

# THE WORKERS' CALL.

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

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PRICE ONE CENT.

## WHAT IS LABOR DAY

### The Significance of This Holiday to American Workers.

## NOT A DAY FOR LABORERS.

### Too Often an Opportunity for the Riveting of the Chains of Labor Yet Tighter.

Labor Day in the United States has come to mean a day when the workers of the land lay down their tools and at the command of their union gather in long processions with displays of their master's products in the line and march to some picnic grounds where they are addressed by a number of "prominent citizens" representing one or the other of the great political parties and they at last go home at night after having received a lot of first class "jollys" thinking themselves pretty fine fellows, their union officers very much finer fellows and the men who addressed them as about the finest things that ever happened.

How different this from the European May Day. The one is a gift of bourgeois rulers, the other a privilege wrested from the master's hands. The one is utilized to express the rebellion of labor against the oppressing condition it is compelled to endure, the other to display his chains to his masters and secure their fastening for another year. How do you say that this is done? You deny that Labor Day is in any way a means to the enslavement of labor. Well let us reason together. When you get ready to go to work tomorrow morning where will you go? Will you just walk out to any particular place where there is work of the kind you are fitted to do and go to work? Or will you go around until you find a man owning the things you have to have to work with and that will buy your labor power? And when you have found someone to whom you can sell yourself day by day will he give you all that you are able to produce, or will he give you just about what he knows he can get the poor starving devil for that stood beside of you when you went in and tried to get a chance to do "your" work? In other words do you not get, taking year in and year out, just what the chattel slave got—your "keep," while all the rest goes to your owner?

But you say, what has all this to do with Labor Day, with its bands, its picnics, its processions and its orators? We will be to that in a minute and you will see that it is quite an important link in the chain. The power which the employer has over the employee rests upon the fact that he has legal ownership in the tools with which the laborer works. But he secures that legal ownership through the votes of the laborer. The important link in the chain then is to see that the laborer votes right. To do this he must be kept contented and made to divide his vote among those political parties that take this state of affairs for granted and are only divided upon minor points that are of no interest to the laborer.

Here is where Labor Day looms up big. The first link in the chain is to flatter the laborer with big press accounts of his fine appearance in the parade—the long line of "honest toilers," the "magnificent display of union workers," etc. Many a man who would not be bamboozled by such taffy about himself individually will swell with pride when it is applied to his union. The result is that the laborer is made to feel that he is pretty well off anyway. Then the next step is to capture his leaders. This is easy and the rank and file seldom catch on because they have been told that there should be no politics in the trades union and so are not suspicious. Besides are not speakers to be chosen from "both sides"? You poor fool, there will be none chosen from the LABORER'S side, if the takers and bosses keep hold. So the workers meekly follow their "leaders" to the seat of the festivities. On arriving there they receive some more "jolly" and are amused with games, prizes, races, etc., until the speaking begins.

Then it is that the last link is forged and the last rivet driven that fastens their fetters for another year. One after another of the "prominent citizens" and great "statesmen" tell them of the tremendous "issues" that are dividing them. They point out the horrible danger of "trusts" but are always a little hazy on what they are going to do about it and completely silent on what effect their remedy will have on the laborer. They rage about expansion and anti-expansion, and free silver and gold standard, with high tariff and low tariff thrown in and the whole mess well-seasoned with some more about the "dignity of organized labor" and the "brotherhood of toil," and the laborer goes home secure in the position that he will vote for one or the other of his master's parties next election, and the deed is done.

Workingmen of America, can you not see that the whole thing is a tremendous snare for which you are paying a

frightfully high price of admission. Can you not see that they have talked about everything except the one thing that is of interest to you. They have not said a word about your being a wage-slave and being compelled to give up the larger portion of what you produce to the man who buys your labor-power. They have kept very, very still about the fact that millions of men must at frequent intervals be thrown out upon the street to look for masters, a condition worse than the chattel slave ever knew. They say nothing to you about the fact that those who produce nothing receive the lion's share of the products of labor. Above all they were scrupulously silent on the point that if the laborer would but use his vote solidly as a class he could easily enact his interests into law instead of continuing to vote for the interests of his employers. In fact, under the pretense of keeping politics out of the union they have filled the day with the most definite partisan kind of CAPITALIST politics. The only kind of politics that were not mentioned were laborer's politics. The only party which is scrupulously and carefully omitted from representation at all ordinary Labor Day celebrations is the only party of the laborers—the International Socialist Labor Party. Here and there there are beginning to be exceptions and the laborers are beginning to discuss the questions that concern them and not those of the capitalists. But these instances are still the exception and in the most of cases the position is still true with which we started, that Labor Day has become a day on which to tighten up the fetters of enslaved labor.

## THE COLISEUM ACCIDENT.

### The "Risks of Capital" versus the "Risks of Labor."

The falling of the Coliseum in Chicago this week with its slaughter of laborers calls to mind the fact that a similar accident took place when the previous Coliseum was being built and incidentally forms but one more chapter in the long massacre of laborers by capitalism that is going on every day. In this last instance there is not a shadow of doubt but what had there been less profits to the contractor there would have been more laborers yet living. But rivets and bolts cost money and labor and so the contractor took the chance. There were ten killed, thirteen injured (some fatally) and five missing at the latest accounts.

We hear much of the "risks of capital." How about the risks of labor? The slaughter on the battlefields of labor for a single week are greater than those of the entire Philippine war. Yet we hear of no projects for pensions. We wonder if it is because wage-slaves are so cheap and so easy to replace. Or is it because society is so organized today that the laborer does not count? If so whose votes keep up that form of organization?

In connection with the Coliseum horror the following is of interest:

Stewart Spalding, secretary of the Coliseum company said: "The Pittsburgh Bridge company had charge of the work of erecting the arches. We have protected ourselves fully in the matter. We had the memory of the collapse of the old Coliseum on the south side in our mind and took good care that a repetition of such an accident should entail no loss on us." Architect Dankmar Adler, who has superintended the erection of a number of iron-frame buildings, expressed the opinion that all such structures were uncertain quantities until the walls had been completed and the flooring put in.

You see that the memory of the accident on the south side was used by the company. But in what way? To prevent another accident with its slaughter of laborers. Not at all. To INSURE AGAINST LOSS OF MONEY. What difference though it was known that "all such structures were uncertain quantities"? Insurance companies will take the "risks" and the laborers and their families can take care of themselves or starve. And the quicker they make up their minds to that effect and conclude to take care of themselves the sooner all such horrors will cease.

## FIGHTING THE BEEF TRUST.

### Monkeying With a Buzz-saw in the Economic World.

The New York Retail Butcher's Association is arranging to fight the Beef Trust. They claim they can buy their cattle and slaughter them on their own account. They will find that the warmest proposition they ever tackled. When they have broken through the buyer's combine to get their cattle, overturned the shipper's rate arrangement on live cattle to Chicago and dressed beef to New York, destroyed the differential on refrigerator cars and discovered and utilized all the economic "waste products" they will find themselves given a solar-plexus blow by the four to five dollar a week labor of the Chicago Packing Houses and when the thing is all blown over Swift and Armour will have a few more distributing stations in New York city and the retail butchers will be running them at so much per month. If the Retail Butcher's Association want something real easy they had better go out and get shaved with a buzz-saw.

Are YOU still hunting for a substitute?

## ART FOR THE WORKER

### One More Attempt to Play With the Labor Question.

## AN "ARTISTIC WORKSHOP."

### A Scheme to Help Laborers By Making Play Shops for Middle Class and Professional Theorists.

Preparations are now being made to start an artistic and educational workshop in connection with the University of Chicago. The idea of the founders is to introduce once more into industry something of the individuality of the workman which is the base of all artistic production. All true art is the expression in material form of the idea of the artist. But machine production has made all articles alike and none but the original designer has any possibility of approaching the artistic, while even with him the commercial and not the artistic motive must always be uppermost. Furthermore the chief joy to the worker lies in seeing his own ideas take form in some material substance. This it is that has ever been the reward of the artist, the inventor and the poet. But this, one of the chief avenues of human enjoyment has been absolutely cut off by the competitive and capitalist system.

The result has been that our society is perhaps the ugliest that history has ever known. The ordinary workman has reached the point where he is but a cog in a machine for duplicating the ugliness that some other mind has devised. He has no idea of his own, no hope of developing it if he has. How different this is from the laborer of the Middle Ages, of whom Thorold Rogers says that almost any of them could have planned any of the cathedrals of that time, and to do which was indeed so common and caused so little remark that but few of their architects are known.

This is the aim toward which the founders of the above school are aiming, but they will scarce accomplish it in the way they are going at it. It is safe to say that there will not be a genuine laborer ever set foot within bounds of the proposed school and it will turn out simply to be a place where "Toilet enthusiasts" and sentimental reformers, perform acts of "self-abnegation." A few people who imagine they are inspired by motives of "conscientiousness" and a desire to show their sympathy with poor suffering labor by taking up some of his burdens or showing their belief in the principle that everyone should perform some useful toil in the best possible way, coupled with a few Utopian artists, will meet and play at working for a few weeks and then hold exhibitions of their work, to which all their friends will come and listen to the exhibitors talk technique and use professional terms and then the matter will go until another year. It will be another case of playing at the social problem. The aims of the individuals who are engaged will be all right, but they will at the beginning cut themselves off from all connection with the only class that can possibly help them or that has any deep interest in the questions they are trying to solve. They would be frightened if they were told that the proper place to seek to secure an artistic society was with the plain, toiling laborers whom they look upon as disreputable when they are not patronizing them.

Nevertheless, it is to that class that this crowd of dilettant players with toll must look if they would restore something of the beauty and enjoyment that once attached to labor. The present form of production is based upon the wage system and profit. That is, all production must have cheapness as its main end and must be carried on by the purchase of labor power where it can be secured the cheapest—that labor power to be paid much less than it produces. But so long as this is done the laborer (who always makes up the great mass of the purchasing public) must buy where he can buy the cheapest if he is to live at all. He has no means with which to buy "William Morris" wall paper and chairs, and while the product of this new artistic shop will grace the homes of its wealthy patrons or rest in the cabinets of women's clubs and museums, the laborers will still be using machine made articles in all their hideous ugliness.

This whole child-like movement is of exactly the same nature as the political reforms with which these same triflers amuse themselves. In both cases they hold themselves aloof from the only class that has any power to change, or interest in changing, the system at which they make believe to rail. It is the laboring class whose toll is at present unbearable, whose homes are trampled upon by ugliness, whose life is one long round of painful toil, and, finally, whose votes are alone sufficiently numerous to change this condition. Therefore it is to them that the appeal must be made. And they are already taking

(Continued on page 2.)

## TO TRADE UNIONISTS

### What Is It Makes a Scab and Who Are They?

## BETRAYING THE LABORERS.

### Different Ways in Which a Man May Prove a Traitor—The Larger the Body Betrayed the Greater the Traitor.

You joined your union because you believed that thereby you could secure better conditions for yourself and family. You have stood by it loyally. It has helped you to get and retain work when you would otherwise have been idle, and has secured you higher wages than you could have received had you been compelled to meet the boss unaided. You have grown to look upon a scab as about the worst specimen of humanity that has been created. You know him as a traitor to the cause of labor, as one who hangs like a camp follower ever upon the skirts of those who fight and would then enjoy the fruits of their battle without enduring the danger. You consider him as one who, having enlisted in the great army of labor would then betray it into the hands of the enemy. But did you ever stop to think that that scab is obeying the same law of self-preservation that you are? That, contemptible as his action is to you (and I would not for one minute justify his action from your point of view) he was forced into it by exactly the same conditions that forced you to unite with your fellows to fight the boss. Both, then, are moved by the same law of self-interest. There is no nonsense of brotherhood about it in either case. You found it more to your interest to see your ends through the union, and that made of your scabmates brothers. But if their interests had led them different, how about the brotherhood? Brotherhood is the highest crown of our civilization, but unless it is based upon common interests it is a hollow mockery. Now, let us see if there is not a bond of "brotherhood" uniting you and the despised scab. Have you not both alike to seek for a master before you can use the power you have to produce? Do you not both alike have to sell your labor power to someone who can make a profit out of you? In fact, are you positive that some day you and the scab may not change places and he be throwing bricks at you, and this with no fault on the part of either? Do you think it is more pleasant being a scab than a union man?

Let us even look a little closer and see if YOU never scabbed. Now, do not get excited and throw this paper down and swear at the writer, but just bring up your reasoning powers and come along with us while we reason together. What is it that makes a scab? Is it not that he betrays his class? Now is it worse to betray a little group at a single strike or to sell out a whole class of millions of laborers year after year? Finally, is it worse to prevent a small body of strikers from securing a trifling advance in wages or to doom all workers to continuous slavery? Now follow this closely and see if you have not committed the worst of these evils.

Every year, and sometimes oftener, you have a chance to go to the ballot box and express your interests there. Now, if we can show to you that up to the present time you have simply been selling out yourself and the entire laboring class every time you voted, will you cease to cry "scab" until you have stopped being one yourself? The laboring class to day must sell themselves to the capitalists who own the tools which the laborers must have to work with. The capitalist keeps this condition up by means of the government which he controls. He makes the laws which continue this state of affairs, but those who make the laws are elected by the laborers, who have a majority of the votes. Therefore, he can only keep the laborers enslaved through the laborers' votes. Is this clear so far? Now, how did you vote last election?

Before you answer let us go a little further. The way that the capitalist succeeds in fooling the worker into voting for his own slavery is by the formation of rival political parties. These parties make a great fuss about certain minor points which they try to make the laborers believe are of great interest to the working class, but both parties are agreed upon one thing, and that is that the capitalist class shall own the tools and machines and land and mines and factories which the laborer must use if he shall live, and that the owners of these shall be allowed to take rent, interest and profits out of the products of the laborer. Let us take an illustration on this point. Suppose that the next time you were engaged in a strike for higher wages some man should come into your union just as you were debating whether you should accept the terms of the boss and say to you, "There was a terrible crime against silver committed in 1873, and the tariff will be raised 10 per cent." Would you not say to him, "Get out! Who cares for your silver and tariff? What we want is more to eat and drink

and wear and better homes to live in and shorter hours to work." And if he should continue to talk to you about such stuff whenever you wanted to discuss your wages, you would throw him into the street as a traitor to your cause who was trying to side-track you and prevent your bettering your condition.

Now, just in the same way, the only question in which the laborer has any interest at the ballot box is as to whether he shall continue to live under a system in which he must beg somebody else for the chance to be a slave. But when he would talk about this someone comes along (and not unfortunately he is a labor leader) and he tells you that the Filipinos are being oppressed, or that the street railroads should be municipalized, and you run off after him and vote for something that has nothing to do with the labor question but is an indorsement of the capitalist class. Instead of standing solid with the members of the laboring class, you put your vote in with the capitalist class and vote yourself and your fellow laborers into slavery. But hold on! when a man deserts his class and helps out the other side, what do you call him? Now, who is a scab?

But while we are at it let us rub it in. The scab who steals your job was forced to it by starvation. The scab who sells the freedom of his class generally has what he calls a good job. Again, the scab at the strike gets something for himself and family which may mean life to himself and those he loves. The man who gives his vote to the boss by voting for one of the capitalist parties gets left. So he is both a scab and a fool. Now, do not get mad, but just read the reasoning over, and if it is true, take your medicine and swear you will never do it again.

Make a solemn vow that you will at once unite with the only organization of the workers that is wide enough to take in the whole class and that believes in standing together at the ballot box as well as at the bench, that works not simply to ease the slavery of a few, but to abolish the slavery of all, the only party that has any "issues" of interest to the working class, the only party with which a laborer can vote and not "throw his vote away"—the Socialist Labor Party. Join its organization, attend its meetings, vote its ticket, help on its work, and then you will have the consciousness of knowing that no one can call you a political scab.

## TWENTY DOLLARS A HEAD.

### Chattel Slavery and Wage Slavery As Found Under "Old Glory."

Among the clauses that the Senate will be asked to ratify in the new treaty with the Sultan of Sulu the following clauses make interesting reading:

"The sovereignty of the United States over the entire Sulu Archipelago is acknowledged."

The American flag is adopted as the flag of the Sultan.

Any slave in the Archipelago is given the right to purchase his freedom by paying his owner the sum of \$20.00."

Anyone who knows anything about the possibility of even a wage-slave earning money in the tropics can imagine what the chances are of a chattel slave ever being able to raise the \$20.00 necessary to secure his freedom so that this really amounts to a confirmation of the slave system for all time, especially as if by some miracle the slave could scrape together \$20.00, by the very fact that he was a slave that \$20.00 would not be his at all but his masters who could take it from him and let him start over again.

Yet we do not see any of the "humanitarians" and "philanthropists" of today making any great amount of fuss over it. It does not create one-half as much excitement as did the sufferings of the poor dear Cubans under Spanish rule after the American markets ran out. One would think from the stories of the anti-slavery days in the United States when the abolitionists were moving heaven and earth to get rid of the southern negro slave and were going into frenzies about the "morality" of the thing, that some of this "fine frenzy" would be left until today.

But let us see. When the North wanted to "free the negro" it had just been discovered that northern wage-slavery was cheaper and more profitable at all points than the southern chattel-slavery. So long as the reverse was true Massachusetts kept slaves. Now American capital is soon going to "open up new markets" of the Sulu Archipelago. But they are going to do this, not as some foolish laborers fondly imagine by making products in America to send over there, but by sending the factories over there and making up the goods to sell here. The great thing needed is cheap labor-power. Now while at the time negro chattel-slavery existed in the United States it was impossible to use slave labor as cheaply as wage labor because of the degree of skill that was still required, machinery has now been perfected to the point where it is easily possible that the slave labor of the Sulu archipelago could be used to tend the new machines. In this case there is considerable object in allowing chattel-slavery to remain. They would be less troublesome to handle, would not strike or form unions or agitate politically. Hence the capitalist conscience becomes blunted and its possessors look the other way.

## THE STORY OF LABOR

### The Sufferings and Development of the Laboring Class.

## ONE LONG PAINFUL STRUGGLE

### Changing Tools and Changing Slavery—The Way to Victory and Freedom in the Struggle of Today.

Abstract of address by A. M. Simons at Wood Workers' picnic, Chicago, Sept. 4th:

He who would tell the story of the laborer must speak to the accompaniment of clanging chains and weeping women. He must be able to somehow picture an hundred forms of fetters that have chained the mind and body of the toilers of all ages to the tasks of their oppressors. He must be able to voice the long wall of anguish now rising to fierce roar of rebellion, or quivering with the wild shrieks of despair only to again sink into the sullen moan of hopelessness and ignorant suffering. For the story of labor is not a thin red line in history; it is a turbid stream of blood and suffering and oppression. It is the one never-ending tragedy of life. It is the great vicarious sacrifice of the ages. The life of the laborer has been the dark background to throw into relief the actions of those he carried upon his shoulders.

A part of that story I would tell you to day. Not a continuous narrative from the beginning but a few flash-lights and glimpses along the closing portion of the journey. At the close of the last century the worker stood upon one of those great dividing points in history which marks the closing of an epoch in human development and the opening of the gates into new fields of life. The "Golden Age" of the 15th century was behind him but its traditions and customs still made up the poetry of his life and determined the form of much of his existence. His father could still tell him of the time when the guild yet lived, when the laborer ruled in industry and when a larger portion of his product was left for him to enjoy than at any other time since first the toll of man began. Even at this time of which we speak some portion of the glory of this former age shone round him. In many a little village throughout the European world the laborer still worked with tools of his own upon material that he had himself secured from Nature, and with the certainty that when he had completed his work the product would be his to keep or to exchange with his neighbor for things he could not himself produce.

The weaver looked upon his loom, the shoemaker upon his hammer and lap-stone, the blacksmith upon his forge and anvil as his assistants, his dumb helpers in the fight with the rude Nature around him. He little dreamed of the day when they should be transformed into great monsters of brass and steel and steam that should hold him as helpless in their power as he now held them. But a great change was taking place in the character of the tools with which man worked. The voyages of Columbus, Vasco de Gama and a host of others had opened up new worlds for the products of European workers. The demand for goods of all kinds increased enormously. Laborers could work no faster and the supply of goods was thus limited by the number of workers and the time that they could toil. Men turned their attention to the tools with which they worked. Arkwright, Hargreaves, and Crompton looked upon the tools of the weaver and the spinner and replaced the hands of men with levers of wood and iron, and where one spindle had worked alone with its single watcher an hundred flew round with no increase in watchers, and the arm and hand of steel flung the shuttle through a thousand times where the one of flesh and blood had gone but once. Nasmyth touched the blacksmith's sledge and at the turning of a lever in the hands of a child it fell with the force of an hundred brawny arms. Then these marvelous tools were endowed with a life of steam through the genius of Watt and man had only to watch them work while they fought out the battle with Nature almost unaided. Surely now all the world would be happy. If before when only the crudest means were used the laborer could secure from the world around him enough to satisfy all his necessities, surely he must now riot in untold wealth. If machines are doing the work the laborer must be able to live in luxurious idleness.

Let us see if this was true, and if not why not. Think you that if in some savage tribe dependent on the chase a net had been invented that swept in the fish in great schools as they swam by, that that tribe would have suffered for lack of fish. Think you that if some hunter more skillful than the rest had found a trap by which all game could be drawn within easy reach of the camp, that children would have lacked for meat? Do you imagine that if some woman toiling in the field had found

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A. M. SIMONS, EDITOR.



The Socialist Vote. UNITED STATES.

Table showing the Socialist vote in the United States with columns for year and vote count.

Copies sold last week 14,200.

TRUSTS AND THE LABORERS.

What interest has the laborer in the trust question? To believe the newspapers of today the trust must be abolished or society will fall to pieces.

Just now we are in the midst of a great increase in "trustification" and there is no denying the fact that wages are as good and employment as plenty as capitalism has been able to show for many years.

The likeness between the improved machine and the trust is indeed much closer than appears at first sight. The machine made it possible to do much more work with the same amount of energy.

But there are other and deeper changes than these that seem to have so far escaped the observation of those who have been studying in this field.

Remember that no man can think anything that did not first get into his head. Then remember that the capitalist class today control most of the means of getting things into the laborer's head.

with the employer it was possible for the latter to play the laborers against each other and to force them down to the subsistence point and finally to supplant them with their wives and children until the horrors of industrial England made up such a ghastly hell as this old world has never known.

Today there is another set of conditions confronting the worker through the trust that are wondrously like those introduced by the machine and yet with many differences. The trust causes a great economy in production and enables the laborer to produce much more than they could under competition.

So far the parallel is still remarkably close. But it can be carried much further. Like causes will produce like effects. Just as the owners of the machines soon began to press upon the workers to hold their own in the markets of the world, just so the owners of the trusts will soon begin to press upon their employees.

The coming of the trust marks the beginning of the epoch in the history of labor when the center of the fight must be shifted to the political field.

The socialist holds that the laborer has no interest in anything that leaves capitalist class government in existence. So long as the ruling class is the capitalist class and the wage system remains labor-power must be purchased at what it will cost to sustain the life of the laborer and continue the race of laborers.

What have you done to help spread the news of socialism? Have you sent in a club of ten to The Workers' Call? If not, why not?

The Story of Six Months.

With this number the Workers' Call completes the first six months of its existence. Therefore we take this opportunity to make a little statement of the work accomplished in that time.

Table showing the number of copies sold for each issue from No. 1 to No. 25.

In addition to these copies actually sold there has been from 500 to 2,000 sample copies of each issue sent out, making a total of about 175,000 papers that have been distributed in this six months.

From the first we have made the entire object of the paper the circulation of socialist literature, and in pursuit of that have adopted all possible plans that promised any further extension of such circulation.

Through these means we have made it possible for every section having any hangers among its members to have plenty of good socialist literature for distribution at its meetings.

The Socialist and Reformers.

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Subscribers Take Notice.

With this number the first lot of six month subscriptions expire. If you are one of these see to it that you renew at once.

Do you believe that you are on the right side when you strike? Then you ought to have the powers of government on your side.

SNAP SHOTS BY THE WAYSIDE.

Chicago Record, August 31st:

TWO BIG COAL TRUSTS.

Joint Capital Is \$194,000,000. Mines Along Monongahela River and Railroad Lines Are Included in the Deal—Corporations Are Not to Be Competitive.

This is simply awful! No competition? Competition is the "life of trade" and no competition means the death of capitalism.

The price of coal will be arranged between these gentlemen, and the consumers will know exactly how much they will have to pay for it. Mark you! There will be no competition.

There will be no competition between the owners of these coal fields, and there will be no competition between the distributors of the product of these coal fields, because the owners will not permit it.

They must learn to combine in their own interest, and then the advantages accruing to combined action will go to those who labor, and not to those who appropriate to themselves all the advantages arising from improved methods and combined action in production.

General Otis, you are mistaken this time! Dennis Kearney is a capitalist today.

What's the matter with Gallifet? He is the persistent upholder of "law and order," the champion of the bourgeoisie through good and evil report.

John Burns, M. P., who at one time was willing to sacrifice everything for the emancipation of labor, says now, according to cable reports, that the trusts must be stayed, which simply means that capitalism must be maintained.

PLAIN LABOR IN DEMAND.

Free Employment Bureaus Lack Unskilled Workers. Applicants for Trade and Professional Posts Outrun All Others—Wages Seem to Offer Little Inducement to Raw Hands—Quit Hard Jobs Early.

So "plain labor" is in demand. Applications by skilled and professional workers outrun all others. They will have to become "plain" laborers before they can get a job.

The socialists are charged with desiring to level things down. The capitalist system IS NOW doing the leveling, and the quicker the workers learn that the element of skill is becoming less and less a factor in production, the sooner the capitalist leveling process will stop.

Well, Labor Day is here again and the usual bosh about the respect for and dignity of labor will be reshaped by our capitalist press.

We remember further reading in the "American Federationist" how P. J. Maguire of the carpenters, a fakir of the most successful type was designated by Gompers as the father of Labor Day.

mark and a notorious lie to boot.

Labor Day originated in the Central Labor Union of New York, to which at that time both Gompers and Maguire stood in deadly opposition.

The first celebration was a great success and the second (1883) a still greater. It may interest our readers to know that as the parade was passing the south end of Union Square, Gompers with a companion jeered at the paraders, was called to time by a fellow craftsman, and then sneaked away.

How things have changed since then. The first Labor Days voiced the aspirations of Labor; an attempt was made to clear the skirts of the trades union movement from the contaminating influence of the boodler politicians.

Surely things have changed; we have now a legal Labor Day which is used principally by boodler politicians to show the strength of their grip on the working class.

CALLING NAMES.

Questions of Right or Wrong in a Capitalist Society.

It is a characteristic of the bourgeois reformer to continually throw names at the capitalists. One of the most frequent used is that of "thief."

At first sight this seems conclusive but this is only because the reasoning is shallow and betrays a shallow mind at work. When the word "thief" is used the intention is to convey a moral judgement—to make a decision that an act is right or wrong.

Now the dominant economic class today is the capitalist class. They are the ones who determine what is "moral."

Under these conditions the application of the term "thief" to the capitalist is a mark of the reformer who seeks to justify himself within the capitalist system by cheap juggling with terms.

The only term of opprobrium that can properly be applied by the socialist is the plain old Anglo Saxon word "fool" when speaking of the average laborer who goes to the ballot box year after year and votes to endorse the system of ethics that makes it "right" to take from him the most of what he produces.

From England comes the complaint that American competition is killing the trades union. The Amalgamated Engineers, the largest union in England has just been suspended for two years from the central executive body of the trades unions of Great Britain.

CAPITALISM.

What Socialists Mean When They Use the Term to Describe Present Society.

A phrase which is frequently used by socialists to describe our present system is "capitalism." This term is used as more accurate than any other in common use.

The term is also used to distinguish the present from the previous society, or "feudalism," where the ruling class were those who owned the land.

PROFITS VS. HEALTH.

The Old Story of Human Life Sacrificed to Cent-per-cent Profits.

A good illustration of the way in which the capitalist looks upon all questions in the light of class interest is furnished by the following clipping from a recent number of the Minneapolis Journal:

An amendment to the smoke ordinance, making this troublesome law still more stringent, is creating some interest among the aldermen.

"You can't have factories very well unless you have fires," he argues, "and wherever there's fire there'll be smoke, and you can't stop it.

"May be it won't do any good for me to make a fight, but I don't take any stock in such laws as this anti-smoke ordinance."

Now of course McCoy knows perfectly well what "they are going to do" with the smoke. He knows that inventive genius has produced various devices by which furnaces can be run without blackening the sky and stifling the people's lungs with smoke.

DULUTH.

Police Persecution of No Avail to Stop Socialist Agitation.

To the Editor of The Workers' Call: The police have tried to stop the comrades from speaking in Duluth, Minn., but they would not stop.

Comrade Crist was speaking here one night. He was telling the proletarians that they were white slaves. I was passing out some samples of The Call.

The recent election for councilor in Toulon resulted in a victory for the socialists, their candidate receiving 1,557 votes to 1,350 for his opponent.

# DIVIDING UP. Capitalist vs. Socialist Way

Those who understand the nature of the coming economic struggle, and who through the recognition of their distinct class interests, have arrayed themselves in the ranks of the militant proletariat, are not inclined to waste any energy in questioning the "right" of their opponents to use any and all means wherewith to bulwark and sustain the economic system upon which their supremacy as a class is based. The arguments which the capitalist class employ in this struggle, and which can only have an effect proportionate to the credulity and ignorance of those upon whom they are imposed, may at once be recognized as part of the "business" of the aforesaid class, in that they become more and more necessary as the present economic system is in process of disintegration. But it is also equally the "business" of the socialist to expose the fallacy of such arguments, for absurd and contemptible as they may appear to him individually, they are not without effect upon those who are accustomed to take their opinions at second hand, a fact which must be plain to all socialist public speakers who hear those absurdities continually reiterated by the very class for whose confusion they have been specially designed.

Looked at through the lenses of modern scientific socialism, one of the most idiotic of these charges is the accusation that the socialists want to "divide up," and at first sight it is not very creditable to the intelligence of the working class that this, the silliest perhaps of all "objections" to socialism, is at the same time one of the most persistent.

But an analysis of this "dividing up" idea, will, we think, show that at one time it had some application, and that it is really a relic from past economic stages of human development, a lineal descendant of the primitive communism of ancient tribal society, growing less applicable with every change of the economic basis, and disappearing entirely in the presence of modern capitalist production.

Throughout the whole historical development of human society, since economic classes first began to appear, and during the many centuries of slavery and feudalism through which European nations passed, we can clearly perceive certain relations existing between ruling and ruled classes which secured to the latter a tolerable certainty of livelihood. The slave-holding master was by custom and law responsible for the subsistence of his slave, whilst the serf also enjoyed certain specified rights in the land to which he was attached by the feudal system, and except in periods of famine, possessed a comparative assurance that his bodily necessities would at least be satisfied. But in the words of the "Communist Manifesto" the "patriarchal and idyllic relations" that resulted from these economic systems disappeared before the capitalist mode of production, which substituted in their place the "cash nexus" between man and man.

As economic conditions form and modify ethical beliefs, we can also recognize the gradual adaptation of the latter to the former. The Scriptural injunction "Sell all that thou hast and give to the poor," the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, the denunciation of wealth procured by "extortion," the establishment of religious orders practicing communism amongst themselves, the contempt and hatred expressed for "forestallers and regraters," the condemnation of usury (these latter ideas prevailing through the Middle Ages), were quite in accordance with the economic systems then existing, but are now altogether ignored or explained away, in consequence of the recognized exigencies of modern profit-making.

Their place is now occupied by the capitalist method of dividing up; the wage system and its auxiliary, private and organized "charity." It is not difficult to understand that in the economic systems of exploitation preceding capitalism, when the tools of production were small, crude and inexpensive, and when mankind drew their subsistence more directly from the land, that the exploited classes in periods of economic pressure, with the modified traditions of an ancient communism behind them, looked rather to a division of the products of labor as a remedy, than to the collective ownership of the means of production, an idea which could then have no meaning, simply because ownership of the existing tools of production was not then the basis of economic power.

But with the immense changes wrought by capitalist development the ownership of the means of production becomes the basis of class supremacy, feudalism passes away and with it the rights and status of the serf, and the supremacy of his master the landed property owner. A new class is now gradually coming into prominence, a dispossessed and disinherited class, with no relations between themselves and their economic masters except the "cash nexus," a class that are now beginning to understand that modern industry cannot be carried on except by the gigantic tools of production of which itself is a part, that the ownership of these tools is the basis of capitalist class rule and also the foundation of their economic slavery. Therefore the demand of the modern working class takes the form of the collective ownership of the means of production

instead of "dividing up" of the product. The present system is in itself a system of "dividing up," in which the dividend of the worker amounts to just sufficient for a bare existence, while the exploiting classes through the fact of ownership alone are enabled to appropriate the ever increasing surplus product which the worker creates.

Against this system of "division" the socialist protests and points out the necessity of its abolition. A glance at the statistics of the U. S. of A. will show us that in 1890, the ownership of 71 per cent of the national wealth was in the hands of 9 per cent of the inhabitants, and on the other side 4 per cent of that wealth was owned by 52 per cent of the population. Here we have the only possible "division" of the product under our present economic system and it is easy to see the tendency of these figures. By the next census the 71 per cent must decrease. And inversely the 9 per cent will decrease whilst the 52 per cent increases. Such is our present method of "dividing up."

Even if we could imagine this product equally divided, the amount of wealth secured by each individual would after all be a mere beggarly pittance, an insignificant fraction of what it would be possible to produce under a rational and intelligent system of production.

The socialist cares little for any scheme for better distribution of the product whilst capitalism exists. He knows that such ideas are practically impossible of realization whilst a system remains in force whose every tendency is to continually lessen that part of the product of labor which the worker appropriates, and to augment the other part, the surplus product which is appropriated by the owners of the means of production.

The socialist indictment of our present economic system is by no means wholly included in the fact that the worker is at present debarred from the enjoyment of the product which his labor creates. The recognition that the capitalist system wastes and dissipates a vast amount of labor power, and restricts production in the interest of individuals, leads up to the comprehension of the reason why those who labor are able to secure to themselves only a small portion of the wealth which is the product of such labor.

The enforced idleness of millions of workers, the wasted efforts of the countless thousands who are engaged in unproductive labor in order to gratify the caprices of a small class embarrassed by the amount of their exploited wealth. The senseless competition which results in the closing of thousands of factories and workshops, at the same time augmenting the "reserve army of industry," and tending to reduce still further the wretched pittance of those who are still employed. The periods of "overproduction," when the capitalist classes create artificial famine by debarring the workers from employment until their previously created product has been sold at a profit. The constantly increasing armies and navies (recruited from the ranks of the producing classes), necessary to preserve capitalism at home, and "open" markets abroad at the cannon's mouth.

The steady deterioration of the workers morally and physically as exemplified in the growing slum districts of our great cities; the enormous number of officials, policemen, detectives, magistrates, judges and lawyers required to keep under restraint the crime, murder and anarchy which are the natural result of an evil environment; all these phenomena the socialist recognizes as limbs and branches of the tree of capitalism, whose root is the private ownership of the means of production by which all must live.

The socialist therefore goes into the economic field armed not with a pruning knife but with an axe, and that axe he lays to the root of the capitalist tree knowing well that pruning and clipping are useless while the root remains untouched.

The "dividing up" of the product, while permitting the system of production to continue is properly speaking the function of the "reformer" and philanthropist." With the socialist movement it has no connection. When individual has been replaced by collective ownership, the distribution of the product will harmonize with the mode of production.

All the petty and abortive schemes for the "elevation of the masses," the securing to the workers a larger share of their product, whilst conserving the present economic system, in so far as their promoters are sincere, are born of a complete ignorance of the nature of the economic structure of modern society. Hence their futility.

When the working class understand that the distribution of the product is determined by the mode of production they will see the necessity of united effort for the conquest of political power, so that being masters of the means of production they will also be masters of the product of their labor. The accomplishment of this unavoidable task is the triumph of socialism. In the meantime while capitalism exists the capitalist system of "dividing up" will of necessity continue, that is to say, for the capitalist class an ever increasing wage supplemented by "the crumbs which fall from the rich man's table."

## The Story of Labor.

(Continued from page 1)

a way by which the hoe could work by itself and cultivate the maize and vegetables that families would have died that winter for lack of bread?

Surely then our intelligent forefathers did no less. The loom now did a thousand fold more work. There could never be any shivering unclothed children after this. Unknown lands were opened up to the plow and their products laid down thousands of miles away easier than before the few acres around a cottage were cultivated and harvested. There would never be any hungry mouths from now on. The bowls of the earth were opened up with great steel fingers that its treasures of fuel might be brought to light. Now, winter will be robbed of its terrors and women will no longer huddle above a few dying embers to keep the life from going out. Steam has been hitched to the creeping cart and the drifting ship and the ends of the earth are knit together with bands of steel and men can move miles as they once went feet. Now all will live in the pleasant places of the earth and none will be condemned to unpleasant homes amid disagreeable surroundings. Above all else everything is now done by the machine, and men will work but short hours for a few years in the prime of life and childhood's time of growth and play and education will be prolonged until all knowledge will be within the reach of all and ignorance will be banished from the world. Women can now lay down the burden of toil that she inherited from savagery and becoming the true helpmate and equal of man the race can go on to grander, better things than the mind of man has ever dreamed.

But we look upon the scene, and what is there? What was the picture that one would have seen who had looked with some marvelous telescope from other worlds upon this earth at the time of which we speak? He would have seen ragged, naked children begging for food upon the highways when they were not chained to cars beneath the ground or bound to cruel machines that maimed and tortured and crushed out their young lives. He would have seen half-naked women toiling at the forge and loom while strong men fought with others for a chance to sell themselves day by day as slaves. He would see, if he could pierce through great clouds of smoke, armies of men, women and children packed in close, vile hovels built amid squalor and filth that kills by inches. And as he looked upon these horrors he would exclaim "Surely these are those who refuse to do their share in the work of society, or else they are the criminals and the idlers who are being thus cruelly punished only because the light of humanity has not yet dawned upon the world." But if he looked longer he would see that on the contrary these sufferers were the ones who did the work, who produced all, and upon whom the whole social structure rested, while the few whom he could see living in luxurious idleness were those who did no useful work but lived upon the products of others' toil. Then he would be forced to conclude that it was because the light of knowledge had died out and there was no more books or schools or writing in the world. But then again he would see the marvels of the printing press, the sea of papers that sweeps over the land each day, the cities full of schools and colleges, all telling of the triumphs of science and learning. And he would turn aside his head and say, "surely these people are mad. Much thinking hath turned their heads."

Let us see if we can solve this riddle. When the laborer found the sudden transformation taking place in his tools which we have described he found that this change in the manner of production wrought other changes in the world around him. He found that whether he would or no he must use these new-found tools. He was made to see that things were no longer made to use but to sell and that he who could make the cheapest could make all others idle. The blacksmith could no longer make horse-shoes when the machine had been put into the field. The weaver's hand loom was but rubbish after the power loom went to work. The worker then turned to the new tools. But here he found a new condition of affairs confronting him. Heretofore he had always owned the instruments with which he worked. But it was now manifestly impossible for each worker to individually own one of these strange new tools, for they required the co-operation of great numbers of workers to use them. Men were now divided into groups and divisions and each one did but a little part of a great process and the whole productive machinery became co-operative, requiring the assistance of countless numbers of laborers. None of these owned the machines and factories with which they worked. Hence there arose a class who through a multitude of ways, seized upon these complex tools. Sometimes they were given them through kindly grant. Again they bought them with the proceeds of lands stolen from the laborers by the system of enclosures which but a few years before had robbed the class of workers of their means of life. But it matters not how they obtained them. The fact remains that there arose a CLASS OF OWNERS, whose business it was to have LEGAL possession of the means of life. We care not how the burglar secured his tools. It is the fact of possession and use that is of interest to those who have anything to be stolen. Neither does it alter the fact that for many years it was possible for an occasional

laborer to leave his class and join that of the owners.

Up to this time the ruling class in society had been the landlords. They had owned the most important social instrument of production. So long as agriculture was the principal occupation ownership of the land carried with it the dominant position in society. But now manufacture came to the front. A new class of owners became prominent. Those who now controlled the instruments of production in manufacture and commerce became the ruling economic force and hence were destined soon to become the ruling social and governmental force. They quickly demanded the recognition of their position as rulers. Then began the long fierce fights, sometimes peaceful as in England and again rising to a carnival of blood and carnage as in the French Revolution by which at last the capitalist class rose to power.

But what of the laborer at this time? Driven from his home by inclosures, and rendered helpless by the destruction of his means of living by the great machine, he was forced in great mobs into the just arising cities that were springing up around the newly built factories. Hence he found that if he would live he must sell his labor-power, the only thing he possessed, to the owner of the machines. But he was but one of a countless host eager to do the same thing. The owner seeking ever for cheapness and pressed on all sides by a fierce competition sought for the cheapest labor in the market. Among the laborers all was confusion. Everyone was suspicious of all others and all were pushed to the utmost by necessity. So the extremity of the weak became the opportunity of the capitalist and the necessity of the laborer. The machine had abolished skill and strength as valuable factors in the economic world. The child and the wife took the father's and husband's place, and the burden of society rested, as it has ever since done, upon its weakest members.

But the very stress of pain at last drove the workers together. As they toiled at bench or loom or in the depths of the mine the one common feature of bondage united them. They sought to join against a common oppression. Resting upon the bond of common slavery, cemented by blood, sustained by position and united by the common picture of a hope-for liberty, the first trade union was born. Tortured, imprisoned, branded, outlawed those first pioneers in the long CLASS STRUGGLE were the proto-type of all that were to follow. Gradually they wrested privilege after privilege from the masters. Hours were shortened, factory legislation secured, the toll of women and children lessened, legislative opportunities obtained until many came to think that here at last was the road that would lead to complete freedom.

But meantime great changes were taking place in the organization of industry. The machine became ever more perfect, more automatic, more complex. At first the owner of the machine was the organizer of industry. He superintended the placing of the men, directed the arrangement of all the productive factors and carried on communication with the remainder of the industrial world. But as time passed the units of industry grew larger. It was found that he who could sell the cheapest was alone able to live and furthermore that the larger the firm the cheaper production. Soon the corporation was introduced. With its presence the function of the owner ceased. He was now nothing but the possessor of shares in a creature of the law. This creature—the corporation—hired superintendent, foremen and overseers from the ranks of the educated laborers who now carried on all industry. The only function of the owner was to receive rent, interest and profits. He was able to do this because of the fact previously pointed out that ownership of the most effective tools prevented anyone else from producing except with the owner's permission. Ownership of a great railroad or mine or manufacturing plant would be a force were it not that such ownership carried with it the power to compel multitudes of men to toil for the owner. Ownership of capital means ownership of the men who must use that capital.

But what effect has this upon the laborer and his trades union? Let us look and see. The trades union depends for its success upon the presence of certain features in the industrial world. In the first place it supposes that a trade education will be of value. But you know that today "all men are equal before the machine." You know that in almost every trade the boy and the woman can take the place of the man. All mechanics are "monkey-wrench machinists" today. But the strike is doomed to failure if any one of the waiting army at the shop gates can be called to take the place of the strikers until trade organization reaches a perfection it has never yet known.

In the second place the successful strike presupposes competition between employers. The capitalist yields least his competitor secure his markets. But competition has now been swallowed up in monopoly. The great industrial war has ended in the disappearance of all save the victors. The independent firm is now but a unit in the great trust. It is not a question of the employers uniting. There is but one employer in most lines of industry today. In the face of the trust the trades union is well-nigh hopeless and helpless. You never heard of a strike in the Standard Oil company. And if there were one the owner could simply say to the world, "Go without oil until these men shall come to my terms." The steel trust is rapidly reaching the same point and with this great basic industry consolidated the laborer is in the

midst of a struggle that demands that he bring up re-enforcements if he will succeed. These are hard facts, but they are FACTS and it is better that you face them than that they come upon you unawares.

But the strike has taught the way in which to look for help. When a union calls its men out and places its pickets, they are supposed to be fighting the capitalist as an employer, but lo, and behold he suddenly appears before them in the form of a laborer with blue coat, brass buttons and a club, and if the fight grows warmer he changes the shade of blue and the emblem on the brass buttons and carries a repeating rifle, and if the fight is long drawn out he puts on the judicial ermine and again meets the laborer from the bench with an injunction. Turn where you will and you face the same conditions. Under a multitude of forms the capitalist class occupies all the vantage points of society. It talks to you through its press, thunders at you from the lecture platform, governs from its legislative halls and directs from its executive departments. And this is what the socialist means when he says you are living under a class government. He means that today the ruling class is a capitalist class.

This he says gives rise to the class struggle. Upon the one side stands the laborers—the toiling producing class; upon the other the capitalists—the idle owning class. The interests of these two are diametrically opposite at the only point of any importance to the laborer. The man who talks of the common interests of laborers and capitalists is either a fool or a fakir, and generally the latter. He tells you that each one is interested in having as large a product as possible, in finding new markets, in creating new goods. But who is talking about this side of the problem? Did you ever hear of a strike because the employer was not producing enough, or did not search for new markets, or was restricting his output? No. The point where the struggle comes is not at the machine but at the paymaster's office. The fight is not over the PRODUCTION but the DISTRIBUTION of goods. The capitalist wishes to obtain all he can. The workers wish to secure all they can. The owner produces nothing and secures luxury. The laborer produces all and secures an existence. The socialist says there is no compromise here. He does not demand a "fair share." He demands ALL. He says that to the worker belongs the product and when the capitalist gave over his function of management to the laborers by making of them superintendents, overseers and foremen and became a mere stockholder in the inanimate machine, called the corporation, for extorting wealth from the laborers, and when finally the corporation was merged into the trust and an income demanded for an industry which often stands still or whose location the owner does not even know, he passed out of consideration as a factor in the distribution of the product. His class, to whom we will give all credit for their work in the past in organizing industry, perfecting production and increasing the power of man to conquer Nature, has now ceased to be of social value, and like the eyes of the cave fish and the animals of the geologic ages it must pass away with the disappearance of the function in the great economy of the universe.

And the class that is to succeed to power is already on the scene. Gathered together at first in a motley, incoherent mob, united by bonds of suffering and pain, trained to act together in their unions, educated by capitalism that they might be more efficient slaves, drilled into compact industrial armies in the field of industry, officered and directed in this same field by members of their own class, subjected to an iron-bound oppression and forced to endure untold miseries and wrongs they are now uniting in an intelligent class-conscious revolt against the conditions that fetter them and pressing on to that victory which shall place the worker above the idler, the producer above the parasite.

That victory the laborer can alone secure. No other class can obtain it for him. "He who would be free, himself must strike the blow." is true of this struggle as of no other in history. It is a law of historical development that great bodies of men always follow their class interests. Here and there you may find great sacrificing individuals who will stand out from their class and individual interests and give all for the lives of others, but such persons only appear at great intervals and can in no way be depended upon as factors in any course of social development. Social classes always obey their own self-interest as a class. History has yet to show a single example to the contrary. Now the interest of the capitalist class as a class lies in maintaining the present system of private property in the tools and machinery of production and distribution. If they will continue to exist as capitalists upon the product of the laborer's toil they must maintain this present system. The interests of the laborer, on the other hand, all demand that this system be destroyed. Therefore it is to him we must appeal. There are other reasons than this why he alone can free himself. The coming society must be a complete democracy. It must be one in which the laboring class shall rule and have the direction of all the social forces. Now it would be a strange preparation for such freedom, direction and government to have another class secure his freedom for him. If he did not know enough to free himself it is not likely he would know enough to govern himself. Finally he alone has the power to change the institutions of society. Modern governments rest upon universal suffrage. They abide in the

rule of the majority. The laborer, for reason of his great numbers, will rule supreme at the ballot box as soon as he puts his intelligence in along with his ballot. Today he allows his mind to be made up for him by others. He follows the instructions of the daily papers, or some stump speaker or meekly trots after some so-called labor leader into the shambles of capitalism.

But what shall the laborer do when once he has gained the victory for his class? In the first place he will insist that the land, the mines, the machines, the factories, shall be the common property of all who toil. And then he will declare that not only shall no man eat without he works but he will add to this the privilege that he has never been granted before, that he who wishes to work may do so and eat. He will produce as long as there are hungry mouths to feed and not so long as there are profits to gain. He will use all the marvels of science and invention, not to enslave the mass for the benefit of a few but to help all to a better, happier, fuller life. Doing away with the countless wastes of human life and strength of today and using the energies of all in a common struggle against a hostile environment he will shorten the hours of labor and change its character. He will place the burden of toil upon the shoulders of the stalwart men in the prime of life and return the child to his play and the mother to her home or to an opportunity to develop all that is within her and become a helpful loving co-worker with man in all the fields of thought and life.

But all this can be accomplished only through union for a common purpose. And that union must be as wide, as strong, as comprehensive, as intelligent as the problem it proposes to solve. It must be a union that like the capitalism it attacks shall know no lines of trade or race or color or sex or nationality. It must be co-extensive with the "world-market" of capitalism and the development of industrial slavery. It must be based upon a philosophy that is wide enough and intelligent enough to comprehend the breadth and sweep and direction of social evolution. It must be a union that shall be conscious of all this—that shall understand and interpret to its members and to the world the glorious function of labor in the history of society. It must be ready to carry its convictions to the ballot box and stamp the suffrage of its members with the mark of its intelligence. It must be the incarnation of the upward struggle of labor through all the countless ages of the past and so infused with the consciousness of a common humanity and the solidarity of toil that it shall erect upon the ruins of crumbling capitalism the foundations of a new order of society based upon the common interests of all, founded upon the realization of human brotherhood and devoted to the attainment of a perfect manhood and womanhood among all the peoples of the world.

## Art for the Worker

(Continued from page 1)

action. In the International Socialist Labor Party they are rallying in a world-wide army that shall secure the victory of the laboring class and the organization of industry in their interest. When this is done and the powers of production are being used for the good of all producers, there will be ample opportunity to carry on production in such a way that it will be pleasurable to the worker, beautiful to the eye and expressive of the individuality of the maker. The man who then desires to work out his own thoughts in material form will have opportunity and leisure so to do. The entire race will have a chance to see and to know the beautiful, and there will be a possibility of every individual developing the best that is in him. Until that time comes any such effort as that proposed at the University of Chicago is but painting pictures on rotten carrion, which only preserves the whole disgusting mass of infection to poison and destroy life for a little while longer.

Thoughtless persons sometimes give utterance to assertions somewhat like this, which is taken from the Seattle Post-Intelligencer: "The boy with the patch always amounts to more than the boy who has never seen this outcome of want and fun. The child of the rich man seldom amounts to much in this world." If this were true it would be pleasing, if only from a standpoint of poetic justice. The world applauds the success of a poor boy, because he has won when the odds were against him, but the poor boy does not always succeed nor does the rich boy always fail. The popular fallacy is due to the failure to remember that there are perhaps a thousand times as many poor boys born each year as there are rich boys. Reflection will convince anyone that the proportion of rich boys who succeed is not as small as this. Success, by whatever gauge it may be measured, is not one by 1,600 poor boys for every rich boy who secures it. The class with means and leisure is relatively so small that if one or two could be named who had succeeded the Post-Intelligencer's assertion would be disproved. There is no need to cite instances, as they will occur in everyone's experience. Adversity is a good school, but not the best. Thousands of budding geniuses are crushed by incessant fall. Men who would otherwise succeed, fail for lack of that inheritance which the Post-Intelligencer calls a doubtful blessing. It may be a pity, but it is the cold, hard truth.—Chicago Tribune.

Every socialist should always have one of our subscription cards in his pocket with which to take ten cent contributions.

J. Wanhope.

Do you know anyone who thinks "coming our way"? Send him The Workers' Call for three months for ten cents and hasten his approach.

WHAT SOCIALISM SEEKS.

A Statement of the Philosophy of Socialism and Its Relation to the Laborer.

Private ownership in the instruments of production, once the means of insuring to the producer the ownership of his product, has today become the means of expropriating the artisan, the small farmer, and of placing the non-producers—capitalists and landlords—in possession of the products of labor. Only by converting into collective ownership the instruments of production—the land, mines, raw materials, tools, machines, and the means of communication and transportation—all of which are today held as capitalist private property, and by converting the production of commodities into socialist production, carried on for and by society, only by these means can production on a large scale and the ever-increasing productivity of social labor, cease to be a source of misery and oppression for the exploited classes, and become one of well-being and harmonious development for all.

The conversion of the machinery of production, together with the means of communication and transportation, from private into public property is the Revolution—a revolution that is irremediable and inevitable.

The productive forces that have developed in the lap of capitalist society have become irreconcilable with the very system of property upon which it is built. The endeavor to uphold this system of property is tantamount to rendering impossible all further social development, to condemn society to a standstill and to stagnation, a stagnation, however, that is accompanied with the most painful convulsions.

Every further perfection in the powers of production increases the contradiction that exists between these and the present system of property. All attempts to remove this contradiction, or even to soften it down, without interfering with property, have proved vain, and must continue so to prove themselves as often as attempted.

For the last hundred years thinkers and statesmen among the possessing classes have been cutting and trying to prevent the threatened downfall of the system of private property in the instruments of production, i. e., to prevent the REVOLUTION. SOCIAL REFORM is the name they give to their perpetual tinkering for the purpose of removing this or that ill effect of private property in the instruments of production, at least of softening its edges, without, however, even touching private property itself.

During the last hundred years, manifold "cures" have been huckstered and even tried; it is now hardly possible to imagine any new recipe in this line. All the so-called "newest" panaceas of our social quacks which are to heal the old social ailments quickly, without pain and without expense, are, upon closer inspection, discovered to be but rehashes of old nostrums, all of which have been tried before in other places and found worthless.

Let not the position of the socialist be misunderstood. He pronounces these social reforms inoperative in so far as they pretend to remove the growing contradictions, which the course of economic production brings out into ever stronger light, between the powers of production and the existing system of property, at the same time that they strive to uphold and to confirm the latter. But the socialist does not thereby mean that the SOCIAL REVOLUTION, i. e., the abolition of private property in the instruments of production, will be accomplished of itself; that the irresistible, inevitable course of evolution will do the work without assistance from man; nor yet that all social reforms are worthless, and that nothing is left to those who suffer from the contradiction between the modern powers of production and the system of property, but idly to cross their arms and patiently to wait for better days.

When the socialist speaks of the irresistibility and inevitability of the social revolution, he of course starts from the belief that men are men, and not puppets; that they are beings endowed with certain necessities and impulses; with certain physical and mental powers, which they will seek to put to their best uses. Patiently to yield to what may seem unavoidable, is not to allow the social evolution to take its course, but to bring it to a standstill.

When the socialist declares the abolition of private property in the instruments of production to be unavoidable, he does not mean that some fine morning without their helping themselves, the exploited classes will find the ravens feeding them. The socialist considers the breakdown of the present social system to be unavoidable because he knows that the economic evolution inevitably brings on these conditions that will compel the exploited class to rise against this system of private ownership; that this system multiplies the number and the strength of the exploited, and diminishes the number and strength of the exploiting classes, both of whom are still adhering to it; and that it will finally lead to such unbearable conditions for the masses of the population that they will have no alternative but, either to go down in silence, or to overthrow that system of property.

Such a revolution may assume manifold forms according to the circumstances under which it is effected. It by no means necessarily be accompanied with violence and bloodshed. There are instances in the history of mankind when the ruling classes were either so exceptionally clear-sighted, or so particularly weak and cowardly,

that they submitted to the inevitable and voluntarily abdicated. Neither is it necessary that the social revolution be decided at one blow; such probably never was the case. Revolutions prepare themselves by years and decades of economic and political struggles; they are accomplished under constant ups and downs, sustained by the conflicting classes and parties; not infrequently they are accompanied by long periods of reaction.

Nevertheless, however manifold the forms may be which a revolution may assume, never yet was any revolution accomplished without vigorous action on the part of those who suffered most under the existing conditions.

When, furthermore, the socialist declares these social reforms that stood short of the overthrow of the present system of property, to be unable to abolish the contradictions which the present economic development has produced, he by no means implies that any struggles on the part of the exploited against their present sufferings are useless within the framework of the existing social order; that they should patiently accommodate themselves to all ill-treatments and forms of exploitation, which the capitalist system may decree to them; or that, so long as they are at all exploited, it matters little how. What he does mean is, that the exploited classes should not overrate the social reforms, and should not imagine that through them the existing conditions can be rendered satisfactory to them. The exploited classes should carefully examine all proposed social reforms that are offered to them. Nine-tenths of the social reforms are not only useless but positively injurious to the exploited classes. Most dangerous of all are those schemes, which, aiming at the salvation of the threatened social order, shut their eyes to the economic development of the last century. The workmen, the exploited classes generally, who take the field in favor of such schemes waste their energies in a useless endeavor to revive the dead past.

Many are the ways in which the economic development may be affected; it may be hastened and it may be retarded; its edge may be dulled, or it may be sharpened; only one thing is impossible—to stop its course, much less to turn it back. Experience teaches that all attempts in this direction are not only profitless, but increases the very sufferings which they were intended to remove, while, on the other hand, those measures that are really calculated more or less to relieve some existing ill, have themselves the tendency to accelerate the economic development.

When, for instance, in the early stages of capitalism, the wage workers destroyed the machine, opposed woman labor, and so on, their efforts were and could not be otherwise than profitless; they arrayed themselves against a development that nothing could resist. Since then they have hit upon better methods whereby to shield themselves as much as possible against the injurious effects of capitalist exploitation; they have established their trade unions, and they have started their independent political parties, each of which supplements the other, and with the assistance of which they have, in all civilized countries met with more or less success. But each of these successes, be it raising of wages, the shortening of hours, the prohibition of child labor, the establishment of sanitary regulations, etc., gives a new impulse to the economic development; together, they have either caused the capitalist to replace dearer laborer with machinery, or they have forced up his payroll, and thereby have rendered the competitive struggle harder for the small capitalist, shortened his economic existence, and hastened the concentration of capital.

Accordingly, however justifiable, or even necessary, it may be that the workmen establish labor organizations for the purpose of improving their condition, by lowering the hours of work, and other equally wholesome measures, it were a profound error to imagine that such reforms could delay the social revolution, and equally mistaken is the notion that one cannot admit the usefulness of certain social reforms without admitting that it is possible to preserve society upon its present basis. On the contrary, such reforms may be supported from the revolutionary standpoint because, as it has been shown, they stimulate the course of events, and because, so far from removing the suicidal tendencies of the capitalist system, they help them along.

The turning of the people into proletarians, the concentration of capital in the hands of a few, who rule the whole economic life of capitalist nations, none of these trying and shocking effects of the capitalist system of production can be checked by any reform whatever, that is based upon the existing system of property, however far reaching such reform may be.

There is no political party, however fossilized and anxious it may be to preserve things as they are, but has its misgivings with regard to this fact. Each of them still advertises its special plan of reform as THE means whereby to prevent the crash; but there is not one of them that still entertains complete faith in its own panacea.

Dodging will not help them. The corner stone of the present system of production—private property in the instruments of production—becomes every day more irreconcilable with the very nature of the means of production. The magnitude that these instruments of production have reached, the social character that their functions have assumed, marks them for common, social property, without which, instead of being a blessing they become a curse to mankind. The downfall of property in

Socialist Labor Party of the United States.

PLATFORM.

The Socialist Labor Party of the United States, in convention assembled, re-asserts the inalienable right 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, liberty and the pursuit 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 triumphs on the other, shall have worked out its own downfall.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of the United States, and upon all 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 power; so that, held together by an indissoluble spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, we may put an 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 class, and the application of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of classless, peaceful 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.

Immediate 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, 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 land 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. 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 necessary cases, where necessary.
10. Repeal of all papers, tramp, conspiracy and summary laws. Unbridled right of combination.
11. Prohibition of the employment of children of school age and the employment of female labor in occupations detrimental to health and morality. Abolition of the contract labor system.
12. All wages to be paid in lawful money of the United States. Equalization of woman's wages with those of men where equal services is performed.
13. Laws for the protection of life and limb in all occupations, and an efficient employer's liability law.
14. The people have the right to propose laws and vote upon all measures of importance, according to the referendum principle.
15. Abolition of the veto power of the executive (national, state and municipal) wherever it exists.
16. Abolition of the United States Senate and all other legislative chambers.
17. Municipal self-government.
18. 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.
19. All public officers to be subject to recall by their respective constituencies.
20. Uniform civil and criminal law throughout the United States. Administration of justice to be free of charge. Abolition of capital punishment.

ATTENTION!!

Be sure and attend the

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them is now only a question of time; it is sure to come; the only question still open is as to the time and the accomplished—Johannesburg Witness, Johannesburg, S. Africa.

Owing to the large number of copies printed of this issue it was thought advisable to have the work done on a Webb press in order to secure the reduced price. The only paper that could be secured on so short notice was somewhat inferior to that regularly employed.

Public Meetings.

Below is given a list of the out-door meetings to be held this week. Every socialist should make it point to attend many of these meetings as possible to assist in making them a success.

- Sunday—California and North Ave. at 2:45 p. m.
Sunday—Peoria and Madison St. at 7:45 p. m.
Sunday—63rd and Halstead St. at 4 p. m.
Sunday—31st and State St. at 7:45 p. m.
Sunday—59th and Aberdeen St. at 3 p. m.
Sunday—47th and Ashland Ave. at 7:45 p. m.
Monday—Orchard and North Ave. at 7:30 p. m.
Tuesday—Hoyne Ave. and Lubeck St. at 7:45 p. m.
Wednesday—Oak and Sedgwick Sts. at 7:45 p. m.
Wednesday—24th St. and Oakley Ave. at 7:45 p. m.
Wednesday—Milwaukee and Noble St. at 7:45 p. m.
Wednesday—Adams and State Sts. at 7:30 p. m.
Thursday—Clark and Walton Pl. at 7:45 p. m.
Friday—Blue Island and Taylor St. at 7:45 p. m.
Friday—17th and Wood St. at 7:45 p. m.
Saturday—32nd St. and Commercial Ave. at 7:45 p. m.
Saturday—11th and Michigan Ave. at 8 p. m.
Saturday—Paulina St. and Milwaukee Ave. at 7:45 p. m.
Saturday—Rockwell and North Ave. at 7:45 p. m.
Saturday—Milwaukee and Center at 7:45 p. m.
Saturday—150th and Wallace St. at 8 p. m.

Bundle Orders.

We would call especial attention to the rates for The Workers' Call in bundles, which are as follows: (Note change of rate.)
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At these rates there is no section that cannot afford to have a bundle of copies distributed at every meeting.

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The Illinois free employment bureaus are now getting in their work. During the last week they found employment for two clerks and thirty laborers out of 2,004 applications. Another instance of the great help given to the laborers by "reform," assisted by labor fakirs.

According to an American correspondent in the Philippines the holdings of the Americans are confined to a territory within fifteen miles of Manila. The rest of the country has so far resisted all attempts at assimilation.

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FOURTH WARD, 3635 Armour Ave., 1st Thursday each month; Sec. N. Krogh, 2850 La Salle St.

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SEVENTH WARD, 486 S. Halstead St., 1st and 3rd Monday each month; Sec. Joe Stone, 203 Forquer St.

NINTH WARD, 427 W. 18th St., every Sunday; Sec. John Benda, 88 11th St.

TENTH WARD, 116 W. 24th St., every Friday night; Sec. R. Finstrom, 1004 S. Wood St.

THIRTEENTH WARD, 6 E. Cor. Grand and Western Ave., every Wednesday evening at 8 p. m.; Sec. Aug. Klenke, 868 Grand Ave.

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

FOURTEENTH WARD, 384 W. Division St.; 1st and 3rd Sunday, 9 a. m.; Sec. E. M. Stangland, 650 N. Washburn Ave.

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

SIXTEENTH WARD, 518 Milwaukee Ave., every 2nd and 4th Friday evening.

TWENTY-SECOND WARD, 380 LaSalle St., 2nd and 4th Mondays; Sec. O. Gritske, 4 Reese St.

TWENTY-THIRD WARD (Scandinavian), holds out-door agitation meetings; Sec. A. B. Gulbrun, 135 Oak St.

TWENTY-FOURTH WARD, 65 N. Clark St.; every 2nd and 4th Wednesday evening.

TWENTY-SIXTH WARD, corner Southport and Belmont Aves., every Mon. evening. Sec. Thos. Carr, 678 Ogwood 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., 1st and 3rd Mondays; Sec. H. Steiner, 240 46th Pl.

THIRTIETH WARD, Scandinavian, 1148 63d St. 2nd and 4th Fridays; Sec. A. Rasmussen, 6947 Ada St.

THIRTY-FIRST WARD, 6739 Sangamon St., 1st and 3rd Fridays each month; Sec. J. Washope, 6620 Aberdeen St.

THIRTY-THIRD WARD, room 19 Commercial Block, Cor. Commercial Ave. and 92nd St., South Chicago; 1st and 3rd Mondays each month; Sec. M. H. Taft, 709 Edwards Ave.

THIRTY-FOURTH WARD, 113 S. Michigan Ave., every 2d and 4th Sunday, 3 p. m.; Sec. G. F. Denne, 11437 Perry Ave.

THIRTY-FIFTH WARD NO. 2, 118th and Wallace (W. Pullman); 1st Wednesday eve., 3d Sunday at 3 p. m.; Sec. Dr. Gladman, 11817 Union Ave.

POLISH BRANCHES

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

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

FIFTEENTH WARD, meets 1st and 3rd Saturdays each month, at Cor. LeVitt and Hamburg Sts. (Sobieski's Hall).

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SIXTEENTH WARD, meets 2nd and 4th Saturdays each month at 571 Noble St., 8 p. m.; Sec. A. Gemblicki, 11 Chapin St.

THIRTY-THIRD WARD meets at 8412 Superior Ave. (second floor front), every 1st and 3rd Sundays at 8 p. m.; Sec. Majk Piek.

LADIES SOCIALIST BRANCH, meets 1st and 3rd Sundays each month at 668 N. Paulina (Comrade Odalski's house), 3 p. m.; Sec. M. Tylicko, 709 W. 21st Pl.

THROUGHOUT THE STATE

PEORIA, every Wednesday evening at Manchester Hall, Olive St.

JACKSONVILLE, every first and third Sunday at 2:00 p. m. in Trades Assembly Hall; secretary, Val Mertis, 803 N. Prairie St.

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

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

MURPHYSBORO, every Thursday evening.

COLLINSVILLE, every first and third Sunday in the month at corner of Vandall and Clay Sts.

MINNESOTA.

SECTION MINNEAPOLIS holds an educational meeting, for members only, at the Labor Lyceum, on the second Tuesday evening of each month.

SECTION MINNEAPOLIS holds its regular business meeting at the Labor Lyceum, 34-36 Washington avenue S., on the last Tuesday evening of each month.

SECTION ST. PAUL holds its regular business meeting at the Assembly Hall, Third and Wabasha streets, on the first Wednesday evening of each month.

MINNESOTA STATE COMMITTEE meets regularly at the Labor Lyceum, Minneapolis, on the first Monday evening of each month.

Section Minneapolis holds public agitation meetings at the Labor Lyceum, 34-36 Washington avenue S., every Sunday afternoon.

SYRACUSE, NEW YORK.

SECTION ONONDAGA S. L. P., meets first Wednesday each month at Socialist Labor Party headquarters, room 14, Myers Bldg.

BRANCH 1 meets 2d and 4th Thursday each month at Stau's Hall, Cor. Butternut and Knoll St.

BRANCH 2 meets 3d Friday each month at headquarters, 14 Myers Bldg.

BRANCH 3 meets 3d Thursday each month at Haas Hall, cor.