

THE WORKERS' CALL.

"Workingmen of all countries unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to gain."

VOL. 1, NO. 7.

CHICAGO, ILL., APRIL 22, 1899.

PRICE ONE CENT.

100,000 MORE

Need for More Butchers to Slaughter Philipinos.

WHOLESALE MURDERERS NEEDED

General Lawton Says More Men Are Needed in the Philippines—Savage Character of the War Now Being Carried on There—Training Men for Labor Troubles.

General Lawton has just expressed himself to a newspaper correspondent in the Philippines to the effect that 100,000 more men are needed there at once. He is an experienced Indian fighter, says the Daily News, "and is meeting the same kind of warfare in the Philippines. He says that not only are 100,000 men needed to put down the rebellion, but that all the cities captured must be garrisoned and held."

Come to think it over, there must be something more than a "little individual dissatisfaction among insignificant malcontents" over there. If we are not mistaken, this is a little over twice as many troops as King George sent here at one important period in our history to suppress a movement that we have dignified by the name of REVOLUTION. There are some things that this indicates that are worth our attention. It means that hundreds more of the helpless Filipinos will be mowed down by machine guns before they are civilized. They cannot see that "manifest destiny" has decided that capitalism must spread, and that they are in its way.

What though the guns of Americans slay their tens of thousands where the Spaniards slew their thousands? American capitalist methods are superior at all points. American machines run faster than those of other countries, her factories produce more, her buildings are higher, her industries are more concentrated, her legislatures more corrupt, her laborers more exploited than those of any other country, and it would be a shame if she should not be able to slaughter savages in more improved ways than the clumsy armies of the effete monarchies of Europe.

Will she get the 100,000 men? Certainly. For, in spite of prosperity, there are enough poor, half-starved fellows who are willing to be cannon fodder and eat "embalmed beef" and run the risk of fever to escape the worse hell at home than would supply a far larger army than the one called for.

More than all this, these soldiers, having been trained far from home, will have lost all sense of class solidarity and will express less reluctance in shooting down their fellow workmen who grow rebellious under the yoke of capitalism. They will thus serve as a means of suppressing "domestic insurrections" and will make still more bloody our Hazeltons, our Panas, our Virdens. A machine gun like a factory machine, is no respecter of persons and will mow down with equal facility the naked Filipino savage, fighting for political liberty and the starving American laborer fighting for economic liberty.

Just how well they are being trained for this duty is shown by the following extract taken from a letter to the Chicago Chronicle by a soldier in the Philippines. Read it in all its horrible, hellish brutality and then think of the civilizing influence such men must have upon the poor savage Filipinos.

"They fought bravely, which, to be frank, I didn't expect of them, but they were up against too strong a game, even if they did outnumber us four to one. Very few of them got nearer than 150 yards from us, and those who did get that near never went back again. Their charge and retreat took no more than fifteen minutes in our front—but in that time the ground was literally covered with dead.

"After having beaten back the natives' advance you can imagine how anxious we were to charge them in return; so when the artillery ceased firing with a whoop and a yell we went over the trenches and started for the insurgents' lines. We held our fire almost till we reached their trenches and then opened on the natives behind them, firing from the magazine six shots in three seconds. They saw their game was up, so they scattered. There was no orderly retreat, but a flying mob, and as they flew we pumped lead into them. The trenches were filled with them, dead and dying.

FOURTEENTH LOSES HEAVILY.

"It was at the second line of trenches that the Fourteenth lost so heavily. They charged into a line of trenches shaped like a V and were mowed down by a cross fire. They got their revenge, for scarcely a native got out of those trenches alive. Losing so many men made the Fourteenth boys desperate, and they would have charged into a blazing furnace just then. There were about 150 natives in the trenches directly in front of K troop. When we went over their embankment and jumped their trench some of them were still firing as we got to their ditch, and some had just commenced to run, firing as they went. I was in the right platoon, and the left got to the trenches just a little in advance of us, so the

natives just in front of us were shooting in the left platoon. I had reloaded my magazine on the run just before we got to their ditch, so I was good and ready. As I jumped on top of their embankment, the first thing I saw was a little bunch of six of them shooting into our other platoon, and I emptied my carbine into them as fast as I could pull the trigger. They were huddled together and I got five of them. They were less than twenty feet away, so it was no wonder. I dropped into their ditch, laid down while I filled my carbine again, and when I finished, in less than fifteen seconds, and started after them again, they were all on the run.

"In the excitement of a fight, how one glories in seeing his man drop when he pulls the trigger!"

Talk of the beastly ferocity of the African head hunters and Sioux Indian—but then they did not have the advantages offered by modern mechanical appliances to make such refined fiends of themselves.

"Lord of our far-flung battle line," is it not an occasion for thanksgivings and te deums that such incarnated devils of blood-thirstiness have been made out of peaceful laborers in so short a time to "carry the blessings of a Christian civilization" to the benighted savages in the island of the sea and then to shoot it into them if they will not take it any other way?

As General Shafter said, when in this city a few days ago: "The result will be that the campaign now in progress must be pressed to the end and the honesty of our purpose hammered into the natives by the use of powder and bullets."

"I have even said that it may be necessary to kill half the Filipinos in order that the remaining half of the population of the islands may be advanced to a higher plane of life than their present semi-barbarous state affords."

And this is the war that was started in the name of humanity, and which to say a word against six months ago was to subject the speaker to the danger of mob violence.

It may be said without one particle of exaggeration that, although previous ages may have shown greater barbarity and more relentless wars of conquest, it is mortally certain it has remained for this wholesale raid of capitalism to excel all the previous ages in lying hypocrisy and sniffling, sickening cant while engaged in a brutal war of plunder.

That Increase in Wages.

The loud heralding by the capitalist press throughout the country of an "increase in wages" in the cotton mills of New England, is one of the most impudent lies ever resorted to by the capitalist class for its own bamboozling purposes. Supplemented as it is by the incredibly bold assertion that this so-called increase is a restoration of the schedule of 1897, it dwarfs any other colossal fake in this age of fakes. The cold facts are as follows:

An average reduction of 13½ per cent was made in 1897, and followed in January, 1898, by a further reduction of 19½ per cent, making a total reduction of 33 per cent. Or, to put it in other terms, wages, after those two reductions, were only 67 per cent of the previous wages. In order to re-establish the rates prevailing in 1897 before the first reduction, an increase of nearly 50 per cent (in exact figures 49.26 per cent) upon the present rates would therefore be necessary (since 49.26 per cent of 67 equals 33).

Now, the utmost that is claimed by any employer is that his new schedule will increase the present wages from 5 to 10 per cent. In other words, that it will raise wages from the present 67 per cent to 70 or 74 per cent of what they were in 1897, leaving them still from 26 to 30 per cent lower than they were before the reduction.

But even this claim is in most cases absolutely fraudulent, and instead of an increase, ever so small, there is an actual reduction. I use the term "fraudulent" in its most literal sense, for the tricks resorting to in defrauding the operatives are really criminal. Not only the new goods, upon which it is falsely represented that better wages can be made, are found to embody more labor for less money, but in the case of unchanged work the "cuts" are surreptitiously lengthened in even greater proportion than the wages are said to be advanced. This "cut" measure acts in the cotton mills the part that the "devil" acts in the mines as an instrument of downright robbery. For instance, the workers engaged on a certain grade of goods were until yesterday paid 25 cents per "cut," and the "cut" was understood to be 50 yards. Now 27 cents are paid, but it is found that the "cut" has been lengthened to 57 yards, for which, at the rates of yesterday, the workers would have received 23½ cents.

In the light of such facts as these, the phenomenon of a "strike against an increase of wages" is no longer puzzling.

L. SANIEL.
—In The People.

Any one receiving a copy of this paper who is not a regular subscriber need not fear that any bill will be sent. Either it is only a sample copy or someone has paid for you. If the number is marked "Sample Copy" will you not please read it carefully, and if satisfactory remit us your subscription.

Are YOU still hesitating for subscribers?

AN HONEST COUNCIL

The Course of Development in the Government of Cities.

A STUDY IN CAPITALIST MORALITY

So-called Honest Government But a Necessary Step in the Attainment of Capitalist Ends—Origin of the Demand That the Good Citizen Enter Politics.

The recent announcement, with a long sigh of relief by the capitalist press, that the Chicago city council was organized on an "honest basis" is interesting to a socialist because it is another indication that capitalism has reached a certain stage of development which was attained some few years earlier in England and on the continent of Europe, but through which we seem destined to go with characteristic American rush.

If we go back a few years we shall find the same complaints of wholesale municipal corruption in other countries as have lately caused such spasms of horror to run up and down the capitalist spine of this country. Now history has shown that there is a remarkably delicate nerve connection between the capitalist conscience and his pocket book, and whenever there is a violent disturbance in the former it is well to search the latter for the exciting cause.

When the competitive system was at its height and the capitalist class were simply engaged in a "free for all" scramble for plunder—while the prizes went to him who first discovered some "material opportunity" (which simply means a different manner of exploiting labor)—and especially while these opportunities were sufficiently numerous so that each large capitalist stood some show of getting a slice, there was little in political reform.

It has always been the strongest argument for the competitive system that each man had an equal chance at the prizes in view, and that the best men always won. To be sure the argument was always false and would have been brutally goggish if true, but things like this never disturbed a civilization built upon lies and animated by swinishness.

But there came a time when these opportunities were nearly all appropriated, and the struggle began among the capitalist class over the division of the spoils. In a short time some of the sharper capitalists saw that by using the government, which was supposed to be for the benefit of the capitalist class as a whole, for their individual purposes they could obtain many exceptional opportunities for bleeding the laborer. The old party machines were in existence. The lack of real issues had allowed the offices to become filled with those who aimed at the goods to be secured to themselves and the rest was easy. The corrupt officials sandbagged the capitalists and then sold them the privilege of exploiting the workers. Then we had "reigns of corruption," "epidemics of political rotteness," etc., but still the capitalist was little interested. There were still "rich pickings" outside. The margin of exploitation was still wide and "honest investment" brought good returns. The "business man" and "good citizen" took little interest in politics.

But gradually as concentration progressed at the top of capitalism competition grew fiercer in the lower strata. Taxes became more of a burden; gas and telephone bills looked larger than they did in the days of more abundant profits. Moreover, labor had been squeezed about as far as possible and unless "slack" was somehow obtained wages could be forced no lower.

The Adolph Nathan and J. V. Farwells began to see that the poor half-starved sweaters of the Ghetto and Little Hell, whose life-blood they had been coining into dollars with which to found charities and endow Y. M. C. A.'s, were pretty close to the existence point and that unless some means were found of reducing expenses the remorseless laws of competition would soon reduce the "earnings of capital" to a very low minimum. The Marshall Fields, Leiters, and Potter Palmers began to feel the increased taxes of municipal waste as they did not in the palmy days of real estate booming, when they were able to lay the citizens of every new suburb under as merciless a tribute

as any ever collected by a robber-baron on the Rhine.

Now it is an absolutely certain law of social development that when you pinch a capitalist's pocket his "conscience" begins to move. There may be other occasions in which it also acts but they are so isolated and irregular that no law has been discovered regarding them.

So all over the world there began to be movements for "civic purity" and "municipal righteousness." Civic Federations, Municipal Voters' Leagues, Lexow Committees, etc., sprang up like weeds in a June cornfield. Each city claimed that the movement originated within its own borders and was due to its greater morality. No one seemed to stop to think what a wonderful "moral" coincidence it was that every city in the capitalistic world was seized with a "reform" spasm at exactly the same stage of its social development as every other. In fact, at no other point is the superiority of the socialist philosophy more apparent than in its universal cosmopolitan grasp of problems as opposed to the narrow provincial tinkering of capitalistic and middle class reasoning.

As this movement we have been tracing went on other features appeared that hastened its development. Not only did the old spoils system of government become objectionable because it constituted a burden upon property but there was the further reason for change that the capitalist now had a positive need of an "honest government."

This is the point in the evolution of society where most American cities find themselves today. They are just engaged in the negative work of "clearing the rascals out." The cry is now going up on every hand that the business man must take a hand in politics. We find Geo. E. Cole, Parkhurst, Seth Low and Franklin McVeagh crying out that the time has come when the "best citizens must go into politics." We have Roosevelt going from college to college and urging the young sprigs of aristocracy to "do their duty to their state and country" by going into politics and holding office.

All this however is but in preparation for the next step in social evolution: Capitalism next demands that its government should no longer be confined to the passive function of preserving "law and order" and securing the "sacred rights of property." It must now become an active agent in the economic world. The government must enter industry. The reasons for this were various and have been so often discussed in these columns that there is little need of dwelling on them now further than to merely enumerate a few of them. The great pressure upon the non-possessors of the industries in question, the demand for lower taxes referred to above, the desire to lower the cost of living to wage earners that there might be another margin to wipe out and a step gained in the international struggle for trade, all pressed on to this end. But most important of all the proletariat was getting restless. All over the capitalist world at just about the time this stage is reached they begin to unite under the banners of socialism. Now the fundamental demand of the socialists is the common ownership of the means of production and distribution. This, of course, means the destruction of capitalism. If now the laborers could somehow be offered the form of this demand with the substance left out capitalism ought to be safe for many years to come. So it was proposed that the capitalist government itself take over the more completely monopolized industries, and this movement was immediately made into an "issue" on which the laborers could be divided and plucked for some time longer.

For all this a keener instrument was required than the old boodle governments. Hence the cry for the "business man in politics" gains a new significance. He is now needed in order that these industries may be run upon proper "business principles." They must be so operated as to directly and skillfully exploit the laborers concerned and remove the burden of taxation from the shoulders of the resident capitalists.

Everyone could not be entrusted with the running of such industries. They might get reckless as did the Philadelphia municipality and pay laborers \$1.75 a day when they could be secured for \$1.25 as the Chicago Tribune pointed out last week. The whole situation from the capitalist standpoint is ably summed up by this same paper in an editorial on the 14th Inst., entitled "How to Get Cheap Gas." The article is a review of the municipal gas works of Manchester, England, where this develop-

ment has gone further than anywhere else in the world and where the laboring class is about as hopelessly muddled economically, and crushed industrially as in any country under capitalism. The editorial referred to puts it as follows: "At present the city (Manchester) charges its consumers 54 cents a 1,000 feet. At that low price the earnings exceed the operating expenses more than a half million a year." Near the close of the article the reason for this is given: "Doubtless municipal gas would be a great success in this country provided the English policy of electing and appointing only competent men to look after city affairs is adopted. Chicagoans can have cheap gas, but to get it they must make sacrifices. They must be content to get along without a Powers or a Cullerton as an alderman, or an O'Connor as gas inspector."

Here we have the whole course of development which Paris, London, Berlin, Vienna, Manchester, Hamburg, Glasgow, and in fact nearly every city of the old world has run through during the last century. We in America have not yet finished the course but have only a few more steps to take. Whether we will have to take them and thus prolong the sufferings of labor under a capitalist government, or whether the workers of America will overthrow the whole accursed system, and themselves take charge of the source of power, depends upon the laborers themselves. If they wish to rivet their chains still more firmly about them and bind their noses still tighter to the capitalist grindstone until the whole system has run its course and breaks down of its own weight, all they have to do is to follow the stool pigeons of their masters—the Altgelds, Jones's, Pingrees, et al., until they are safely landed in the municipalization net. If they want to secure their own interests and do away with all exploitation, all expropriation, all class rule, let them join hands with the intelligent proletariat of the world in the great army of socialists.

JACKSONVILLE, ILL.

Almost a Victory—On Official Ballot—"Altgeldism" vs. Socialism Again.

Editor Workers' Call:

"The class-conscious workers of Jacksonville, Ill., entered in the municipal campaign for the first time yesterday, with a full ticket in the field. We had three parties to fight—the Reps., Dems. and Citizens. The Citizens was a reactionary middle-class ticket, and like Altgeld of Chicago, drew all of our sympathetic votes, therefore, purifying our vote. In the First Ward Com. John Snyder, for alderman, polled 310, while the victorious Dem. only received 303, thus only beating us 5%." The politicians can't understand how we did it. Our tactics we used in this election amused them. We gave no cigars, chewing gum, nor solicited any votes whatever, yet 17 more votes (minority representation each vote counts 3), would have given us an alderman. But the real victory is that the S. L. P. has cast a sufficient number of votes to make us an official party in the city. Our vote in the whole county last fall was 50, now it is as follows:

- Mayor—D. T. Hiebel, 89.
- City Clerk—L. Emerick, 87.
- City Treasurer—V. Martis, 97.
- Board of Education, 2nd Ward—J. DeCastro, 81.
- Alderman 1st Ward—J. E. Snyder, 310.
- Alderman 2nd Ward—Ed. Vasconcellos, 117.
- Alderman 3rd Ward—G. Renner, 53.
- Alderman 4th Ward—Ben Miller, 196.

Albert Renner.

Ownership vs. Operation.

"What may result in time cannot be foretold, but under the present management of American cities municipal operation is a thing not to be seriously considered, while the ownership of traction franchises may properly be encouraged within proper limits. Cities may legitimately become possessed of lines of transportation, since they own the streets, but when ownership is completed they should be leased to private companies who would operate them under such regulations as might prove most advantageous to the inhabitants."

—The Record.

This is what we socialists tried to have you see before election, and now the capitalists tell it to you themselves. The franchises are to be owned by the city and then "sweated" to contractors like knee pants in the clothing trade. Naturally the contractor will have a narrow margin on which to work and must press with correspondingly increased weight upon his employees. But then you voted for it, 100,000 of you, and did not "throw your vote away."

DR. THOMAS

His Recent Sermons in the Peoples' Church on Social Conditions.

"EVOLUTION VS. REVOLUTION"

His Sermon Based Upon a Misuse of Terms—No Such Distinction As That Implied—He Does Not Really Stand for Anything Injurious to Capitalism or the Capitalist.

The announcement that Dr. Thomas, of this city, was to speak upon social problems was sufficient to attract a great crowd to his church on last Sunday. His remarks at that time have since been widely quoted and are eagerly commented upon by that great crowd of people who "are coming our way," as indicating a "tendency toward socialism."

As Dr. Thomas' sermon is a type of a great number of similar utterances at the present time, we wish to comment upon it at some length. Incidentally we may assist the pastor by informing any members of his congregation who are getting uneasy on that point that he is perfectly orthodox in his economics and is in no way tainted with the deadly virus of socialism.

To be sure, his opening sentences start out well. "Fifty years ago there were few millionaires in America. Now there are thousands of them. Then all the industries were open to free competition. Now nearly all are gathered up into trusts. Then there was work for all—more than the hands of man, unaided by machinery, could do. Now there is an army of men idle."

So far very good, but when he leaves the field of negative criticism and enters that of positive construction, then it is that, like all of his kind, he talks in a circle. Keeping the above quotation in mind, listen to this one:

"This pulpit has always taught that there is no wrong in a trust per se. The wrong is in the trusts trying to monopolize the sources of wealth that are always in the earth on which we all depend. The wrong lies in their refusing to give working people a fair share in the profits. And, if this is my own, it's sound teaching. There is where the wrong is, and there is where the struggle must come. This pulpit has said never a word against honest wealth and honest capital; not one. It has always preached the personal rights of property. It has stood for a strong government. Wealth that should be honest and generous and a government that is just; for equal privileges to all in the struggle for existence and special privileges for none. None of us want to see the country Europeanized to the extent that the middle classes will disappear, leaving only the dangerous extremes of the very poor and the very rich."

Let us analyze these statements a little further. "The wrong is in the trusts trying to monopolize the sources of wealth." But the owners of the trust have no choice in this matter. The remorseless law of competition forces the capitalist to adopt the trust as the best and most economical mode of production. Having adopted this mode, the only reasonable intelligent thing for him to do is to run it for profit and so long as he is allowed to run it at all, it is rather hard to say just what his profits shall be. To continue: "The wrong lies in refusing to give working people a fair share of the profits." But again, how can one trust give a "fair share of its profits" if its competitors do not? And will the doctor give us an idea of what he considers "fair profits," and how he expects to secure this proper division? Can he conceive of any plan that retains private ownership by one-tenth of the population of the things that are necessary to the existence of the other nine-tenths? And I am sorry to say that you speak the truth when you say that "this pulpit has said never a word against honest wealth and honest capital." Neither have you ever defined your idea of "honest" wealth and capital. I predict that the time will come when you will hide your head with shame because "it has always preached the personal rights of property," for that includes the property rights in persons.

A little further on Dr. Thomas gave vent to that old rhetorical trick of saying that the alternative presented by the future was "either evolution or revolution." The speaker has on previous occasions shown a familiarity with the writings of Darwin, Huxley and John Fiske, and he should know that when he uses the expression referred to he is, to say the least, very unscientific. He should know that evolution is simply one phase of evolution—that the bursting of the seed is as much a portion of the scheme of evolution as the gradual swelling of the gem within. Just so in social evolution. One class rises for a long period and perfects institutions and develops social forms and at last fulfills its functions and in turn develops another class who will finally overthrow the previous ruling and perform their part in social evolution. Just so the old nobility lived and ruled and developed the capitalist class—just so the latter has lived and

(Continued on page 2.)

THE WORKERS' CALL.

Issued every Saturday, at 26 N. Clark St., Chicago, Ill. Entered as second-class matter, June 15, 1895, at Chicago, Ill., under post-office number 391. The Workers' Call is published for and under the control of section Chicago of the Socialist Labor Party of Illinois, by the Socialist Publishing Association, a corporation without capital stock, the whole revenue of which must be expended for socialist propaganda.

Subscription Rates. One year, \$2.00. Six months, \$1.25. Three months, \$0.75. Single copies, 10 cents. To European countries, per annum, \$1.00. Remittances may be made by postoffice money order, express money order or bank draft.

Advertisements. A limited number of acceptable advertisements will be inserted. Rates will be made known upon application.

Editorial Announcements. To secure the return of unused manuscripts postage should be enclosed. Communications must reach the office by Monday evening preceding the issue in which they are to appear.

A. M. SIMONS, EDITOR.

The Socialist Vote.

Table with 2 columns: Year and Number of Votes. 1890: 13,704; 1891: 16,552; 1892: 21,512; 1893: 26,686; 1894: 30,220; 1895: 35,689; 1896: 38,275; 1897: 55,550; 1898: 82,204.

Copies sold last week 2,930.

INVENTIONS AND CAPITALISM.

The fact is worth calling attention to that now-a-days an invention does not go through the old stages of slow struggle for prominence and final recognition with great honors and wealth for the poor inventor. To be sure, it has been very, very many years since the inventor ever got anything out of his work, but until recently there was generally some opportunity for the small capitalist in the field of experiment with new processes.

We want a list of two hundred names or more of the laborers of the Union Stock Yards and packing companies to whom we can send sample copies of the next issue of The Workers' Call containing the first instalment of the article on that industry.

THE ARTIST AND DEMOCRACY.

Mr. Henry W. Fuller, of this city, has just been having a night-mare. Mr. Fuller is an author and an artist, and Chicago naturally offends him.

tenth of our population a hollow lie and the other nine-tenths a hellish reality, and since art is truth and it can only be found among the nine-tenths who have no power to gratify their tastes, plutocracy sees everything through a pile of dollars and they are the markets for art.

The people of Europe are no longer afraid of socialism, and we shall not be for long," said Dr. Thomas, of the Peoples-Church, in an interview this week.

As a matter of fact, there is not a country on the continent of Europe, where the ruling classes are not frightened nearly to death as they read the doom of their class interests in the rising wave of socialism.

Many "socialists" are like the man whose little boy was asked if his father was a Christian and replied: "Yes, but he is not working at it now."

Announcement.

That our readers may have some idea of the plan of the future numbers of the paper and as an incentive to obtain new subscribers, we wish to announce a few of the features now being planned.

Besides these special features we shall continue the treating of the news of the day from a socialist standpoint, calling attention to current events in their relation to historical development and looking at all from the worker's point of view.

SNAP SHOTS BY THE WAYSIDE.

My friend who wanted "something now,"—did you get it, and, if you did, how did you like it?

Thomas Jefferson's birthday was celebrated last week, and those who celebrated it are still living in the beginning of this century—at least such could be logically inferred from their speeches.

How many subscribers did you get this week? No socialist in the state of Illinois should consider his week's effort complete, unless he has secured some subscribers to The Workers' Call.

A tip for the Mazet committee. Dick Croker was asked where he got it, and he answered by telling the committee to ask Tom Platt how he got it.

Theodore Roosevelt, governor of the state of New York (that sounds well, and is in conformity with his ideas when he was young and a reformer) has turned on his former companions and now advocates "practical politics" and denounces the "Goo Goos."

Eugene V. Debs has also spoken before the XIXth Century Club. Mary Elizabeth Lease, the high priestess of "any old thing," has just poured forth a roaring cataract of bosh and balderdash in honor of this epoch-making event.

"I am not a denouncer of capital. Economic fakits tell the people that capital is not essential to production, because savages produce food by digging roots and picking wild fruit, with no help from capital."

Such a sentence might be excused in an uneducated laborer, or overlooked in a sentimental reformer. They might at least hide behind the shield of ignorance, although in these days the ignorance that would give vent to such a statement would be almost criminal even in those classes.

But there is even worse to follow: "The capitalist that does his proper work earns his wage. If I wanted an easy job, I should look a long time in the ranks of labor rather than take up the burden of most of the capitalists."

What kind of intellectual demagoguery is this professor? Even had you never read a socialist book you, who were educated under Dr. Ely, are a member of the American Economic Association and familiar with the writings of Patten, Commons and Clark, know full well the difference between the capitalist and the entrepreneur function in industry.

That he is himself unable to utterly stultify his intellect on this point is shown when, he says a few sentences further on: "As an abstract principle, I should say that the capitalist begins to be a mere pretender in the place of the performer of a function at the point where he ceases to be the personal manager of his capital, and therefore personally responsible for the policy

Fund for Homeless Dogs.

"CHICAGO, April 18.—(Editor Tribune.)—Permit me to call your attention to the article in The Tribune of Saturday, April 15, on the homeless dogs running on Wabash avenue.

Socialism and Dr. Small.

A few days ago all the socialist papers were rejoicing over the conversion of Prof. A. W. Small of the University of Chicago. In a speech before the Methodist Ministers' Association he gave vent to one of the keenest criticisms of capitalism that we have read or heard for some time.

We saw the report of the speech but felt sure that it could not be allowed to stand, and so made no comment last week, but waited for the recantation which we felt was certain to come.

"I am not a socialist, unless that term is made to stand for the everything-and-nothing sort of wistfulness that simply wants, if possible, to get for everybody a better deal in life, without any definite notion how, in that sense we are all more or less socialists, I suppose.

One cannot but feel a pang of sorrow at seeing the terrible prostitution of intellect which that paragraph marks. Professor Small cannot plead ignorance. He is thoroughly aware the socialism of today is a clearly defined philosophy based on scientific facts and he knows far better than we can tell him that no socialist ever had "a programme to eliminate problems from human life, or make things that are not equal to the same thing equal to each other."

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That he is himself unable to utterly stultify his intellect on this point is shown when, he says a few sentences further on: "As an abstract principle, I should say that the capitalist begins to be a mere pretender in the place of the performer of a function at the point where he ceases to be the personal manager of his capital, and therefore personally responsible for the policy

of management. So soon as that point is passed, the capitalist begins to be an incubus and a menace."

You know perfectly well professor that that point was passed long ago and that in fact it was only through a confusion of economic analysis, of which you should be ashamed, that the capitalist was ever supposed to have a function.

And so the article goes on. In one sentence he condemns "the leaders of competition" because they are inspired by a "domineering aim to pile up profits," and in the very next sentence admits that "no single competitor has any choice about the practice of fine sentiments."

The kindest explanation that one can give of the action of Dr. Small is that "circumstances over which he has no control" have forced him to take the action against his own beliefs and wishes—that he has "seen the handwriting on the wall" and under the influence of his material interests has attempted to blind himself to what his intellect told him was true.

One cannot but feel a pang of sorrow at seeing the terrible prostitution of intellect which that paragraph marks. Professor Small cannot plead ignorance. He is thoroughly aware the socialism of today is a clearly defined philosophy based on scientific facts and he knows far better than we can tell him that no socialist ever had "a programme to eliminate problems from human life, or make things that are not equal to the same thing equal to each other."

"I am not a denouncer of capital. Economic fakits tell the people that capital is not essential to production, because savages produce food by digging roots and picking wild fruit, with no help from capital."

Such a sentence might be excused in an uneducated laborer, or overlooked in a sentimental reformer. They might at least hide behind the shield of ignorance, although in these days the ignorance that would give vent to such a statement would be almost criminal even in those classes.

But there is even worse to follow: "The capitalist that does his proper work earns his wage. If I wanted an easy job, I should look a long time in the ranks of labor rather than take up the burden of most of the capitalists."

What kind of intellectual demagoguery is this professor? Even had you never read a socialist book you, who were educated under Dr. Ely, are a member of the American Economic Association and familiar with the writings of Patten, Commons and Clark, know full well the difference between the capitalist and the entrepreneur function in industry.

That he is himself unable to utterly stultify his intellect on this point is shown when, he says a few sentences further on: "As an abstract principle, I should say that the capitalist begins to be a mere pretender in the place of the performer of a function at the point where he ceases to be the personal manager of his capital, and therefore personally responsible for the policy

Book Reviews.

HISTORY OF THE PARIS COMMUNE OF 1871, by G. B. Benham, Bureau of Socialist Literature, 38 Turk street, San Francisco; full cloth, red and gold, 75 cents; paper, 25 cents.

Perhaps there is no better example of the control over public thought exercised by capitalism than is found in the popular idea of the Paris Commune. Although it has been nearly thirty years since the proletariat of France made this effort for freedom, and during those years there have been more channels of information and means of disseminating intelligence in operation than in almost all the centuries that ever went before, yet so carefully have the control of these been kept within the ruling class that many, even among the socialists, look upon the Commune as a time of awful atrocities by an enraged and baffled mob of revolutionists.

They still speak in apologetic terms of this period and urge the awful sufferings of the people that preceded it as "excuses" for their action. How many of us really know that the atrocities were all upon the side of the bourgeois—that the Commune fell because its leaders were ridiculously kind in time of war and lacked the decisive unscrupulousness that has carried capitalism to victory on so many fields—both military and commercial. How few people are aware of the fact that the proletaires are myths, and that, instead of a wholesale slaughter of innocent plutocrats by suffering laborers, the members of the proletariat of France were stood up in lines and mowed down by machine guns.

It will surprise many others, doubtless, so well have capitalist "educational" methods done their work, to know that, notwithstanding a state of war nominally existed between the two countries, the solidarity of capitalism was sufficiently powerful to unite the plutocracy of Germany and France and combine Bismarck and Thiers for the common object of slaughtering French workmen who had dared to dream of liberty.

If you are not familiar with all these things, you should at once purchase and read Comrade Benham's careful study of this period, that you may be able, when next a mouthpiece of capitalism holds up the "horrors of the Commune" as an awful warning to socialists, to tell him that it was his class that created the horrors and committed its murders.

The book fills a need that is especially felt in this country, because the tool of plutocracy who represented America in Paris at that time, General Washburne, is one of those who are most responsible for the false idea existing regarding the period in question.

THE CO-OPOLITAN, by ZERINA FORBUSH; Chas. H. Kerr & Company; 25 cents.

This book is an excellent illustration of the economic ignoramus at large. It is a type of a vast number of books written by those who, having read Bellamy, concluded writing economic works was "as easy as lying."

To point out one by one the defects in reasoning, errors in economics, false positions, weak logic, and fanciful substitution of dreams for facts, would be a thankless task and one for which we have no space. Suffice to say that the fundamental error which is characteristic of the type under discussion is the utter ignoring of the fact of historical development through class struggle.

Once having cut loose from the solid ground of historic evolution, based on economic development, and nothing is any longer impossible. Society is constructed and reconstructed at will, the locations for new cities selected and old ones moved to suit economic theories—constitutions are formulated, and new governments organized with the ease of a "lightning change" artist—and new social systems and institutions manufactured to fit his wild vagaries as if they were coats and shoes.

Having once freed himself from the cumbersome fact of class rule nothing contradictory is seen in making the United States Supreme Court give decisions favorable to the "co-operators" and destructive of the competitive system. The citizens of this future-paradise are divided into political parties to suit the story, and evidently presupposing that they will all remain in equal economic darkness with the author, they are made to divide upon issues more transparent than those at present used by capitalist parties to befuddle laborers.

Question Box. "Is it a crime against morality for a socialist in distress to work for other political parties, as long as the present society holds it moral?"

Evolution of the Class Struggle.

By WILLIAM H. NOVES.

Socialism can no longer be regarded as a scheme for reorganizing society—as a Utopia, a fancy, a dream of some doctrinaire philosopher. It is the theory of social evolution; it is the statement of an historical process that is actually taking place before our eyes. The recognition of this fact is the source of the newer literature in regard to it.

Men are beginning to study Socialism rather than the speculations of socialists. To present an original Socialism would be like presenting original history of an original theory of gravitation, because Socialism is not a dream or a scheme, but a theory based on actual facts.

As long as Socialism was conceived as a scheme of a visionary, there were as many forms of Socialism as there were visions; but when Socialism is regarded as the theory of a developing historical process, an acquaintance with the facts leads more and more to unanimity in theory.

Socialism, then, in a word, is the result of the application of the theory of evolution to human affairs, and its value consists in the fact that, since, as Comte said, "to see is to foresee," it is able to point out what will be the next stage in the development of the production and distribution of wealth. It is at this point, and this point only, that it touches the older utopian Socialism. Utopian Socialism and scientific Socialism both point to the goal of COMMON OWNERSHIP OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION. They differ chiefly in the means proposed for the accomplishment of this end. Scientific Socialism (I trust that the use of the word "scientific" will show itself justified as we proceed) relies upon those forces and processes that are actually operative now, and, moreover, have been operative ever since living beings began to get and to breed.

There has always been a "struggle for existence," firstly, between individuals of the same species; secondly, between different species. This struggle is still going on. Men struggle individually until a wider common interest required and gave rise to groups which have gradually diminished in number as common interests increased, but at the same time have become more sharply distinguished in character, so that the struggle has gone on with ever increasing intensity. While the result of the biologic struggles has been the extermination of the conquered, human struggle has resulted more and more in their absorption—"benevolent assimilation," if you please—by the conquerors. This struggle has gone on with increasing definiteness until today the civilized world is almost completely divided into two hostile camps, known as the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

The bourgeoisie is the product of a long course of development. It is the class which has built itself up on the growth of modern industry by gradually gaining possession of the means of production and distribution, pushing into the background every class handed down from the middle ages. The bourgeoisie are, in a word, the legal owners of the stupendous sources of the wealth of modern society. It is not their wealth that makes of them a class; it is their private ownership of that part of wealth which is used to produce more wealth. They are the economic masters of modern society.

The proletariat, on the other hand, is that class which has been gradually dispossessed of the means of production, until their labor power, of brain and hand, is all that they have left. This they must sell for wages to the owners of capital in order to produce wealth for both themselves and the owners. The fact that there is still a large class, especially in America, who are both owners and users of capital, does not destroy this distinction of modern society into two classes, for these small producers, traders and farmers are actually economically dependents on the large ones, and, moreover, are rapidly sinking into the class of actual wage or salary workers.

So we see that present events constitute no exception to Karl Marx's famous saying: "The history of all society thus far is the history of class strife."

Instead of it being necessary to "change human nature before we can have Socialism," as its critics so glibly say, Socialism is coming because human nature is what it is. The Socialist does not pretend that his world is bathed in an atmosphere of universal brotherly love. He looks for universal brotherly love only when the interests of all men are, and are seen to be, common. At present he recognizes that his interests are not the interests of his exploiters, and until the whole world becomes proletarian, and until government, political and economic, becomes common management of common interests for the common good, he will not cry, "Peace! Peace!" when there is no peace.

"The history of all society thus far is the history of class strife."

Many attempts have been made to break the force of this saying, just as the attempt has been made to minimize the fury of the struggle of existence in the sub-human world. Just as we hear that, alongside of the struggle for existence there has been going on a "struggle for others," so we hear that class strife is giving place to universal brotherly love. He who says this is

ply this, that just in proportion as the advantage of each is involved in the advantage of others, just in that proportion egoism gives place to altruism. Just in proportion as the common interests of contending classes become greater than their opposing interests, brotherhood takes the place of hostility. But, until these interests do become common, it is useless to try to reconcile the opposing classes, to avoid the class struggle. Just as the abolition of slavery really tended to promote the higher interests of the slave-holder as well as of the slave (and get the slaveholder had to be compelled to give up his slaves), so to-day, although private capitalism is wearing out and rotting out the owners of capital, they cannot be persuaded to give up their present place of power and distinction. They must be compelled to do so. This is the class struggle. Socialists did not create it; capitalists did not produce it; it is the fault of no man; it is inherent in the evolutionary process. It has characterized every historic period, and underlies every social movement. What is a social movement? It is the resultant of the often blind efforts of a social class, disoriented with their present lot, to overturn the present order for the sake of controlling the political and economic situation. There are three elements in a social movement—a point of issue, an aim, and a supporter of the aim.

The modern social movement, then, rests on the fact that the resources of wealth are owned by one class, that the producers of wealth constitute another class and that the aim of this second class is common ownership of these resources, i. e., Socialism. Historically, these two classes have arisen as the result of the introduction of modern steam-driven machinery. The resulting system of production on a large scale had as its inevitable result great armies of propertyless workers subject to the command of the capitalists of industry, the owners of the land and the tools.

When now we ask why these workers are discontented, the first fact that confronts us is their abject misery, a misery not like that of Asiatic peasants who are poor because they are too ignorant to produce, but an intense misery due to concentration of population, to unhealthy surroundings, to the fury of competition between the workers.

Add to this the contrast always before their eyes between their own condition and that of the very persons upon whom they feel themselves dependent. Still another terrible whip is hung over the heads of the proletariat—the uncertainty in their lives. This is not the uncertainty of the Japanese at the thought of the earthquake possible at any moment, nor of the peasant at the flood or drought that may ruin him—contingencies of nature, against which he cannot strive and for which he may find consolation in religion. But the uncertainty of work and wage, which torments the modern worker, is joined to the certainty that it is caused by the specific form of the organization of economic life to which he is subject. To be uncertain of life because you are subject to the vicissitudes of natural phenomena is one thing; to be uncertain because you are subject to the economic advantage of the possessor of the resources of wealth is another thing, and the effects on character are different. Men do not hate nature because they cannot control her, but against an oppressing class of men they may and will rebel.

As Kautsky has said: "This class hatred is by no means a result of Socialist propaganda; it was noticeable long before the influence of Socialism began to make itself felt among the working classes."

But there have been positive as well as negative forces which are bringing about the class-conscious struggle. The forced association of men in tenement houses, in factories, in public houses for meetings and pleasures, wipes out the charms of separate existence and gives instead the joy of companionship in misery. More specifically still their very method of labor brings home to them their power of union, and gives them discipline in co-operation.

Production is communal already. Men do already work together co-operatively; their grievance is that they do not obtain their product—that distribution is not communal. This product goes largely to the owners of the instruments of production; hence again the class struggle. Moreover the present system of production tends to reduce the workers to an equality of conditions. In a modern factory there is no hierarchy among the workers. Promotion is less and less possible, for all distinctions of rank are being abolished, even the distinctions of trades are being wiped out; the apprentice is doomed, for all workers are becoming mere adjuncts to machines. A common lot gives rise to a sense of solidarity—of class-consciousness. Class-consciousness is not the invention of a crack-brained theorist; it is the inevitable result of the capitalist system of production.

We find now that, even among those who grant that the system of capitalist production has produced this distinction of classes, there are many who believe, like Robert Owen, that evils are to be overcome by means of a universal understanding and agreement among men. Once the truth and beauty of communal ownership be known, both classes will unite in establishing the new order.

The thought will father the wish and the wish will beget the ability. For the sake of enlightening mankind as to the wonderful beauty of the new social order, Owen created New Lanark, in Scotland, beginning January 1, 1800, the first day of the new century. He set as clearly as any one that the cause of present social evils was the result of the existing economic system.

He remarked that the 2,500 people who worked for him—"my slaves," as he called them—produced as much actual wealth for society as barely half a century before it was possible for a population of 600,000 to produce. "I asked myself the question, 'What becomes of the difference between the wealth consumed by these 2,500 people and that which would have been required for the consumption of those 600,000?' The answer was evident. It was applied to supplying the proprietors of the establishment with a per cent interest on their investment, beside a profit of more than 2,000,000 pound sterling." Owen thought, "once these facts were known, society would turn over a new leaf."

He did not reckon with the fact that some men might not wish for the new order and would fight against it. He is the type of the utopian Socialist, the "Utopian." Utopianism relies on the power of the knowledge of good, on enlightenment, as if these were the impelling and effective factors in real life. "Utopians" have been defined as "all those kindly souls who hope to alay and overcome the sufferings of the proletariat by an appeal to the good hearts of the friends of humanity." (Sombart, p. 114.)

The utopist fails to see that a considerable part of society, and that the dominant class, have an interest in keeping things as they are, and as long as they have the power, they will resist any attempt at change. Social order at any particular time is the manifestation of the balance of power between contending interests. A Utopian does not know either the nature or the strength of the social forces, if he supposes that those who are entrenched in power can be persuaded by altruistic appeals to surrender their power. This belief of the utopists expresses itself in the tactics recommended by them. It appeals to men collectively. It repudiates class strife and political effort by a class. It expects that the possessors of the means of production and distribution will divest themselves of their possessions and exchange the old order for the new. In no country in the world have these tactics of the Utopians been so thoroughly tried as in England, and at first sight it seems as if their success there had been remarkable.

Professor Sombart, in his recent book, "Socialism and the Social Movement in the Nineteenth Century," shows the fallacy of such a supposition. It is commonly supposed that the peaceful, unpolitical, purely trade character of the workingmen's movement in England, in contrast with the "revolutionism" of the French movement and the political agitation in Germany, was due to the teaching of the "new social spirit" by Carlyle and the Christian Socialists. "Faith instead of skepticism, 'mutual confidence instead of distrust,' 'idealism instead of mammonism,' 'self-sacrifice instead of selfishness' must come into the hearts of man." (Sombart, p. 58.)

"The employer must become humanized," "the workman must become manageable." (Sombart, p. 58.) We are told that, as a result of these sermons, "matters in England have developed somewhat as follows: 'After the proletariat for some decades, and finally in the Chartist movement, had conducted itself in an unruly way in struggling for its interests, about the middle of this century it suddenly became polite, reconciled itself to the dominant economic order, and made peace with employers, who at the same time had become better men.'" (Sombart, p. 57.)

All this is called a "normal" movement, while the continental movement is called "abnormal." Instead of resting satisfied with these idealistic and altruistic causes of these miracles in the English social world, let us consider this "social spirit" in the light of the peculiar combination of political and economic circumstances in England from 1850 to 1880.

During this period England increased her railway mileage ten-fold and her foreign trade seven-fold. This means that she had practically an industrial monopoly which put all other nations in the shade, that her markets were steadily enlarging, that financial crises were rare. As a result there was a steadily increasing demand for labor on one side, and on the other the satisfaction of the employer made it possible for him to let his workman "share in the golden stream of profit," especially in those trades where good workmen were more profitable than poor ones, and shorter hours meant harder work or were balanced by improved machinery.

Legislation in favor of the workman had some very real causes beside the "social spirit." The rivalry between the Tories, agrarian in their interests, and the Whigs, with manufacturing interests, made a happy third man (tertius gaudens) of the worker.

The Tories legislated in his favor to spite the Whigs, careful all the time not to help the farmers, while the Whigs, to trench themselves in power, were friendly and made concessions to the voting working class, so long as they stayed safely within the limits of the existing social order. The dominant interests were reconciled to a conservative aristocratic trade union, for it was "a bulwark against all tendency to revolution, sure and strong as no police regulation could effect." (Sombart, p. 67.) In these piping times of prosperity every day of a strike meant great loss, because business was always favorable, and there were no bounds to the possibilities of the market. Moreover, "shrewd legislation in favor of the workman is an excellent weapon for the large concerns to use against the small in order to do away with disagreeable competition." Such are some of the reasons for the supposed change of heart in the British employer. As for the English workman, "always something practical," is his

motto, for he cannot see further than the tip of his nose, and his trade union is "the shrewdest scheme for the protection of personal interests that has ever been conceived—diplomatic, adroit, smooth towards that which is above—towards the employer; exclusive, narrow, brutal toward what is underneath—towards four-fifths of the 'outsiders,' the poorer classes of workmen." When we hear of the wonderful success of British trade unions, we need to remember, too, that they are an "aristocracy of workmen," comprising only one-fifth of the total number of workers, while in London alone 100,000 persons are supported by the poor rates, \$5,000,000 are spent yearly in charity, and one-fifth of the deaths are in almshouses, public hospitals, etc., and one-half of the laboring class are buried at public expense.

These are some of the indications that the "social spirit" preached by Carlyle and Kingsley was not the only cause of the social peace which ruled in England during the middle decades of this century.

Things are different now. England is losing her supremacy in the markets of the world, so that her capitalists cannot afford to be so generous to their workmen and keep them quiet by concessions.

The period of social peace (1850-1880) is now over, and evidences of the class struggle begin to appear. On the one hand, the capitalists are organizing for the definite and express purpose of crushing trade unions, and on the other hand, not only is the great "giant under the mountain," the unorganized laborer, beginning to stir, but the workmen's congresses are beginning to discuss the advisability of political action. This means class struggle by means of the ballot. So long as trade unions keep out of politics and only look out for their own poor and sick, and be an elite aristocracy of workmen, capitalists can smile down at them, but when they see that their real interests lie in identification with the great proletariat, the era of good-fellowing between them and the capitalists is over. We see that the "social spirit" of Carlyle and the Christian Socialists is not a cause, but an effect, and exists in proportion as common interests exist. Quarrelsome John Bull is quarrelsome John Bull still, and the "social peace" in England upon the basis of the capitalistic economy has been secured by capitalistic concessions in order that English capitalism might maintain its supremacy over foreign rivals in the markets of the world.

England can furnish no exception to the law that "the history of all society thus far is the history of class strife."

This brings us back to Karl Marx, who applies in this way the evolution idea to the social movement. It has already been pointed out that Socialism is the theory of social progress, which points out that the next stage of economic production will be common ownership of the means of production and distribution. This is to be brought about, say the Utopians, by a diffusion of the social spirit, on account of which all classes will unite in establishing the new and beautiful order.

In contrast to this view is that of Marx, who said: "The history of all society thus far is the history of class struggles." The American is offended at the idea of class distinctions. We are accustomed to think of them as a European disease, of which we have only a mild form in America, a subject for satire by the comic papers, but not worthy of serious thought. In truth, the old feudal classes are fit for ridicule, but they are only the masks behind which have grown up a new division of society based on modern conditions of production, which have determined the form and policy of social control. While we have been poking fun at the effete classes of Europe, there has grown up a new division into classes both there and here. We thought that we had forever disposed of class rule by adopting democracy as our watchword, when our constitution itself made possible the sheerest class rule that the world has yet seen.

While brushing aside the old feudal class distinctions, we have enthroned a new class, the owners of the means of social production. Instead of kings, and barons, and nobles, we have the captains of industry; and, on the other hand, instead of vassals and serfs and commons, we have the proletariat, the users of the means of social production.

In Europe, too, while the names still survive, the real distinction is between the OWNERS and the USERS of the means of social production. The owners are in control of the means of production, including the machinery of government. The users want the control themselves. That, in a word, is the modern class struggle, and present politics is the effort of the capitalists to hold and extend their power against the efforts, so far stupid and half-conscious, of the proletariat to gain power. Meanwhile the economic evolution has gone so far that the class of owners is practically no longer socially useful. It is "unfit longer to remain the ruling class of society, because it is incapable of securing subsistence to its slave." (Manifesto, p. 23.) Therefore, the capitalist class must go and make way for a social organization without classes upon a basis of common production and communal ownership of the means of production. The conditions for the new social order are created by the enormous increase in the forces of production, and by the communication of the processes of production. In a word, the world is socialistic already in its production of wealth, but not in the division of the product.

Seeing the enormous advantage of social production, the producers also demand social division. Now, now, shall the producing class obtain its end? Herein is seen the second main pillar of the Marxian structure. It is the class struggle—a struggle for pos-

session of the means of production.

But why must the way to the attainment of this aim lie through class strife? Because class distinctions create class interests, and class interests lead throughout to class opposition, for each class naturally, though not always, consciously seeks to conserve its own interests, and by that very fact antagonizes other interests.

Consider now: Class distinctions were never as great as they are to-day; the masters were never in such luxury nor the slaves in such misery. Secondly, class interests, therefore, were never so imperative and urgent as to-day. Never was government so ruthlessly administered in the interest of a class as modern capitalistic government is administered. And, finally, class opposition was never so clearly defined as to-day. Never before has there been a proletarian movement that was clear and conscious of its aim. The French revolution, or the revolution of 1848, were the climaxes of middle class movements. The Socialist movement of to-day is the first clear class-conscious effort of the proletariat to win power.

Sombart makes this very plain: "Do you ask why must there be class strife? Because history knows not a single instance of a social class divesting itself of power out of altruistic regard for another class, not one! Whatever is true of individuals, whole classes never give themselves away. History thus far seems to prove that might is right; interest rules the world; only strength conquers. Unlovely as this all appears in contrast with the Utopists' dream of uniting all classes by bathing them in an atmosphere of universal love, there is another side to the Socialist view. Brotherhood, he sees, is the fruit, not the root, of social progress. Altruism follows, not precedes, a union of interests. Long as he may for universal brotherly love, and none care for it more sincerely than he, he does not deceive himself by inventing cause and effect, nor attempt to reconcile irreconcilable forces. He sees that if men are more loving to-day than they were twenty centuries ago, it is because their lives are more involved in each other. If the sword has given place to the ballot, it is because the sword costs too much. When common interests outweigh individual interests, mutual respect and love supplant distrust and hate."

But the Socialist does not spin dreams about a "strifeless condition of humanity after the introduction of Socialism. He simply recognizes that he is in the midst of a life and death struggle between the powers that be and the power that is to be, and it is not concerned whether the future shall have strifes of its own or not. His place is to settle the issues of this strife.

The world was full of the battle—
The whole world far and wide,
Men and women and children
Were fighting on either side.

When I found a cheerful stranger,
Calm, critical, serene,
Well sheltered from all danger,
Painting a battle scene.

Said I: "This is a present battle,
Where all men strive to-day,
How does it chance you sit apart?
Which is your banner—say?"

His fresh cheek blanched a little,
But he answered with a smile,
That he fought not on either side;
He was watching a little while.

I dragged him back to the field he left
To the fate he was fitted for.
We have no place for lookers on,
When all the world's at war!
—Mrs. Stetson's "The Looker On."

The Curse of Science.

"Not very long ago some Fabian or another—Mr. Sidney Webb I think it was—told us there was every reason to believe that the next century would prove far less fertile in invention than the one which mankind has just passed through. This prediction was in direct opposition to the views and teachings of all the leading scientific men of the day, but it was used, nevertheless, as the basis of an argument. Now, it is already beginning to be clear to all the world that the inventions and discoveries of the nineteenth century will look insignificant indeed beside what the twentieth century has in store for the race. We are manifestly on the threshold of the greatest advance in the power of man over nature that has yet been witnessed. In every direction—in electricity, in chemistry, in mechanics, in the application of heat and cold—progress is so rapid that the very best handbooks of ten years ago on these subjects have to be almost completely re-written to-day. We are manifestly passing into a more than ordinarily revolutionary period so far as science is concerned. Never was there a time, also, when the last successful experiment in the laboratory passed so quickly into the practical work of the street. The most recon-

dition investigations into the laws of vibrations, or the "critical temperature" of gases for the purpose of liquefaction, become next day, or the day after, the groundwork of some practical application to the common use of man. "At the moment two specific improvements in particular have thus come down from men of thought to men of action, and are the topics of discussion in the popular magazines, in the newspapers, and at the dinner table. These are, of course, telegraphing without wires, in which Signor Marconi has applied the discoveries of others to practical purposes, proving clearly that we are only at the commencement of what science will ere long achieve in this field; and the furnishing of liquid air already produced in moderate quantities by Professor Dewar, by the gallon, owing to the new machine invented by

Mr. Tripler. Thus, according to the more sanguine writers, we are shortly to be able to talk familiarly, at trifling cost, with our friends across the Atlantic and be in a position to buy liquid air for refrigeration, or motive force, as we can buy ice to-day by the pound at the fishmonger's. Space is to be annihilated, and power is at the disposal of everybody. What a fascinating prospect! What vast benefits do our scientific men, and their attendant cheapeners of the results of their work, confer upon poor humanity!

We have a long, long road to travel before these beatitudes fit in for the mass of mankind. At the present stage of our social development the progress of science is a curse to this, and probably will be to the succeeding generation. Has steam so far benefited the human race? What a question to ask! Of course it has. Any schoolboy could tell you how it has shortened distances, rendered possible huge operations that could not otherwise have been attempted, enabled commodities to be produced at a hundredth part or less of their cost previously, and so on, and so on. But are the whole people on this planet any the better for the work of Lord Worcester and Watt, Trevanick and Stephenson? With all deference to the omniscient schoolboy, we should say undoubtedly not. The upper classes and a proportion of the workers in civilized countries are in enjoyment of a higher standard of luxury and living than ever before. That is true. But even here the degraded section of the population in the great cities and the overworked, toothless, nanaemic toilers in our factory halls tells us that steam in the hands of the capitalist class has had drawbacks which fully counterbalance its advantages. If, however, we turn to Asia and Africa, there can be no doubt whatever that the effect of European science, up to now, has been wholly injurious. India ruined, China involved in anarchy and given up to spoliation, Africa cursed with a new and worse form of the slave trade and its inhabitants besotted and rotted with gin and syphilis—such are the blessings which the white man's science has conferred on the peoples of other races. The steam-engine, the electric telegraph, the hydraulic ram, the automatic machines, have meant and mean to-day a worse condition of existence for the great majority of the inhabitants of the globe than that which they possessed before these inventions were popularized.

Why is this? Undoubtedly, because like everything else, science is nowadays merely one of the chief handmaids to the worst class of slave drivers the world has ever seen. Capitalists appropriate what social development brings forth. Even a Faraday, who devoted himself to the service of his fellows and refused to participate in any way whatever in the plunder of his time—even Faraday did but make the path of expropriation easier for the sweaters and swindlers of the end of the nineteenth century. So it is now. So it will be with wireless telegraph and liquid air. The worst will reap where the best has sown. Dewar is the unconscious and unpaid tool of Rockefeller. Rayleigh does gratuitous pioneering for Rhodes. Such is the irony of our capitalist system; such the glory of science as read in the record of the nineteenth century!

Surely, then, it is high time that the mass of men should arouse themselves and sweep aside forever, no matter how, that accursed class which turns even the highest products of human intelligence to the degradation of man. As things stand, every fresh discovery, every new invention, does but rivet the profit monger's yoke yet more tightly on the necks of the workers of the world. The end must inevitably come with the spread of this monopoly, the consequent growth of collectivism, and the development of socialism thereupon. This we know. But, meanwhile, the mischief continues owing to the ignorance and apathy of the people. The opportunity for emancipation lies ready to their hand, but they fail to take advantage of it. Let us hope that the knowledge that the powers of Niagara and of the tides, that the growing command of the unseen forces of the universe, that liquid air and concentrated heat are even now going into the hands of their oppressors to be used constantly against them, will at last stir the multitudes to simultaneous action against the common enemy in every civilized country, and that the beginning of the twentieth century may see the progress of science used for the service of all."

H. M. HYNDMAN, in London Justice.

DR. THOMAS

(Continued from page 1.)

work and become in its turn to be an obstacle to further progress and has developed the laboring class to take its place. The laborers will in time overthrow capitalism, and themselves become the dominant class. But the stage of society thus inaugurated will differ from all previous ones in that all the members of society, being workers with hand or brain, there will be no subject class and the day of class rule will be over.

This philosophy is socialism and not, as you say a little further on, "some form of co-operation—some form of mutualism." And, although it is undoubtedly true as you say of this indefinite mirage to claim allegiance to, "it won't hurt me if they call it socialism," yet we socialists sincerely hope that many will not so call it; for while it would not hurt you, it certainly does hurt socialism to be confused with such gloriously indefinite pictures in the air.

We are glad to announce that arrangements have been made with "The People" and "The Tocsin" by which we can furnish either of these papers to the Workers' Call for 15 cents per copy.

CALL TO ACTION.

By Kansas State Committee Socialist Labor Party.

To all sections Socialist Labor Party, Sympathizers of Socialist Propaganda:

Comrades, Greeting—Your committee is desirous of maintaining a state organizer in Kansas—

one capable of presenting our cause intelligently and effectively against the combined factions of the political parties of capitalism, both the avowed, apologist and defenders of the present "Law and Order," and the reactionary stool-pigeons of whatever economic size and political color.

Haphazard, semi-occasional sporadic efforts must give place to systematic propaganda of uncompromising socialism that is socialism, to the end that we have a virile movement, a movement that comprehends itself, and therefore presses forward to its goal with precision and confidence.

Only thus can we rid the rank and file of re-vamped schemes, dished out by the mental and moral wrecks of the rising waters of the social revolution.

We are confident that you agree with us that a cause worthy of belief is surely worth working for; that the means used should logically be proven and found correct by experience.

The Socialist Labor Party has the programme and tactics which through storm and stress have proven the inspiration and the means of firing the workers with determination and solidarity which capitalism both fears and respects—because we are self-possessed—because we ever grow in numbers and compactness that will not be bamboozled, caught with rhetoric, nor blinded by concessions that don't concede.

Comrades! Now is the time. Join us in lifting Kansas out of the doubtful, wavering column of reaction. Let us force the hands of misleaders of the people. Only then will the working class be able to see the ignorant, venal, weather-cockish attitude of "any-old-thing" kind of "socialism" (""). Only then will the proletariat cease its covering submission and inactivity—of worse, mis-activity in participating in the quarrels between the defunct middle class and proletariat.

(1) What is to be done? (2) How shall we go about it?

Much. Old sections recruited and firmly established. Spread the circle of influence of literature that will clarify and enlighten the already discontented. Save the honest but unwary from mud-headed mixtures, empty platitudes styled "radicalism," "broadness," and whatever other cheap names, "cut-across-the" routes from nowhere to nowhere.

Who is lost who lingers to take sides with chronic victims of spleen, whose public status is determined by personal affections and private interest. While recognizing the social role of sentiment, we allow that, even for the sake of temporary popularity, we must not unguardedly allow sentiment to degenerate into sentimentality; we desire organization and education as the means of conquering the public powers which furnish the socialist victors with the means of supplanting Capitalist Class with Co-Operative Commonwealth.

Now is the crucial period in America—in Kansas. Just a little foresight will save much misdirected energy. Ask yourself, "how much can I give monthly to this cause?" Settle that yourself first; then suggest this plan to your circle of friends, viz., if there be no section S. L. P. near you, then select someone among yourselves through whom you may remit during the first week of each month, all the voluntary sums collected the month previous. The undersigned will duly acknowledge same. If you are isolated, then send what you feel able to, directly. Nothing too small—1 cent and upwards. Sections may supplement their dues with voluntary offerings through their organizer. Call attention to this in your meetings. Members at large and others who sympathize with the efforts of our committee will do us a favor to push this call.

Whoever receives this, circulate the appeal and write us of the local outlook. Some may be able to accommodate the organizer while on circuit. At least send your address for literature. Literature must be distributed, meetings advertised, etc. All desiring speakers write what will be done to aid him, and when desired. We are preparing a route now for organizer. Do not delay your reply. Suggestions invited.

We have secured an able comrade who will undertake the agitation without a stipulated income. Join in maintaining bona fide Socialist propaganda. Fraternally, J. K. ELKNER, Secretary Kansas State Committee Socialist Labor Party.

Address all correspondence to J. P. Elkner, 201 East Fourth street, Pittsburg, Kas.

Pittsburg, Kansas.

Our comrades at Pittsburg are having a struggle over the rights of free speech. A short time ago Comrade Frank Jordan was arrested for speaking on the street and taken before a police judge, who fined him \$5.00 and costs. This action was so manifestly unjust that even the capitalist press grew sarcastic. The Pittsburg Daily Tribune commented upon the occurrence as follows:

"The young man arrested for making a socialistic speech on the street right within plain hearing of the republican members of the city hall—on the charge of peace disturbance, should be severely dealt with. A socialistic speech always disturbs a republican, and a man who will maliciously shock, rack or disturb the nerves of a republican during his Sunday repose, should be shown no mercy. If said young man had been bellowing about the beauties

of the gold standard or the McKinley administration, he could have spouted until his face turned black, his throat wore out and a week's crop of whiskers had grown on his chin before one of the stern officers of the law had waked up or discovered that he was on earth."

The Pittsburg comrades have, of course, appealed the case to a higher court, and it remains to be seen what the final result will be. Meanwhile, as Comrade Elkins, state organizer, says in reporting the matter to the Workers' Call, "Press a lemon and you get the juice; press socialists and the people get socialism more and more before them."

Trusts.

We all know we are in the midst of the most remarkable period of concentration the world has ever known. The press has exhausted its scare heads upon it, moralists have preached about it, and reformers have propounded remedies untold for it. Meanwhile the socialist stands by and says, "Let the good work go on."

Yet, with all this discussion, few of us really realize the tremendous scope of the movement we are in. The following statement from the Capitalist, a paper, as its name indicates, conducted as the direct organ of the great owners of capital, will perhaps put the matter as clearly and as vividly at the same time as anything we could say.

"At the close of February the capital was no less than \$2,832,882,842, divided into something over 35,000,000,000 of share capital, the remainder representing bonded indebtedness. The total number of combinations was 352 and the new organizations perfected within the last twelve months represent about \$2,125,000,000. If we include new trusts since organized or now in process of formation, it will be conceded that the grand total must approach closely \$6,000,000,000. This is a stupendous sum."

The census returns of 1890 give the value of the capital then employed in the manufacturing and mechanical industries at about \$6,500,000,000, this figure including the smaller individual operations. The trusts on this basis represent about 40 per cent of the entire manufacturing interests of 1890, and if the textile industries, which have held aloof from consolidation, are eliminated, it can be advanced as a reasonable proposition that the trust combinations embody as much capital as the entire country reported nine years ago as being employed in the manufacturing and mechanical arts."

This was written at the beginning of the present month, and since then the textile industries referred to have joined the procession.

The article goes on in an attempt to show that much of the capital of the trusts being fictitious, a much less percentage of all industry is trustified than these figures would show. This statement regarding over-capitalization is made so frequently that it deserves a little further attention. No one denies that much of this capital represents no investment, and is simply a very open mode of robbery. But the question may arise as to whether, if it does not represent INVESTMENT, it does not actually represent VALUE—that is, according to capitalist economics. Value in the business world of to-day means earning capacity. Now, when a trust controls enough of a trade to be able to dominate that line of business, its earning capacity is practically that of the ENTIRE INDUSTRY as it existed under competition, plus the savings of monopoly. That is, if there were originally 100 plants and the trust acquires 60 of them and is able with those 60 to kill off the other 40, its earning capacity is equal to the entire 100, and it is good "business ethics" to capitalize the earning capacity of the entire 100.

Thus the trust grows from its very nature—gains power from its very existence, and leads willingly or unwillingly to further concentration, and at last to its own downfall.

There appears to be in certain quarters an idea of "nobbling" the socialist movement by the interest of bourgeois municipalism. We are quite willing to work with all sections for the furtherance of any specific measure in the direction of socialism, but we cannot disguise from ourselves the danger of attaching too much importance to mere municipalism, and in binding ourselves hand and foot to those who are opposed to us in principle and on every point except where collective ownership offers some advantage to the middle class. We have already seen the evil of that in connection with the London County Council, where "Progressivism" means little more than reaction. Thus, again we find in this recent conference of "elected persons" at Leeds, socialism carefully thrust into the background, while middle class municipalism is pushed to the front. And socialists are constrained to be parties to this! This conference, too, we notice, finds greater favour with those capitalist organs which affect to sneer at, and belittle that of the I. L. P.—London Justice.

Do not forget the May Day issue of The People. This will consist of an eight-page edition of our official organ, written by various comrades who are particularly familiar with the subjects they are to treat, and will constitute a splendid means of propaganda. One hundred copies or less, 1 cent each, 100 to 500, 3 cent, and 500 or more 1/2 cent. Order before April 25th of The People, 184 William street, New York City.

Bicycle Club.

All Chicago comrades having bicycles are invited to join the Socialist Bicycle and Propaganda Club. For further information address, Jos. Keidel, 812 35th St.

A sample copy invites you to subscribe.

Socialist Labor Party OF THE United States. PLATFORM.

The Socialist Labor Party of the United States, in Convention assembled, re-asserts the inalienable rights of all men to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

With the founders of the American republic we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of this right; but in the light of our social conditions we hold, furthermore, that no such right can be exercised under a system of economic inequality, essentially destructive of life, of liberty and of happiness.

With the founders of this republic we hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be owned and controlled by the whole people; but in the light of our industrial development we hold, furthermore, that the true theory of economics is that the machinery of production must likewise belong to the people in common.

To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economics is the direct opposite of our democratic system of politics can plainly be traced the existence of a privileged class, the corruption of government by that class, the alienation of public property, public franchises and public functions to that class, and the abject dependence of the mightiest of nations upon that class.

Again, through the perversion of Democracy to the ends of plutocracy, labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessities of life.

Human power and natural forces are thus wasted, that the plutocracy may rule. Ignorance and misery, with all their concomitant evils, are perpetuated, that the people may be kept in bondage.

Science and invention are diverted from their humane purpose to the enslavement of women and children.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party once more enters its protest. Once more it reiterates its fundamental declaration that private property in the natural sources of production and in the instruments of labor is the obvious cause of all economic servitude and political dependence.

The time is fast coming when, in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalistic combinations on the other hand, shall have worked out its own downfall.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of the United States, and upon all other honest citizens, to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a class-conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them by taking possession of the public powers; so that, held together by an indomitable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, we may put a summary end to that barbarous struggle by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

Notice for Outdoor Meetings.

Hurrah! for this fine weather. It is the weather that we socialists were looking for and now it is here.

The comrades should see to it immediately that their branch takes part in the open air agitation.

All branches participating in the open air work should notify the undersigned that he may send speakers, as he is the only one authorized to do this. Give full information as to time and place of meeting and how long they are to continue. This is absolutely necessary to facilitate matters and avoid confusion.

Speakers should also be careful to let me know at what times it is possible for them to speak. Should any comrade know of any member of the party who is able and willing to speak in the open air will confer a favor upon the party management by sending me his name and address.

Fraternally, Wm. Figolah, Jr. 3257 Union Ave.

Copies of Edwin Markham's wonderful poem, "The Man With a Hoe," are now for sale at the office of "The Workers' Call," at the following rates, postpaid: Three for five cents, 25 for 10 cents, and 100 for 25 cents. There has no greater "thought breeder" appeared in these last few years than this wonderful poem. Every comrade should have a few in his pocket to hand to friends.

Don't forget to ask those you work with to subscribe to The Workers' Call. Your grocer, butcher and baker might be persuaded to subscribe if you demonstrate to them that it will be to their interest to do so.

All socialists interested in the formation of a guitar and mandolin club for the purpose of assisting the propaganda of the S. L. P. will please communicate with Chas. Gerlach, 714 East 63d street.

IMMEDIATE DEMANDS.

With a view to immediate improvement in the condition of labor we present the following demands:

1. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production. 2. The United States shall obtain possession of the railroads, canals, telegraphs, telephones and all other means of public transportation and communication; the employees to operate the same co-operatively under the control of the Federal government and to elect their own superior officers, but no employee shall be discharged for political reasons.

3. The municipalities shall obtain possession of the local railroads, ferries, water works, gas works, electric plants and all industries requiring municipal franchises; the employees to operate the same co-operatively under the control of the municipal administration and to elect their own superior officers, but no employee shall be discharged for political reasons.

4. The public lands declared inalienable. Revocation of all and grants to corporations or individuals, the conditions of which have not been complied with.

5. The United States to have the exclusive right to issue money.

6. Congressional legislation providing for the scientific management of forests and waterways, and prohibiting the waste of the natural resources of the country.

7. Inventions to be free to all; the inventors to be remunerated by the nation.

8. Progressive income tax and, tax on inheritances; the smaller incomes to be exempt.

9. School education of all children under fourteen years of age to be compulsory, gratuitous and accessible to all by public assistance in meals, clothing, books, etc., where necessary.

10. Repeal of all pauper, tramp, conspiracy and sumptuary laws. Unabridged right of combination.

11. Prohibition of the employment of children of school age and the employment of female labor in occupations detrimental to health or morality. Abolition of the convict labor system.

12. Employment of the unemployed by the public authorities (county, city, state and nation).

13. All wages to be paid in lawful money of the United States. Equalization of woman's wages with those of men where equal service is performed.

14. Laws for the protection of life and limb in all occupations, and an efficient employers' liability law.

15. The people to have the right to propose laws and vote upon all measures of importance, according to the referendum principle.

16. Abolition of the veto power of the executive (national, state and municipal) wherever it exists.

17. Abolition of the United States Senate and all upper legislative chambers.

18. Municipal self-government.

19. Direct vote and secret ballots in all elections. Universal and equal right of suffrage without regard to color, creed or sex. Election days to be legal holidays. The principle of proportional representation to be introduced.

20. All public officers to be subject to recall by their respective constituencies.

21. Uniform civil and criminal law throughout the United States. Administration of justice to be free of charge. Abolition of capital punishment.

The Banks and the Trusts.

The papers have recently had much to say about the distrust of "industrialists," as the new trust stocks are called, by the banks. This has been said to be wholly because the banks "distrusted" the genuineness of the trusts capitalization, but it would appear that there is another reason working toward the same end that also throws some light on a new phase of concentration. The New York Capitalist, a Wall street organ, writes on this point:

"The actual eradication of individual industries, consequent upon the formation of large trusts, may have an important temporary effect upon the business of banks, so far as their commercial paper purchases are concerned. Signs are not lacking that banks are already feeling the influence of trust policy. Involving, as some of the plants do, the coalition of plants in widely scattered sections, it is not strange that institutions which for years have enjoyed an assured line of business from individual concerns should view with some apprehension the withdrawal of this patronage through the transfer of the management to a distant city, when the policy of the trust is dictated and its rulers reside."

Then comes the real milk of the cocoanut that shows how the trust draws to itself every industry that it touches.

"The heavy working capital of some of the trusts has removed them from the borrowing field."

The article goes on to show how the sugar trust has such a superfluity of capital that it is a heavy lender. This is in obedience to the law that we have often pointed out that the tendency of capital to roll up and ever demanding new investment, forces its owners ever into new fields of industry whether they will or not.

The article by Mrs. May Wood Simmons on "Woman and the Social Question," which appeared in the Workers' Call for April 15th, has been issued in a neat pamphlet, with the right size to go in an envelope, on first-class book paper, and with a neat, strong cover. For sale at the office of The Workers' Call, or sent postage prepaid for 5 cents each, or in quantities of 10 or more, 3 cents each.

BOOK LIST.

General Works on Socialism.

Any of the following books may be had by addressing The Workers' Call, 36 N. Clark St.

- Sombart—Socialism and the Social Movement of the Nineteenth Century.....\$1.50
Schaeffle—Quintessence of Socialism, paper 15c.....1.00
Hyndman—Economics of Socialism.....1.20
Marx—Capital.....1.75
Dawson—German Socialism and Ferdinand La Salle.....1.00
Fabian Essays, paper 25c; cloth.....1.00
Ely—French and German Socialism, paper 25c; cloth......75
Blatchford—Merrie England......10
Marx and Engels—Communist Manifesto of 1847......10
Socialistic Almanac......50
Vall—Modern Socialism......25
McClure—Socialism......10
Engels—Socialism from Utopia to Science......05

HISTORICAL WORKS.

- Hobson—Evolution of Modern Capitalism.....\$1.25
Toynbee—Industrial Revolution, paper, 60c; cloth.....1.00
Gibbins—Industrial History of England.....1.20
Rogers—Six Centuries of Work and Wages, paper, 25c; cloth.....1.00
Marx—Revolution and Counter Revolution.....1.00
Eighteenth Brumaire......25
Lourneau—Property, its Origin and Development.....1.25
Bax—History of the Paris Commune......25
Benham—History of the Commune of 1871......25
Lissagary—History of the Commune of 1871.....1.00

PAMPHLET LITERATURE.

Five cents each unless otherwise stated.

- Kautsky—The Proletariat. The Capitalist Class. The Class Struggle. The Co-operative Commonwealth. DeLeon—What Means This Strike? Reform or Revolution. LaSalle—What Is Capital? Joyces—Socialist Catechism. Harriman and Maguire—Single Tax vs. Socialism. Kropotkin—An Appeal to the Young.

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS.

- Ward, L. F.—Outlines of Sociology.....\$2.00
Bellamy—Looking Backward......50
Equality......1.25
Gronlund—Co-operative Commonwealth......50
Bax—Religion of Socialism.....1.00
Ethics of Socialism.....1.00
Bebel—Woman in Past, Present and Future......25
Bernstein—LaSalle as a Social Reformer.....1.00
Herron—The Christian State......40
George—Social Problems......25
Eugene Sue—The Silver Cross, or the Carpenter of Nazareth......25

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The following comrades are duly authorized agents for The Workers' Call and are entitled to receive money for subscriptions and advertisements.

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Sections or branches not yet having a duly elected agent are requested to select one at once and send his name to this office.

Owing to the fact that packages are often delayed in the mail comrades living in the city who desire prompt delivery of bundle orders should call for them at the office.

J. J. CAPPELS, Manufacturer and Jobber of Cigars and Tobacco.

(Smokers' Articles.) PHONE—HARRISON 466. 420 STATE ST. CHICAGO.

Hands Across the Sea

Would you like to correspond with a British comrade of the same trade profession, pursuit or with a view to the knowledge of the Socialist Labor Party's methods and progress in Great Britain. Send us your name and address, trade etc., and we will introduce you to a desirable correspondent. To cover cost of exchange, send 50 cents in money order to H. M. Reade, International Correspondence Exchange, 95 Charlotte St., Hightown, Manchester, England. (Mention the Workers' Call.)

Come One, Come All

to the Grand Free Exhibition of the

TWO HOURS OF PLEASURE AND STUDY. Given under the auspices of the Fifth Ward Branch of the S. L. P.

Monday Eve, April 24th, 8 P. M., at 2700 Wentworth Ave. (Entrance on 27th St.) Remember—There is No Charge. Everything Absolutely Free.

Stereopticon Views.

Truthful Recorder of Labor's Struggles. Unflinching Advocate of Labor's Rights. Intrepid Foe to Labor's Oppressors.

Directory of Section Chicago.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

Secretaries will please send notice of any omissions, changes or corrections in the above list and notify the editor of The Workers' Call, 36 N. Clark St.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF SECTION CHICAGO, 48 W. Randolph St., 1st and 3rd Tuesday; Sec. Jas. Smith, 267 W. Madison St.

BRANCHES.

FOURTH WARD, 3638 Armour Ave., 1st Thursday each month; Sec. N. Krogh, 3550 La Salle St.

FIFTH WARD, 2701 Wentworth Ave., every Monday night; Sec. Joseph Trentz, 359 24th St.

SIXTH WARD, 2841 Archer Ave., 1st and 2nd Saturday, each month; Sec. H. Pahl, 2557 S. Halstead St.

SEVENTH WARD, 486 S. Halsted St., 1st and 3rd Wednesday, each month; Sec. Jos. Stone, 205 Forquer St.

NINTH WARD, 47 W. 18th St., every Sunday; Sec. John Benda, 36 Fish St.

TENTH WARD, no regular meeting place; Sec. R. Finstrom, 1004 S. Wood St.

THIRTEENTH WARD, 634 Grand Ave., every Wednesday evening at 8 p. m., and every Sunday at 3 p. m.; Sec. John T. Gillespie, 719 W. Ohio St.

FOURTEENTH WARD (Scandinavian) 739 W. North Ave., cor. Campbell, 1st and 3rd Friday each month, at 8 p. m.; Sec. Lauritz Olsen, 744 N. Artesian Ave.

FIFTEENTH WARD, 992 N. Tolman Ave., 2nd and 4th Friday evening each month; Sec. Adam Harvey, 992 N. Tolman Ave.

SEVENTEENTH WARD, Danish; Sec. Albert Olsen, 225 Ohio St.

TWENTY-SECOND WARD, 289 Larabee St., 2nd and 4th Mondays; Sec. O. Gritche, 94 Reese St.

TWENTY-THIRD WARD, 32 Clybourn Ave., 2nd and 4th Sunday each month; Sec. O. H. Thurnberg, 3036 N. Paulina St.

TWENTY-FOURTH WARD, 173 Wells St., every Thursday evening and Sunday afternoon; Sec. E. A. Morris, 314 Indiana Ave.

TWENTY-SIXTH WARD; Secretary, 679 Osgood St.

TWENTY-EIGHTH WARD, Brett's Hall, cor. 48th Ave. and Lake St., 2nd and 4th Thursday evenings each month; Sec. Carl Peterson, 2494 Lake St.

THIRTIETH WARD, German, 1718 W. 51st St., 2nd and 4th Mondays; Sec. H. Stelert.

THIRTIETH WARD, Danish, 1148 63rd St., 2nd and 4th Fridays; Sec. Carl S. Lavdahl, 682 Justine St.

THIRTY-FIRST WARD, 6310 Halsted St., 1st and 3rd Fridays each month; Sec. J. Wanhoop, 6630 Aberdeen St.

THIRTY-FOURTH WARD, 113 S. Michigan Ave., every Sunday, 2:30 p. m.; Sec. G. E. Denne, 1147 Perry Ave.

POLISH BRANCHES.

POLISH CENTRAL COMMITTEE—meets every Monday at 571 Noble St., 8 p. m.; Sec. A. J. Borkowski, 709 W. 21st Pl.

NINTH WARD meets every Saturday at 800 S. Ashland Ave. (Pulaski Hall), 8 p. m.

FIFTEENTH WARD, meets 1st and 3rd Saturdays each month, at cor. Levitt and Ham-burg Sts. (Sobieski's Hall).

SIXTEENTH WARD, meets 1st and 3rd Saturdays each month at 1571 Noble St., 8 p. m.; Sec. M. Pisch, 63 Elston Ave.

SIXTEENTH WARD, meets 2nd and 4th Saturdays each month at 571 Noble St., 8 p. m.; Sec. A. Gembielki, 111 Chapin St.

THIRTY-THIRD WARD (South Chicago) meet every Thursday at 836 Superior Ave., 8 p. m.; Sec. I. Rogowicz, 8315 Green Bay Ave.

LADIES SOCIALIST BRANCH, meets 1st and 3rd Sundays each month at 663 N. Paulina (Comrade Odalski's house), 3 p. m.; Sec. M. Tylicko, 709 W. 21st Pl.

THROUGHOUT THE STATE.

PEORIA, every Tuesday evening, 3123 South Washington street.

COLLINSVILLE, every Sunday, 2:00 p. m., Gayer Building, Main street.

BELLELEVILLE, second and fourth Tuesday evenings of each month at Fisher's Hall, corner of Spring and A streets.

QUINCY, first Wednesday in each month at Fink's Hall, 613 Main street.

MURPHYSBORO, every Thursday evening.

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