attendance of 100 on "The New Unionism," "The Class Struggle" and "Socialism and Science." The November meeting was addressed by Gardner L. Harding on "Socialism and Social Reform in China." A series of weekly meetings on labor legislation by representatives of the American Association for Labor Legislation is being planned.

The year's work in the spirited Rutgers College Chapter has been considerably delayed by the postponement in the opening of college and the 150th anniversary celebration. There are 25 members and a definite prospect of more. The I. S. S. pamphlets, "Why Study Socialism" and "Socialism and the Student," are being distributed. The President, Harry L. Janeway, '17, has been elected member of the Student Council of the general society, and will co-operate with the Executive Committee whenever possible. Wm. Patz, '18, is

vice-president and Gustav Patz, '17, is secretary-treasurer. "We are looking forward," he writes, "to a successful year and in spite of the conservatism here we hope to make good. Our speakers of last year caused much favorable comment." I. B. Glackman, '17, and Robt. Allen, '19, are members of the executive committee. This year we drew up a form letter and distributed this, together with two pamphlets, among the members of the entering class. The result has been extremely gratifying, a remarkable spirit being shown in the men we have thus been able to reach."

A re-election of officers in the Carnegie Institute of Technology on account of the resignation of Pres. Schutz and absence of Harry Alpern has resulted in the election of Carl C. L. Greiner President, A. M. Cooper Vice-President and N. E. Horlick, Secretary-Treasurer.

"*Howard University Chapter* is starting an energetic campaign for new members through distribution of the magazine and other literature," writes Wm. H. Foster, student in the College of Medicine. Dr. Parks is an ardent supporter. A lecture by Rose Pastor Stokes has been arranged.

The president of the *University of Pittsburgh Chapter*, A. Epstein, writes: "I was fortunate enough to secure Mr. Lincoln Stefens to address the club on Mexico and we had a splendid meeting. The attendance was above the 200 mark and practically all the faculty members of the School of Economics as well as of the other schools were present. Several classes were dismissed and the whole body came over to our meeting."

MIDDLE WEST

The success hoped for from the University of Wisconsin Chapter has so far been amply fulfilled. Officers have been elected and there

are 25 members, with more coming in. Olof Flood is secretary. Regular meetings are opened by an interpretation of one of the lessons of the Rand School course on Socialism. In October they had a picnic and a public meeting when Dan Hoan spoke to 300 on "Trust Busting." The Chapter is sending a delegate to the Convention.

Benj. Steinhardt has been appointed secretary of the *Valparaiso Chapter* in place of Bryce Swartfager, resigned. The fine lecture by John C. Kennedy is to be followed by one by Scott Nearing on "Americanism" and one by Carl D. Thompson. A Sunday afternoon class for the study of Socialism has been organized at which "Socialism, Its Growth and Outcome," by William Morris and Belfort Bax, is used as a textbook. This is supplemented by reports from class members on historical and economic topics.

Dues and requests for more application blanks come from the John Marshall Law School Chapter, Chicago, through the secretary, Killam Foster.

The efforts of Isador Lubin, formerly of Clark College, now of the University of Missouri, have been successful. A chapter has been enthusiastically organized, 32 joining. A most successful year is expected. The officers are: President, Isador Lubin; Vice-President, W. M. Asquith; Secretary-Treasurer, Miss Loretta Funky.

The *Ann Arbor, Mich., Chapter* reports progress. Esther Robinson is secretary. There will be a banquet of the Chapter within a few weeks, at which letters will be read from former active students. It looks as if the University of Michigan Chapter will again forge ahead as the most prominent of the I. S. S. organizations. Lincoln Steffens delighted a large audience under the auspices of the Chapter a few weeks ago.

PACIFIC COAST

The 25 members of *Reed College Chapter* are planning to have several program meetings at which various radicals of Portland will speak.

ALUMNI CHAPTERS

An interesting letter from Alfred F. Bosch of the *Cleveland Alumni Chapter* declares that the spirit of organization has again come to the fore in the Chapter, after a temporary lapse.

"I am going to make it my task to pick up the loose ends and see what can be done with them. . . . I hope that in a few weeks you will hear from me. I believe that the I. S. S. has a great mission and I am with the organized group to the last. They have fought a good fight, especially at the beginning, when we were not yet respected, and deserve the earnest support of all those who are sincere about this movement."

The *Wilkes-Barre Chapter* is planning some form of local research work.

Plans are under way for an alumni chapter at Pittsburgh.

The *Detroit Alumni Chapter* has been reorganized with a membership of 20, and prospects seem bright for an active year, according to the report of Joseph Selzer, Secretary.

The New York Alumni Chapter held thus far this year two excellent meetings during the month of November. The first, on Nov. 2, on "Does Universal Military Training Educate?" was addressed by Dr. Frank Bohn, Dr. John Mez and Walter E. Kruesi. On Thursday, November 16, Algernon Lee, who represented the United States as a delegate at the Socialist Neutral Conference, dealt with the Socialist peace proposals in an intensely interesting lecture. The December lecture was held Thursday, December 7, at Miss Stokes's Studio, 90 Grove Street, "Should a Radical Oppose or Favor the Proposed League to Enforce Peace?" Dr. George W. Nasmyth defended this League while others in the audience showed certain possible flaws. Crystal Eastman presided.

The tentative program for the remainder of the year is as follows:

January 3—"The Socialist and a Policy for the Orient." Speaker, Gardner L. Harding, author of "Present Day China."

January 18—"A Socialist Policy Toward South America and Europe." Speaker, Louis B. Boudin.

February 8—"What Should Be the Next Steps in Municipal Ownership?" Speaker, Evans Clark and others.

February 21—"The Eight Hour Day." Speakers, Mrs. Florence Kelley and Joe Cannon (probably).

March 8—"A Sane Immigration Policy for the U. S." Speaker, Dr. Frederic C. Howe.

March 21—"Recent Labor Battles." Speakers, John A. Fitch of the *Survey*, Chester M. Wright of the *New York Call* and others.

April 5—"Compulsory Arbitration in Labor Disputes." Speaker, Robert W. Bruere.

April 18—"Our Prison System and the Labor Problems." Speakers to be announced later.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, of The Intercollegiate Socialist, published bi-monthly, excepting June, July, August, September, at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1916.

State of New York,
County of New York.

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Alice Kuebler Boehme, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the Business Manager of The Intercollegiate Socialist and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and

belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in Section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, Intercollegiate Socialist Society, 70 Fifth Ave., New York City. Editor, Harry W. Laidler, 70 Fifth Ave., New York City. Managing Editor, Harry W. Laidler, 70 Fifth Ave., New York City. Business Manager, Alice Kuebler Boehme, 70 Fifth Ave., New York City.

2. That the owners are: Intercollegiate Socialist Society, 70 Fifth Ave., New York City. Membership approximately 2,000. The principal officers are: President, J. G. Phelps Stokes, 88 Grove St., N. Y. C.; 1st Vice-President, Florence Kelley, 289 Fourth Ave., N. Y. C.; 2nd Vice-President, Ernest Poole, 130 E. 67th St., N. Y. C.; Treasurer, Mary R. Sanford, 90 Grove St., N. Y. C.

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Alice Kuebler Boehme.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 17th day of October, 1916.

Walter C. Campbell, Notary Public,
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