

# THE WORKERS' CALL.

"Workmen 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.

## JUST FOR A STARTER

### A Little Reasoning Together With the Workers.

## SOMETHING YOU SHOULD READ

#### Story of the Development of the Laborer and the Machine—The Evolution of Classes.

'Almost everyone admits that the laboring class is in a rather bad way today even in times of "prosperity." No one needs to look very close to see the slums and the unemployed, the overcrowding and the overwork or the long hours and ill conditions under which most work it done.

"Never mind telling us we are in the mud, or how deep is the hole in which we are stuck," someone will say. "Just tell us how to get out!"

All right we will tell you exactly how to get out before we get through, but as you have been told a good many times and did not get out, we will take a little longer in the telling this time, and make it so plain that you will not only never forget it, but will be able to tell your fellow laborers so that they will be able to help you as well as themselves out. For one point is sure and that is that you must all get out or go to the bottom together.

Perhaps we can understand the matter better if we find out how the laborer came to get into his present condition. In order to do this we will have to make a little study of history, but it will be a short one and, since it concerns us all we all should be interested in it.

If we take a look at the society of about two hundred years ago we shall find that things were arranged very much different than they are now. Almost everything was made with very simple tools. The shoemaker had only his lap-stone, knives and awl; the weaver a simple hand loom; the worker in steel and iron was simply a blacksmith with forge, anvil and hammer. Each one bought the raw material which he was going to use and then worked it up in his shop with his own tools and when he was done the product belonged to the one who had made it.

To be sure his way of working seems very slow and crude to us now-a-days, and a great many things that we have every day could not be made at all. But what things were made were enjoyed by the makers and everyone managed to keep fairly warm, and to have plenty of coarse food and a shelter over their heads.

But about this time a lot of men had been off to the New World of America and new routes had been discovered to India and new markets in Africa, and large quantities of goods were wanted to exchange for the products of those countries. This great demand for goods could not be supplied with the old methods of manufacture. So men began to study about the tools with which they were working and one inventor changed the simple outfit of the shoemaker into a whole series of different machines that would make a shoe almost in the time the old shoemaker was looking over his leather to tell where to cut it. The hand loom of the weaver was improved and perfected until it wove miles of cloth where it had once wove yards. The blacksmith shop became the great steel works and machine shop and the anvil took on a hundred forms and grew to monstrous size while the steam hammer rose and fell with the strength of a thousand men, and the work of days by the old methods was done with a single stroke.

Not only were the tools improved until they could do many hundred fold as much as before, but other inventors set to work to make the machines run by themselves. They invented steam engines, electric, compressed air and gas motors and now promise to find still greater forces in liquid air. The loom now ran itself. The steam hammer rose and fell without the strong arm of the smith. The needle flew in and out of the shoe without the guiding fingers of the shoemaker.

Turn which way you will, for every article that was made a century ago for the comfort of man, we can make a hundred today with no more exertion. Now anyone would say that if this were to take place even in an insane asylum the inmates would at least have enough brains left to use these machines in such a way that everyone would have all the things they needed for health and comfort.

Now for even the best physical existence it is necessary that a variety of good pure food be provided in abundance, that there be plenty of fresh air, that no one be compelled to work until exhausted, and that everyone has an opportunity for rest and recreation at frequent intervals. No one should be compelled to live in close small rooms, do without medical aid whenever necessary, or be denied the

opportunities of education, culture and travel.

Now I do not believe that there is anyone who stops to think the matter over and who realizes how much can be produced with the great inventions we have been talking about, and who remembers that when we did not have these, people still had many of these necessities, will deny that today every man, woman and child could have everything that we ask for and very, very much besides.

Then why is it that at least 90 per cent of all the people cannot have them but must live in a condition but little, if any better than that enjoyed by their ancestors who knew nothing about any of these improved ways of production?

Perhaps we shall find an answer to this question if we again go back to the time when the great inventions were first being used and watch the changes that were taking place at that time. We will find that before the machines came into use each laborer made the whole of an article himself and there could be no dispute about its ownership.

But when the machines for making shoes, for example, were introduced, it was found that it was better to let each man do but a small part of the making of a whole shoe. Another man attended to the engine that ran the machines, still another fired the boilers and others prepared the leather. Each article required the cooperation of a large number of persons in its manufacture.

If we express this condition in the words of a technical economist we would say that production was now carried on collectively, whereas it had formerly been conducted individually.

But when each man made his own product by himself he owned the tools with which he worked. But when he came to work with the new tools it was impossible for each one to own a whole factory, and anything less would have been of no use, as it required the entire plant to produce anything.

Now one would naturally think that the proper thing to do would be for the laborers who worked together and produced collectively to own the things with which they worked collectively. If the machines and factories had been the common property of the laborers who used them all the product would have belonged to them collectively and could have been distributed among them as it was needed.

But during all the years that the laborer had worked with his own tools that ownership was very necessary and right. No one else ever used the tools save the owner and the producer and hence there was no reason why they should not be the private property of the individual user.

So it came about that the principle of private property was applied to the new improved tools. But since it took a large number of people to operate these tools while only one, or a very few, owned them it soon came about that the owners and the users became wholly different persons.

The man who owned a machine could do nothing with it unless he could find someone to operate it for him. So he was obliged to buy the labor power of others to run his machines. This fact was one of the most important things that ever took place in history, but as we are going to come back to this point at another place we will put off its discussion until then, as we are just now following the history of the laborers and not pointing out causes and relations.

Since these machines could only be operated collectively, it was necessary for great numbers of the laborers to live close together. So towns and cities grew very rapidly and the great "laboring quarters" of the cities came into being. In the districts where the workers lived they were forced to crowd together in tenement houses, and as they did not have much to say about the way the city government was run, these neighborhoods soon very badly neglected.

Under the old system it had taken many years for a man to learn a trade and once learned he had always been sure that he could work at it so long as he lived. But the new machines needed little skill or strength to watch them and so women and children took the place of men. The horrible sufferings which these weakest members of society endured in the early days of the modern factory system are such as it is safe to say no race of human slaves were ever forced to undergo before or since.

Little children scarce out of babyhood were worked until they died off like sheep. They were chained to cars in the coal mines, or forced to work at great machines that maimed and slaughtered them. The women too, toiled on, half-naked, at tasks that crushed out their lives by thousands.

The reason why it was possible for these conditions to exist was that it had come about that everything was settled by competition. That is, whoever could do anything, or sell anything the cheapest was the only one who was allowed to do or sell anything.

Let us now apply this law in a few

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## FATAL INDIFFERENCE

### A Stolid Apathy That Is More Hopeless Than Opposition.

## SIGNS OF HOPE BENEATH.

#### Reasons Why Socialist Talk so Often Falls On Unresponsive Ears—Heads Full of Capitalism.

One of the most discouraging things that confronts anyone who endeavors to better his own condition and that of his fellows by securing their cooperation to obtain a common freedom, is their utter lack of interest. It is not that they oppose change, or that they are able to refute the arguments presented, but that they simply refuse to be even interested.

People whose health is being ruined and life shortened by the conditions amid which they are forced to live (and of 95 per cent at least of our population this is true) whose children are denied all opportunity to develop their capacities, whose own work has been cut out for them by another, and is perhaps so distasteful that at every turn in their lives they are oppressed, outraged by the present system, will still absolutely refuse to spend a single hour in the examination of a movement that can free them from all of these discomforts.

Men who are otherwise intelligent and who show a desire to obtain knowledge about all other things will begrudge every moment spent in listening to this which concerns his very existence. Laborers who will gather by the hundreds to listen to the most outlandish lies and deception told them by old party politicians will pass by with a smile when they see a socialist orator speaking.

In the schools and colleges, those who are supposed to have as their very reason for existence the pursuit of knowledge refuse to even notice this most widespread of all philosophies. Professors whose tongues are tied and whose aspirations for truth are stifled, whose own compensation is ridiculously low compared with what a properly organized society will give them will still refuse to even acquaint themselves with the doctrines of socialism. It is useless to point out to such an one that the philosophy of socialism rests upon the examination of historical facts by the most careful and thorough students the world has ever known. If the same thing was to be said of a system of mathematics or geology he would grasp it eagerly, but socialism—never.

Finally when we go to those workers who toiling with hand and mind through long hours of virtual slavery are compelled to give all that their labor produces, save enough to support life, to the owner of the instruments they work with, and are they more ready listeners? To some degree, yes. Indeed were it not for the fact that through all of these classes the leaven of socialism is slowly being spread, there would be little encouragement for the socialist worker. But with countless hosts of them we find this same blind apathy, this same deadness to all that would help them. They suffer on from day to day, watch their children swept away by the foul conditions amid which they are forced to live, bend their necks to the yoke of greater industrial burdens and meekly accept the bones their masters throw at them.

Why is all this? Much of it can be explained by showing that some immediate material interest is endangered by the study of socialism. The philanthropist, the professor, or the teacher sees his position jeopardized by any taint of socialism. But with the great mass this is not a sufficient explanation. They have "nothing to lose and everything to gain" by socialism. Why then are they so often dead to its influences?

To understand their position we must take a little look into the science of psychology. Now the latest authorities on psychology have pointed out that a man can only arrange in his head the impressions his senses have carried there. More than this he will, under ordinary circumstances act upon those impressions which have been the most firmly impressed. Now from childhood to manhood the average citizen has been surrounded with impressions that tended to fill his mind with the idea that the present society was all right and the best that could be secured.

His schools, his books, his papers, his instructors of every kind have left with him the impression that "whatever is, is right." This is especially true of the rights of private property, and the institutions of wage slavery. When he went to school as a child he was told that it was the worst of crimes to take anything which the law had given to someone else. He was taught that "love of country" or "patriotism" was something which

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## BABES AND RATTLES

### How the Workers Attention Is Diverted From Their Interests.

## PLAYTHINGS FOR CHILDREN.

#### Some of the Baubles That Are Shaken Before the Workers' Eyes to Keep Him From Growing Discontented.

Shakespeare speaks of the seven ages of man reaching from childhood to decrepit old age, but I wish to speak of a childhood that begins with birth and is still childhood continuously until old age comes and then the dotage accompanying it.

This childhood of which I would speak I shall classify as "political babyhood"—economic infancy which with the majority of voters lasts even unto old age.

When in the earlier stages of childhood a baby cries for a particular thing which the parent does not desire to give it, the mother generally—or rather it is a sort of universal custom—gives the baby what is known as a rattle, to attract its attention from the thing or things which it desired. Workingmen, who who toil by brawn or brain, what stage are you in, infancy or manhood? The stage of infancy is that stage in which the Democratic or Republican party gives you a rattle, as is given a baby, to play with so as to attract your attention to desires foreign to your economic condition and interests, so that you will not secure the reins of government and demand the full product of your toil.

The stage of manhood is the class-conscious individual who realizes that to the producer must belong the full product of his toil, to him this means of production and distribution. My assertion that you are not class-conscious are in the infancy of economics does not prove it, no! You might say my economics are as equally deserving as yours.

Well my reader who is not class-conscious go with me to the trust conference and on the night on which Bourke Cochran and W. J. Bryan is speaking at Central Music Hall and first watch outside the crowd clamor for admittance to hear orators (not economists) tell them the choicest aggregation of economic lies, or in other words to give them the rattle of the baby (rhetoric and half-truth economics) so as to attract their attention from the object in which from their supposed standpoint they had come to form resolutions to destroy. I ask you, my reader, who is not class-conscious what more babbling stage of childhood in economics than a number of delegates meeting in Chicago to destroy progress—or rather I will say retard, for they or any other aggregation cannot destroy thought—of social evolution. Then come with me on the inside and we see an audience composed mostly of middle class business men who are being squeezed financially by social evolution which they call a trust, and we find that every radical speaker who talks of busting the trust or destroying it a la Wootton of Texas, receives vigorous applause, as did also Davis of Arkansas, who talked of nothing else but democracy, apples, pretty women, and said that if they would ever come to Arkansas he would treat them well and probably he would pass around some of the free silver of Bryan without the crown on it, as that would be the only way they would ever get it unless they worked for it. They applauded vigorously; it pleased the babies; it was not economics, but then babies are easily amused. After all these rattles are ginged in front of the political infants and they are getting a little tired of the toys displayed, then is introduced the star political baby pleaser of all—Bourke Cochran.

With flashes of the weakest sophistry he amuses the baby afresh, and like the genuine baby of childhood, they forget entirely that which they wanted and applauded the speaker even when he spoke strictly against what they supposed were their best interests.

He said, "I do not agree with my socialist friend when he says, 'competition is warfare.' Competition is not warfare in the sense of being destructive; competition is the means of ascertainment of the place of greater utility for each individual." He received for this portion great applause, it pleased the babies you see; for as both Dunn and Bradstreet's commercial agencies stated publicly that over 95 per cent of the men who enter business fail, the financial outcast baby sat there and applauded, even though he knew this fact. It was the rattle again you see. What would you think of a man who applauds some person who is speaking against his best interests? Would you not class him as an idiot or a baby; and let us be charitable and call him the baby.

We find then, according to Cochran, that the place for the man who has been in business all his life and is

financially ruined by this so-called "means of ascertainment of greater utility is the poor house or the pension office. How do you like it my political infants; you seemed to like it well for you applauded it to the echo.

But the baby pleaser still continues, as they like the economic rattle so well, and he says: "The man who is displaced is transferred from one field, where he is no longer useful, to another where his capabilities are of greater development." Reader study this phrase just a minute, that a man who devotes years to a special trade or business for which years of accumulated skill are necessary, and yet the skill of hundreds, yes thousands of years of other lives embodied in his skill, that this man will go into another field of labor without knowledge of the other line and do greater work. Why a baby that would take such cruel as that is decidedly unhealthy and has morbid tendencies. He gives as an illustration of competition two yachts, the Columbia and Shamrock, and says, "that even though Columbia defeated the Shamrock the losing boat was not broken up on account of said loss." The illustration is very nice from a yachting standpoint, not from an economic, for if he gave a human being as an illustration he would have to tell about the family to be provided for, etc., and yachts do not eat you know. And the babies again mistook the rattle. He said further "it would be better to pension the whole army of middlemen than arrest progress. (Great applause.)

As you see from the verbatim statements the babies gave great applause, and evidenced the fact that even when they get a chance to get the original thing for which they cried they would still be like the dear baby of childhood, sooner have the rattle, for as Bourke Cochran spoke for competition he was really there in the interests of "cooperation; the socialistic object lesson.

And as they applauded they must necessarily have taken the rattle. This is better substantiated by the fact that when election time comes they will take the rattle, and the original, the betterment of their economic condition they will forget. Middle class business do you not see your impending doom, the Beshazzar feast is on and the handwriting on the wall says so in unmistakable language. Will you still—and you also working-man who is not class-conscious—vote for a condition that makes the poor-house the goal of 95 per cent and the mansions for the balance; a system that has stabled horses in mansions (I mean the stables of the millionaires), and houses a human being, a soul, in a hovel? When will you learn that only the Socialist Labor Party stands for the true economic condition and that only under its banner shall we bury the wrongs of capitalism and place a monument as large as the Pyramids of Egypt with the inscription "No Resurrection Here."

A. Summerville.

## TELL ME WHY.

Tell me why the working masses cannot their own interests see. Why upon all vital questions they like fools must disagree. Why they cannot come together. Vote like brothers side by side. And by one triumphant ballot Swiftly into power ride.

Why they split on party issues Which are of no consequence. Why they cannot get down to business In accord with common sense. Why they do not rule this country. As they produce all the wealth. And inform the privileged classes That they don't work for their health.

When they see the poor grow poorer Every day all o'er the land. And the rich a getting richer For themselves why don't they stand. When they see their brothers tramping Begging bread from noon till night. And that crime is on the increase. Can they say our system is right?

Why they act like cringing cowards When they number ten to one. If they'd only pull together Something for them would be done. But if they can never see it— Never recognize the need— Then all as their case is hopeless; Yes, its very dark indeed.

W. D. Crane.

## A Few Reminders.

Just to keep people's minds jogged up there are a few little things of which we wish to remind you:

Don't forget that there are 170 American miners locked up in a stockade at Warden, Idaho, who have been neither tried nor convicted of any crime.

Don't forget that when you read the news from Manila you are reading what McKinley and Hanna think you ought to read and not what is actually happening, and

Don't forget to congratulate yourself that you live in a country where freedom of speech and the press is guaranteed.

Don't forget, when you read about Mayor Jones of Ohio being anxious to debate all other candidates for the governorship, that he is lying and that he is doing all he can to keep from meeting the S. L. P. candidate.

Have you asked all your shop mates to subscribe to The Workers' Call? If you are not willing to do that much how long do you think it will be before you are free?

## RIGHT AND WRONG

### What Is Meant by "Good," "Bad" and "Moral."

## OBEDIENCE TO RULING CLASS.

#### The Dominant Social Class Sets the Standard of Morality According to Its Class Interest.

We see that there are three results that are constantly being attained in nature, including human society. These three are the preservation of the individual, the perpetuation of the race, and higher differentiation of function—call it progress. Let us grant further that whatever contributes to these results is "right" and whatever hinders them is "wrong."

As a matter of fact, the accomplishment of these three ends entails constant conflict. The preservation of the individual (eg. a mother) is often sacrificed to the perpetuation of the race. Races are constantly eliminated for the sake of progress.

Progress is often hindered that the individual may survive, or that he may generate his kind. Indeed the conflict is an incessant one. How then shall we decide as to which actions are right and wrong? Is there still some ultimate standard by which actions are to be judged? I see no light in this direction. There is no absolute standard of morality. But coming back, we see that these three results are being attained on account of certain impelling forces resident in individuals. These forces are desires. Desire or want is the controlling element in all action. The primary ones are appetite, sexual love, and, well say, desire for pre-eminence.

The satisfaction of these desires may be said to constitute their end. But they are in constant conflict, and the strongest one always prevails. What is "right" then for a man to do? He only can do one thing, obey his strongest desire. But in doing so some men are condemned as evil and others are commended as good. More than this the same action is condemned in one and commended in another. Or again, the morality in one age contradicts flatly the morality in another age. How are all these changing standards determined? Sift it down to the ultimate basis and "good" actions are those that on the whole are beneficial to the economically dominant class, and "bad" actions are those that are detrimental to them. Any moral system is the result of the "public opinion" of the class that controls the institutions of the place and time. Capitalistic morality may not differ much from feudalistic or patriarchal morality because all are based on the dominance of property holders, but even here there have been marked changes, as in the right to own persons as property, the ethics of war, etc. Now whatever class was dominant, the slave holding, the land holding or the capital holding, the primary desires of men did not change but their satisfaction was right or wrong, according to the class to which the door belonged or the age in which he lived. Of no act can it be safely said, it always was wrong and always will be wrong. Society, i. e., the dominant part of a community quickly and instinctively (if not consciously) discovers what is beneficial and what is harmful to it, and firmly declares what is right and wrong. Their happiness, tempered by fear of excess, is the standard of right.

All this seems to throw some light on the question of morality happiness. The happiness of any individual is bound up in the form of society to which he belongs. From childhood the child of the dominant class is led to believe that that form is the only desirable one. His duty determines his possible lines of happiness. He is led to believe, by all the institutions of the time, be they prophets, priests, schools or newspapers, that the bottom would fall out of the universe if his father didn't hold slaves to "do the work" or his father didn't own land so as to be sure of his crop, or if his father didn't own capital to foster enterprise. He is further taught the million different ways in which human desires conflicted with these institutions were "wrong" and so they were wrong looked at from his standpoint. So the slave's child learns that he and his father would starve if their master did not own them, and the serf's child that he would perish as a vagabond if he were not tied to the soil, and the wage worker's child that his father's prosperity depended on his employer's. Consequently contentment becomes a great virtue, no matter what human desire called for. In all ages morality has been identified with conformity. To fear God and keep things as they are has been the whole duty of man. Why? Because things as they are favor the powers that be. Religion, laws, public opinion are all made to

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Editorial Announcements: Contributions and items of news concerning the labor movement are requested from our readers. Every contribution must be accompanied by the name of the writer, not necessarily for publication, but as an evidence of good faith.

A. M. SIMONS, EDITOR.

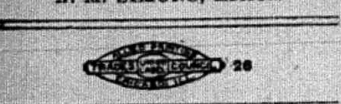


Table showing circulation statistics for 'The Socialist Vote' in the United States from 1896 to 1899. Circulation peaked at 18,704 in 1899.

Copies sold last week 11,800.

THE WAR IN THE TRANSVAAL.

A few weeks ago we were being told on every hand that the days of war were over and the era of arbitration had entered. There was much talk of "parliaments of nations," and a great deal of nonsense about the humanizing influences of our advanced and Christian civilization having forever abolished the brutality of war.

Again the ideological nonsense of the "moralist" is swept away by economic development. The law of the concentration of industry has gone on until it has swept away the imaginary lines marked in geographies. The same impelling force that continually causes the smallest "storekeeper" and manufacturer to be on the lookout for new customers is today driving America into the Philippines, Asia and the West Indies; and England into Africa, India and Australia.

The owners of the Kimberly mines desire to exploit the gold and diamond fields of the Transvaal. They need a force in the government which will obey their commands and alter the government in their interests. They need a body of voters to help them to overthrow the rule of the little bourgeoisie and inaugurate that of the great capitalist. Their ancestors once had a similar task. It was necessary in the first half of this century to overthrow the last remnants of feudalism and inaugurate capitalism.

The Uitlander is to be enfranchised, not for his own good, oh, no, but simply that he may fight the battles of Rhodes & Co. The abject slaves of the diamond and gold mining companies, their employees would vote as their master's interests dictated, or die.

Now it is exactly this state of affairs which has driven England into the Transvaal. Her ruling class needed new fields for the investment of their surplus capital. What mattered it that those who created that wealth were starving and freezing in homeless misery in Whitechapel and East London because they had produced so much that their masters could find no use for it?

England's capitalist rulers had gone to Africa in search of new fields of exploitation. Her Rhodes and De Beers and their class had entered into the rich diamond and gold fields of Kimberly and the Cape Colony. They had made of Kimberly an industrial hell with a system of abject wage slavery that rivaled the system in force among the coal fields of Pennsylvania and the sweat-shops of New York and Chicago.

ual interests. Or to put it more accurately the process of concentration had proceeded to the point where the ruling class was reduced to a few individuals organized into a couple of companies.

Now just a few miles away there were other and rich deposits of the precious minerals. But these were within the Transvaal and the government there was still largely in the hands of the small bourgeoisie. The farmers and small shop-keepers still predominated. In perfect accord with the principle of self-interest for their class they had, like every ruling class, used the powers of government, which they controlled, to advance their class interests.

They had shut out from the suffrage those who would have injured their interests. Foremost among those so excluded were the English immigrants and adventurers. These were the famous Uitlanders, about whose "injustices" so much fuss is now being made. This brings us close to the kernel of the matter. Why is England so solicitous about the welfare of these far off adventurers? She has shown an infinitely greater interest in their "wrongs" than in those of her own citizens under the very shadow of the House of Parliament.

Irish citizens have made the world ring with the story of their woes but somehow they have failed to reach the ears of the English government. But the slight hint of fancied wrongs endured by English adventurers in South Africa serves to set all the ponderous machinery of government in motion and to plunge the nation into what promises to be a protracted and bloody war. Why this difference?

A little examination will satisfy us that it is not the much-abused Uitlander that has served to create all this commotion. It is a power behind the throne which is pulling the string. And under capitalism we should know that the place to search for the springs of action is among the capitalist class. And here we shall find the key.

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his officers do not hesitate to call a brute, however much they admire his determination, who holds the destiny of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State in his hand. He knows the Boers and he hates them. He has campaigned over the whole present battle ground and is, above all, a soldier from head to foot. As soon as he reaches South Africa he will inaugurate a campaign of aggressiveness as the world has seldom seen, but which he believes justifiable by virtue of his own superior force.

General Buller's mission is nearly in keeping with the spirit of the colonial office. Rightly or wrongly believing war to be the only possible method of solving the Transvaal trouble, those officials have made no attempt to conceal their satisfaction at receiving an ultimatum from President Kruger, thus enabling them to place the onus of the war on the Boers.

How then does all this concern the laborer? Only as a looker-on. He has no immediate interest in the fight save that the triumph of capitalism and the spread of its power must bring nearer the day of its downfall. It can only live while it has new worlds to conquer. When it shall have swept over the earth the forces that are within it and that it has used to drive itself on will turn and rend it and on its ruins will erect a nobler, grander social organization. The socialist sees in the withering blight of capitalism the preparation of the ground for the co-operative commonwealth. He sees in the crushing out of the last remnants of an earlier stage of industrialism the abolition of elements that hindered progress. He sees in capitalism a mighty engine of destruction, which like the forest fire, leaves the ground mellow for the crop that is to follow.

While we may pity the Boer and the Filipinos as he does the drummer and the machine-displaced tradesman, and while he sees that the impelling force is greed and the extension of the system of exploitation, yet just because he sees all this he sees on and beyond its ultimate conclusion and would not stop it if he could. Just as he saw the cruelty and suffering inflicted by the machine, but welcomed its introduction, just as he notes the crushing of human lives by the oncoming juggernaut of industry, the trust, yet would lend a hand to its triumphal advance, just so while he sees the terrible sufferings and beastly hypocrisy that mark the wars of capitalist extermination waged in behalf of exploiting greed among peaceful peoples, yet he will not say them nay, because he knows that all this is in preparation for that world-wide industrial brotherhood and peace and comfort that will come when capitalism has completed its task of preparation and its present tools and slaves shall arise to a sense of their historical function and seizing the reins of political and industrial power wipe from the earth all traces of exploitation, conquest and greed and install in its place the Co-operative Commonwealth of labor.

For the uninitiated: Just see how "public opinion" is being manufactured. Slowly but surely the editorial expression of the capitalist press, that moulder of "public opinion," is turning against the Boers. Kruger's ultimatum is now being described as a foolish and blundering document which lays the Transvaal under the onus of commencing hostilities, and its alleged "arrogance" is severely commented on. The actions of the British soldiers are already being glorified as examples of heroism, whilst the sacrifices of the Moers are attracting far less attention. "We Americans" have a common interest with England in the prospective exploitation of Africa.

Both in America and Africa we read of the "holding up" of trains. It is an evidence of the highest expression of the plundering characteristics of the capitalist system. On the "North-Western" the train was "held up" and nobody hurt, but if the perpetrators are caught they will be apt to spend the rest of their lives in durance vile. In Africa the train was ambushed, dynamited and fifteen persons killed, but in this case the perpetrators stand a fair chance of becoming local Deweys.

Contractor Pierce of the Federal building has left Chicago without settling the question of union cut stone, and without seeing any of the local labor leaders. Perhaps, like an illustrious exploiter now deceased, he feels that there is "nothing to arbitrate."

In reference to the above one of our well-known labor leaders is reported in the daily papers as follows: "Of course, they expect to lay that stone they are having cut by the padrone labor in Maine," said John J. Ryan of the Building Trades' council. It is the belief of all local labor people that no stone will ever be laid in the new building until after the next presidential election. Then if the present administration is indorsed at the polls federal troops will be sent to Chicago to guard the padrone stone-masons in the work of laying the 'scab' stone from Maine in case there is a strike.

With Mr. Ryan's statement of the intentions of the contractors we thoroughly agree. Stone cut by "padrone labor" is cheap and therefore proper to the occasion. Mr. Ryan, like others of his ilk, has no doubt often declared that the interests of employer and worker are identical, but he will find it hard to harmonize the intentions of the contractor with the interests of the union stone cutters in this case. If the present administration is indorsed Mr. Ryan believes that Federal troops will be sent here to protect the scab stone masons. We agree again with Mr. Ryan in this matter and we further believe that if the present administration is not endorsed, Federal troops will be sent here for a similar purpose just the same. Mr. Ryan is, we believe, unduly optimistic.

This species of optimism when genuine is generally accompanied by a

SNAP SHOTS BY THE WAYSIDE.

Chicago Times-Herald, October 10th: "The government will anticipate all the interest due for the year with a view of relieving the money market."

Mr. Gage, secretary of the treasury, has often expressed himself as opposed to paternalism, but no doubt some people can see in this disbursement of thirty million dollars of interest, three months before due, evidence that Mr. Gage's action is not consistent with his expressed opinions.

They might suggest in view of the fact that the necessities of life, such as food and fuel are contending to advance in price, that it would be a good thing if the workmen employed by the government could receive their wages in advance up to January, 1900, so as to enable them to lay in a supply for the winter.

Those who think we are imbued with middle-class socialism. The scientific socialist realizes that Mr. Gage is a faithful servant of the class which is at present dominant, and naturally takes care of their interests. When the wage workers want their interests taken care of by the government they must, as a preliminary step, put themselves in possession of that government.

Just watch what Secretary Gage will do in the impending strike on the Federal building in this city, and then put the two actions together and think.

The strike in Panama has ended in a victory for the men, or rather the union. For the men no real victory can be obtained until they secure in return for their exertions the full fruits of their labor, and this cannot be obtained through any economic organization. Yet so long as an economic organization can achieve something it must not be despised. It shows that in that industry where something can be obtained, capitalism is not yet ripe. But the victory of the union will ripen it even though the union be called reactionary.

The "Fall Festival" can now be summed up. Big business men fairly satisfied—little business men in the dumps. That is the financial aspect, with a \$5,000 deficit. Politically, Republicans in high glee, while that representative Democrat, Carter Harrison, says "he'll never do it again." Socialists say as usual, "I told you so."

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THE PARTY PRESS.

The Evil Effect of the Present Trouble—A Call for Assistance. One of the many evil results of the present party trouble has been its effect upon the party press. For several years the now deposed boss had depended mainly upon his control of the party press to maintain his supremacy. As soon as an independent press grew up giving freedom of discussion his days were numbered. So it happened that when he was deposed from office every English party paper of any importance at once turned against him. Then all the wrath of his followers was poured out against those who had dared to speak against the king. The order to boycott was rapidly passed along the line. No matter how clear and uncompromising the socialism preached, no matter how faithful the allegiance maintained to the Socialist Labor Party, if a paper refused to join in the campaign of calumny and vituperation against all who did not bow down and worship it was ordered destroyed.

Against no one paper did their wrath fall so viciously as against The Workers' Call. This paper had dared to in six short months surpass the circulation which the boss's own organ had taken more than as many years to attain. So when the old N. E. C. were deposed and sought to divide the forces of the proletariat and retain their own salaries it was upon this paper that their wrath was principally visited.

As an example of the means used to accomplish their ends and as an illustration of the character of the men who have thus allowed their minds to be directed for them we would instance three cities, not with any desire to "get even," but impelled by a feeling that it is the only way in which it is possible to place ourselves aright before our subscribers.

Pittsburg was one of the first to declare a boycott. But not satisfied with this their literary agent sent in a most abusive letter denouncing us as dishonest because four ten cent subscribers had not received their papers and stating that he had gone around to them and returned the money. As this was at the time our mail had been robbed and we had never received the money we wrote him inclosing an official complaint to fill out, but we only received another dose of abuse but he had with true De Leon bravado inclosed the names of the subscribers to whom he claimed to have refunded the money, but a letter to these showed that he lied. Now we would like to know who received that money? All letters are on file here, and incidentally it may be remarked that Section Pittsburg owes enough to more than cover the alleged deficiency which they refuse to pay.

In Section St. Paul we took over several hundred Tocsin subscribers with the promise of the St. Paul comrades that they would endeavor to secure the renewals. Instead of which they went around to the subscribers and warned them against renewing. Section Buffalo presents a similar type of De Leonistic honor as they have also established a boycott and their agent refuses to secure a duplicate of a stolen money-order which belongs to us and which he cannot himself secure.

Now we write this to ask if there is not among our readers in those cities enough men with sufficient sense of honor and interest in socialist propaganda to take hold of this matter and secure the renewals of those who may be later induced to become socialists.

In addition to the direct dishonesty and opposition which the quarrel has engendered it has caused very many good comrades to become apathetic and to cease their efforts for the party press. The result has been that we find ourselves today for the first time since the paper was started in a condition where immediate help is needed. For the last eight weeks our receipts have been steadily increasing although the discontinuance of the outdoor meetings and consequent bundle orders has caused a large falling off in the actual circulation as shown by the figures at the head of the editorial column. But it still falls considerably short of meeting expenses, and unless the outside comrades come to our assistance with increased subscription the burden will soon become too heavy for the Chicago comrades to carry. Now there is a pressing need for an S. L. P. paper in the Middle West, and we do not believe the comrades intend to let The Workers' Call disappear. We do not now ask for cash contributions but

only for additional effort in securing subscribers. If one subscriber in every five should secure a new subscriber within the next two weeks we would be on a sound financial basis for the next two months, by which time all things point to our being on a solid foundation.

Now before you lay this down send us in a card of ten names and a dollar and make a resolve to secure a club before the week is out. Now is the time to help.

A NEW PAMPHLET.

Send in An Order As Soon As You Read This. In response to numerous requests that have already come in that the series of articles entitled, "Just for a Starter," should be published in pamphlet form it has been decided to issue them as a volume of the "Pocket Library of Socialism." It will be completely re-written from the form in which it appears in the paper and set in wider columns making a volume of about thirty-two pages. It will be published under the title of "The Man Under the Machine," and will constitute a plain, simple, yet thoroughly scientific statement of the cause of socialism. It is intended to issue at least 10,000 copies of the first issue and to make this possible we want the help of all comrades.

We will make the following remarkable rates for all orders received before the 15th of November: Ten to one hundred copies, two cents each; one to five hundred, \$1.50 a hundred; over five hundred, \$1.00 a hundred. This is at just about the cost of paper and press work and constitutes an opportunity to secure good socialist literature, that has never been offered before. As soon as the issue is out the price will be doubled at least as no one can possibly afford to carry these books in stock at so low a price. All orders at above rates must be accompanied by the cash.

DE LEON INTELLIGENCE. An Example of the Kind of Stuff He Feeds His Dupes On. Every day that passes sees the forces of the one-time "boss" at 61 Beekman street disintegrating. Now it is Ben Hanford, and the "Big 6" that has gone. It is only a question of a few weeks until all that will be left will be those few choice spirits for whom he has been doing the thinking these last few years and who are solemnly repeating in concert "The king can do wrong."

To these he may say what he will, tell any lie, no matter how grotesque and they all agree without a murmur. A good example of this is seen in the editorial which he had in his "People" of the issue of October 1st. Here he soberly takes a picture that every newspaper reporter knows was formed as a joke and proceeds to gravely reason ("t) about it through a column of raven-like croakings regarding the awful condition that confronted the American workers.

We refer, of course, to the editorial entitled "Turning the Cycle," where the text is a picture which appeared in several newspapers, of a "team" of eight tramps hitched to a plow and driven by a fierce looking individual with a six-shooter of gigantic proportions in his hand. When the picture first appeared it was accompanied with the name of the correspondent who had grouped the men in this position for photographing, but later it was published without this explanation and so probably fell under the eagle eye of the late party editor, who used it as an "awful example" of the sufferings of labor.

We waited to see how many of his followers would protest against such stuff being offered them as socialist propaganda but not one word was heard. Not a one of them ever stopped long enough to think that in the country where this scene was supposed to be laid horses are worth about \$30.00 a piece and the wages of men are, during seeding time, from \$2.00 to \$3.00 a day and board, and that it is an ordinary estimate that it takes eight men to exert the same strength as an average horse, that since the plow shown in the picture is a gang plow requiring from three to six horses for its operation, the readers of this valuable editorial are asked to believe that the ranchers of the Southwest are so anxious to oppress the poor laborers that they will go to an expense of from \$50.00 to \$100.00 a day in order to use the tramps as horses.

Ordinarily we should not notice the errors that appear in the Beekman St. People, but when such a shining example is given of the way in which the personal adoration has blinded all sense of individual judgment the temptation is strong to expose it. This is especially so when those deluded hero worshippers are publishing resolutions that this same "People" is "the only socialist paper in America." Really that editorial ought to be made into a pamphlet by the Beekman St. N. E. C. for propaganda purposes.

Comrade J. W. Arnold of Rochester, N. Y., has just brought out another edition of his chart showing the distribution of wealth and containing much additional matter of value. It is an excellent thing for propaganda, especially in halls and meeting places. It sells at \$1.25 for fifty copies and larger quantities proportionately less.

Remember that we send The Call in clubs of ten for three months at ten cents each. Are YOU still hustling for subscribers?



# The Communist Manifesto.

(Continued from last week.)

Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product.

The lower middle class, the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the artisan, the peasant, all these fight against the bourgeoisie to save from extinction their existence as fractions of the middle class. They are therefore not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay, more, they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheel of history. If by chance they are revolutionary, they are so only in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat; they thus defend not their present, but their future interests, they desert their own standpoint to place themselves at that of the proletariat.

In no place is the truth of the reactionary position of the middle class more evident than in America. They fought corporations at the time of the "Granger Legislation" of 1875; they now fight the trust and expansion. They always put themselves in opposition to the current of progress and still try to be considered as the radical party. They always seek to draw the laborer into their fights and make great efforts to persuade him that they are working in his interest.

The "dangerous class," the social scum, that passively rotting class thrown off by the lowest layers of old society, may here and there be swept into the movement by a proletarian revolution; its conditions of life, however, prepare it far more for the part of a bribed tool of reactionary intrigue.

This is a point which is often overlooked in the practical politics of today. To the ignorant observer of politics it seems the most natural thing in the world that those who have suffered most should be the first to revolt. So sensational novels are written about the "Huns and Vandals" within the borders of our own society. Someone who has made a "slumming tour" of a great city talks heartily ever afterwards of the terrible danger to the rest of society from the desperate characters living there. It is also a favorite fiction of the bourgeois press that the socialists recruit their strength principally from the slums. They are misled by the closest of material interests in a common fight against the revolutionary proletariat, that would overthrow the system upon which both exist without productive labor. The "defectives, dependents, and delinquents" are simply the paupers (and hence the paid retainers) of the ruling capitalist class. Therefore we find that all forms of "philanthropic" work finds its field among this class. It is here that charities, social settlements, missions, Salvation Armies, rescue homes, etc., perform their work. All these, no matter under what delusive name individuals who are conducting them may be, are simply the means through which the ruling class keep their tools in the slum population not only in abject dependence upon their "benefactors," but also in a properly "grateful" frame of mind to insure their support of their masters and pensioners whenever the existing form of society is at stake.

In the conditions of the proletariat, those of old society at large are already virtually swamped. The proletariat is without property; his relation to his wife and children has no longer anything in common with the bourgeois family relations; modern industrial labor, modern subjection to capital, the same in England as in France, in America as in Germany, has stripped him of every trace of national character. Law, morality, religion, are to him so many bourgeois prejudices, behind which lurk in ambush just as many bourgeois interests.

All the preceding classes that got the upper hand sought to fortify their already acquired status by subjecting society at large to their conditions of appropriation. The proletarians cannot become masters of the productive forces of society, except by abolishing their own previous mode of appropriation, and thereby also every other previous mode of appropriation. They have nothing of their own to secure and to fortify; their mission is to destroy all previous securities for, and insurances of, individual property.

All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air.

It is this fact that creates the anomaly of the class struggle position in the socialist philosophy. The capitalist and the middle class always claim to act in the interest of "society" and to be inspired by "philanthropic" motives when the results of their acts always benefit their class alone. The proletariat declares itself to be working in the interest of its class alone and yet its victory will redound to the benefit of every member of society. But they well know that men move in obedience to their class or individual interest, at least when great bodies are concerned, and hence they appeal to those immediate class interests which will benefit the working class. But the revolutionary laboring class of today seeks to overthrow all basis of oppression and exploitation. They would through the victory of their class abolish all economic classes and class rule. They have alone the right to claim to act in the interest of "society," they alone disclaim the title.

Though not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle. The proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie. In depicting the most general phases of the development of the proletariat, we traced the more or less veiled civil war, raging within existing society, up to the point where that war breaks out into open revolution, and where the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie lays the foundation for the sway of the proletariat.

Hitherto every form of society has been based, as we have already seen, on the antagonism of oppressing and oppressed classes. But in order to oppress a class certain conditions must be assured to it under which it can, at least, continue its slavish existence. The serf, in the period of serfdom, raised himself to membership in the commune, just as the petty bourgeois, under the yoke of feudal absolutism, managed to develop into a bourgeoisie. The modern laborer, on the contrary, instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth. And here it becomes evident that the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society and to impose its conditions of existence upon society as an over-riding law. It is unfit to rule because it is incompetent to assure an existence to its slave within his slavery, because it cannot help letting him sink into such a state that it has to feed him instead of being fed by him. Society can no longer live under this bourgeoisie; in other words, its existence is no longer compatible with society.

The significance of this position will impress itself upon every reader who remembers the great armies of the unemployed that existed in every part of this land but a few years ago. Every recurring census of poverty and crime emphasizes the position here taken. It is a familiar statement that while the chattel slave knew the torture of overwork, he never knew the hell of out-of-work. This phrase means more than appears at first sight. It is not alone a graphic way of describing the greater suffering of the wage slave. It is a telling indictment against the ruling class of today that they are unable to profitably employ their own slaves. What would have been thought of a nation of chattel slave owners, who were unable to use their energies so as to produce enough to feed their slaves? Would they not be looked upon as a race of fools, and if they allowed their slaves to starve by thousands they would be called a race of beasts, and finally is there any term in the English language sufficiently strong to describe the character of the slaves that would not only thus allow themselves to be starved to death in the midst of plenty, but would go to the ballot box each year and solemnly approve of the continuance of the system under which they were suffering?

The essential condition for the existence, and for the sway of the bourgeois class, is the formation and augmentation of capital; the condition for capital is wage-labor. Wage-labor rests exclusively on competition between the laborers. The advance of industry, whose revolutionary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the laborers, due to competition, by their revolutionary combination, due to association. The development of modern industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.

The sentence "What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own grave-diggers," is one of those profound truths that after they have been said and thought over grow into whole treatises. Capitalism must fall as soon as the laborers become an intelligent, class-conscious body trained to act together. Hence its perpetuation depends upon the laborers being kept in a disintegrated, ignorant individuality. But competitive industry demands more and more every day that the laborers shall be intelligent and educated, that they shall be gathered together in great bodies and trained to act as parts of one huge industrial organization and finally by continuously widening the gap between them and all other classes of society it is tending to weld them into a class-conscious body that shall soon wipe out the whole system.

(To be continued.)

## FOREIGN NEWS.

### Glimpses of the World-wide Struggle of the Proletarian Army for Its Liberty.

The Social Democratic Reichstag delegates are preparing to make an onslaught upon the less majestic paragraph of the criminal code. The case of Editor Schmidt of a Magdeburg socialist sheet will play an important role in the discussion. The responsible editor of the paper was condemned to four years' imprisonment for printing a paragraph regarding the Kaiser's Palestine journey, though it was proven he was not on duty the day the article was printed. Schmidt is a Reichstag delegate and secured the Reichstag's permission to stand trial. He confessed that on this day he was acting as the responsible editor. The court showed little appreciation for this Damon and Pythias notion and sentenced Schmidt to four years.

The Socialist congress has adopted Herr Bebel's program by a practically unanimous vote, the only dissentients being the radicals, who thought it yielded too much to the Bernstein faction. Ignas Auer, the Berlin opportunist leader, and Herr Volmar, after ridiculing Herr Bebel's prophecies that the collapse of the present social order would take place in 1898, declared there was nothing objectionable in the resolution.

### England and the Transvaal.

It is generally known that the wealth taken out of the Witwatersrand mines in the Transvaal is enormous, but it is only after one knows the precise profits which go to the fortunate shareholders that it can be properly appreciated. The figures below are taken from the London "Stock Exchange Year Book" and show the dividends realized on the capital invested in various mines for the year 1919:

Mines.	Per Cent.
City and Suburban	15
May Consolidated	15
Windsor	29
Rietfontein	22 1/2
Driefontein	25
Glencain	25
Knights	30
Rose Deep	40
Griensberg	40
Rodeport United	40
Angelo	50
Crown Deep	50
Primrose	55
Village Main Reef	60
Meyer Charlton	60
Worcester	60
Goldenhuis Deep	75
Durban Rodepoort	80
Jumpers	80
Bonanza	100
Jubilee	100
Heriot	100
Henry Nourse	125
Goldenhuis estate	147 1/2
Wemmer	150
Crown Reef	240
Ferreira	200
Johannesburg Pioneer	675

The total amount paid in dividends by the gold-producing mines was in 1896 \$7,450,000; in 1897, \$13,500,000, and in 1898, \$24,450,000. After reading these figures it becomes easy to understand the remarks made by Sir Alfred Milner the day he left England to return to South Africa, when asked by a reporter what would be his policy with regard to the Transvaal. "If," he said, "you saw a solid pile of gold worth 500,000,000 pounds over there, with 20,000 Boers armed to the teeth sitting upon it, what would you do?" Less enigmatic was a statement made by Lionel Phillips, one of the Rand millionaires: "We don't care about the franchise; we want the mines."—N. Y. Sun.

### Belgium.

Antwerp, Oct. 15.—The result of the municipal elections held today throughout Belgium is anxiously awaited by the government. The returns for Antwerp show a decisive protest against the governmental project for the rectification of the bed of the river Scheidt, the socialists winning three seats in the municipal council. Partial returns from all parts of the kingdom indicate large liberal and socialist gains.

### RAPID TELEGRAPHY.

#### Wonderful Improvement That Will Give Leisure to Laborers.

Vienna, Oct. 7.—A wonderful method of quick telegraphy has been discovered by two Hungarian engineers, Antin Pollak and Joseph Vira, which enables the sending of nearly a hundred thousand words an hour.

The method has just been tested on the telegraph lines from Buda-Pesth to Berlin. Representatives of the German ministry of commerce viewed the apparatus working in Berlin, while a delegate from the French government and a representative of an American cable company, together with Hungarian officials, inspected the working of the invention in Buda-Pesth. A number of telegrams were exchanged between Buda-Pesth and Berlin, and it was found that the average rate of wiring with the new apparatus was twenty-two words a second, giving 1,320 words a minute and over 79,000 an hour. These results were witnessed and testified to by experts. The new apparatus is a marvel of ingenuity. Messages are first perforated on a slip of paper. These signs are then transmitted with lightning speed over the wires, and are received as photographs at the other end, where they can be read and quickly prepared for delivery.

This will offer leisure to a few telegraph operators and when the principle is applied to wireless telegraphy the lineamen and construction gang can take a permanent lay-off.

## Right and Wrong

(Continued from page 1.)

sanction such conduct as will benefit the dominant part of society. Religion, laws, public opinion—these are all "consecutive institutions" which limit the excesses of the proprietary classes and make the subject classes submissive.

Under such a regime (slave, serf or wage worker) pure egoism is out of the question. The conduct of all classes has to be moderated. Unselfishness must needs be a virtue. I suppose we must confess that self-interest as an ethical principle would only work in a society of equals. Certain it is that anyone who attempted to make egoism the rule of his life under class rule would shortly be in trouble, and the more enlightened his self-interest was, the worse his trouble. E. g., Jesus and Socrates.

As a matter of fact, the "sense of duty" is pretty much respectable in the fear either of divine punishment or legal retribution or of an adverse public opinion, and all of these are simply instruments of the economically upper class.

To live in society at all one must conform to its morality to a large extent. This is what is meant, say by Loria, that egoism as a principle of morality is false as at present. The welfare of the dominant class, i. e., destiny, "determines duty" and conform to it we must or be swept out of the way.

But this very conformity is a sort of self-interest. To be sure I cannot do as I would if the sanctions of class morality did not exist, but even in yielding to their domination, I really do what seems to me to be for my own interest. To live a life of "propaganda of the deed" to do what I want to do, would prevent my doing anything at all. For the sake of participating in the happiness of a society organized for the happiness of all, not of a class, I submit to the sanctions imposed by the present ruling class. In submission or in defiance I am looking out for what seems to me my self-interest.

If I dare not defy these sanctions that means that I am looking out for my interests under present circumstances. If I do defy them, that means that long-sightedness self-interest leads me to hope that I shall be better for defying them.

Self-interest is the only guide I have. But when I see that my interests are identical with those of thousands besides, that I shall obtain happiness only on condition that they do, and when I gladly vow "By God! I will accept nothing which all cannot have their counterpart of on the same terms" so that I "am not contained between my hat and boots," then my egoism, like Whitman's, will be sublime.

## Just for a Starter

(Continued from page 1.)

places. If we apply it to production we shall see that only the man who has the largest and the best machines can make anything. This means that the man without a machine cannot produce even if he wished, but must sell his labor power to someone who has the machine. If we apply this to the laborer who is selling himself day by day we shall find that when all the labor power in the market is not wanted only the cheapest will be bought. But that labor will be the cheapest which can be produced the cheapest, that is, can live upon the least to eat and drink and wear. The child and the woman can live cheaper than the man and so they will be employed even while their husbands and brothers and fathers walk from place to place seeking to find someone who will buy a portion of their lives.

Finally no one can afford to buy labor power without he can make a profit on it. Now to make a profit the articles which the workers produce must be sold for more than what his labor power costs. But after all, the laborers are so very numerous that they must buy back most of what they produce. The man who buys their labor power and makes a profit on it cannot eat and drink so many thousand fold more than any other man, and so he must sell most of his things back to those who produced them. But he has only paid them a small portion of what he wants them to pay him. Of course they cannot buy all and so he must shut down his shop and wait until his goods are used up or wasted or spoiled. When a thousand firms all over the country are forced to do this we call it a crisis. So we see that the great difficulty that seems to be at the bottom of all these troubles is that the tools belonging to one class and that class not able to use them they have to buy the labor power of the other class to operate them. Having to buy this as cheap as possible forces wages down to the starvation point and makes it impossible for the laborers to buy back their own product, leading to terrible crises with their accompanying suffering. Thus we see that society is divided into two classes, one of which owns everything and produces nothing and the other who produces everything and own nothing—not even their own bodies, for necessity forces them to sell these pieces to secure a living and when they cannot find a purchaser they can no longer live.

We shall next take a little closer look into the way these classes have grown up and see if we cannot find a key to the dilemma into which we seem to be plunged.

## Womans' Department.

All women socialists are requested to send in contributions for this department. Original articles, items of interest or clippings will be gladly received. Address all communications for this department to the editor, Mrs. May Wood Simons, 6944 Washington Ave., Chicago, Ill.

### LIEBKNECHT.

#### A Sketch of the Great German Socialist—His Life, Sufferings and Work.

The power of personality has been evident in every great movement that the world has known; the effective presentation of a truth demands a man, who realizes that truth's significance, who feels the world's need of it, and gives up his life to its promulgation. The realization may be emotional or intellectual; the feeling for the world, in its ignorance and distress, may be either sympathetic or more coldly rational; but the effort itself must be intense without bitterness, broad without superficiality, and of a lifetime's duration. Absolute self-surrender to such effort is seldom seen—and so the world goes slowly along in its blindness; but there is an old man in Germany who many years ago gave himself up to his realization of a great economic truth, and his influence has gone out to all corners of the globe. That old man is Liebknecht—he called my attention one day to his name, for translated literally it is "love the slave." And he has been true to his name. It is printed on a doorplate on the entrance to a fourth floor apartment on Charlottenburg, a suburb of Berlin. Over him is an off-shouldered heaven, under him is a Count Somebody-or-other; and because his thoughts go always upward he has no time to condemn the count—besides the count is a slave too.

Inside that door there have been many thoughts and if the roof had understood them all, it might have flown off, being a proper German roof, but most of them have been caught in the withered wreaths whose faded ribbons bear the inscriptions, "From the Comrades of Seventy," "In Memory of '48," and so they give to the room an atmosphere of the past, notwithstanding the very modern photographs and books. If Liebknecht himself is there you think rather of the future than of the past, for he has no time to be reminiscent. On a rainy morning I found him at home, the floor covered with newspapers, French, Italian, English and German, and he kept right on reading, saying that at the end of each twenty-four hours he must find out how the socialists have been spending their time. On another morning than a rainy one, he and his wife descend from the mid-air home and take the elevated train for Grunewald, a great pine forest just outside of Berlin. Here he spends three or four hours in the open air—and that may be a reason why one feels that his mind is healthy and unerring. He is very hale and his step is firm and quick. He drinks only buttermilk or milk with the sandwich he has brought from home—for beer, he says, is one of the curses of Germany. I went out with him one morning rather wondering what new wisdom I should take back with me, and when the morning was at an end, I had, instead, some wild carnations which he had picked in the woods, and the leader of the socialists himself had his hands full of some sort of weed, gathered for his canary. But it had been a splendid morning!

When in the right mood he will talk a great deal, but he is never prolix; his thoughts are tersely expressed. Yet in the Reichstag he never hesitates to make his opinion of any measure perfectly clear and as a consequence he is often in danger of punishment for lese majeste. Last year he spent four months in very crowded quarters in the prison—he said it wouldn't have been so bad if his small room had not been directly over the prison kitchen, and the odors of cooking took the place of fresh air. This prison, a dismal brick building is but a few rods from the elevated road, and he could hurl maledictions at it every day, if he cared to. Still I didn't notice any change in the repose of his manner as he pointed out the window of his cell. But four months! that is a very short imprisonment. In a letter of Mrs. Liebknecht she says: "In the last thirty years we have been separated fourteen years and three months, through imprisonment and exile. Five of those years were years of actual imprisonment; his time of exile was spent mostly in England, where he tried to earn a bare subsistence for his family of boys in Germany.

The crisis of his long life of effort on behalf of industrial and political freedom was without doubt his trial for high treason in 1879. The result was a two years term of imprisonment (1872-74), and a tremendous stir in the socialist ranks. The trial was also the occasion of his first auto-biographical sketch—for he made his own defense. He begins: "And now a short curriculum vitae for the completion of the remarks already given. Coming from a family of officials my relatives—I had early lost my father—destined me also for an official career. But even in the 'symbolium' I had learned to know the writings of Ralph Simon, which opened up a new world to me. For a third student (bread-winning study) I had no inclination.

I wanted to study to improve myself, and I wanted to improve and educate myself in order to fulfill my duties in the state and in society. . . . I eventually gave up all idea of entering the official service as it could not be in any way reconciled with my political and social views. But I cherished for some time the plan of becoming a teacher (privat-docent) and hoped to attain to a professorship in some one of the smaller universities. Yet in this delusion I did not long remain. I became convinced that without sacrificing my principles I had not the least chance of a teacher's certificate, and I decided, therefore, in 1847, to go to America. Immediately I made the necessary preparations and was on my way to a seaport when I accidentally fell in with a man, a teacher from Switzerland, and who discountenanced my plan and advised me, in consideration of the probable impending change of European relations, to go to Switzerland. He spoke so eloquently that at the next station I turned back to Zurich instead of going on to Hamburg.

While in Switzerland Liebknecht studied law and came in contact for the first time with the German Workman's Union (Deutscher Arbeiterverein). Then in 1848 he went to Paris and from there to his own country to aid in the undertaking of Herwegh. "It was concerned with the struggle for a German republic," he says, "the moment appeared favorable to me—I would have been a coward or a traitor in my own eyes if I had acted otherwise than as I did. You see, your honors, and you of the jury, I do not deny my past, nor my principles and convictions. I deny nothing. I conceal nothing. And to prove that I am an opponent of monarchy and of the present society, and would not did duty demand it—shrink from conflict, it is not necessary to present the ridiculous inventions and machinations of this 'Gleisener' police. I say it here freely and openly: Since I have been capable of thought I have been a republican, and a republican I shall die." The undertaking, as is known, was a failure; Liebknecht went back to Zurich, but only for a few months. He joined Strune in another unsuccessful struggle and was himself arrested to await a long-delayed trial. He was discharged and then followed his experience in the imperial campaign in which he naturally stood for "free Germany." On a false charge he was again imprisoned in 1853, and was finally sent out of Switzerland (where he was at this time) with a pass to London. There he became a member of the Communist Federation.

"The only member of the Federation, whom I had known up to this time was Engels, whom I had met in Geneva. I became acquainted with Marx for the first time in London. The Communist Federation was a society, not for conspiracy, but for propaganda. Secret it had to be, because the right of organizing and meeting in Germany was not granted. But the early Christians also met secretly—in the Catacombs. . . . In London I lived thirteen years, busied with social-political studies, and still more with the struggle for existence. . . . In 1862, on the publication of the amnesty, he went back to Germany to a post on the editorial staff of the "Norddeutschen Allgemeinen Zeitung." At first all went well, but soon Bismark came into power and the policy of the paper changed though Liebknecht was given carte blanche in his department. But that could not last long and although it was his sole means of support he gave up his position. "At this time and later," he says, "attempts were made repeatedly to buy me. I cannot positively say that Herr von Bismark wished to buy me, but I can say that AGENTS OF HERR VON BISMARCK WANTED TO BUY ME, and indeed under conditions which, except in the opinion of myself and my party comrades, would have preserved my dignity. . . . Had I had the meanness to sacrifice my principles to my personal interests, I would at present be in a brilliant position instead of here on the bench of the accused to which those, who years ago sought to buy me, have now brought me." ■

It was at that time that the almost constant surveillance of the police began, from which he has never really been freed. He joined with La Salle in the workman's movement. After his death Liebknecht was given orders to leave the country—that is Prussia. He had just succeeded in securing a position which enabled him to support his family and he was practically penniless when he reached Leipzig. But in the next year he obtained the editorship of the "Mitteutschen Volkszeitung." And did his work four weeks. At the end of that time the paper was suppressed!

Again, on family affairs, Liebknecht went to Berlin, believing his case to come under the amnesty which allowed all political exiles to return. But he was mistaken, and was arrested after several days sojourn, and so he was harassed until in 1870 he was called before the judges on perfectly false charges of treason. His closing remarks on this trial speak the whole man and are as true today as he does his editorial writing for the leading German socialist organ, the "Vorwaerts," as they were at this crisis of his career. He says: "I am now at an end. . . . I have sold my life and my activities (bread-winning study) I had no inclination.

I have sold my life and my activities (bread-winning study) I had no inclination.

I have sold my life and my activities (bread-winning study) I had no inclination.



have developed further, in essentials I have the same standpoint that I had twenty-two years ago. In methods, in my judgment, of individuals and things I have often erred; in my purpose, in my general conceptions I have only grown more firm. I am not the disreputable adventurer which my calculators wish to make me. Even in my early youth I burned my ships behind me, and since then have worked uninterruptedly for my principles. My personal advantage I have never sought; where the choice lay between my own interests and principle, I have never hesitated to sacrifice my interests.

"If, after unheeded persecution, I am poor that is no disgrace—no, I am proud of it, for it is the most convincing testimony of my political honor. And again: I am NOT a conspirator by profession, not a travelling lansquenet of conspiracy. Call me rather a soldier of the Revolution—against that I make no complaint.

"A twofold ideal has been before me since my youth: a free and united Germany and the emancipation of the working people; that is, the abolition of class rule which is equivalent to the freeing of humanity. For this double good I have struggled with my best powers, and for this double good I shall struggle as long as there is breath in me. Duty demands that!"

Charlotte Teller.

Fatal Indifference

(Continued from page 1)

made its possessor very much better than other people. He was made to believe that the constitution and the laws of his country were almost divine. He was told that "servants should be obedient unto their masters" and at the most was comforted with the delusion that every man had a chance to be president. He saw those who possessed much money looked up to and respected. He saw those whom he believed to be superior to him intellectually on their side. Everything that touched him, everything that he saw, heard, felt, read or dreamed of, sung the same song about the desirability of the "foundations of society" being preserved. Perhaps he never heard it in those words but it was the refrain to every song he heard even if it did not always constitute the dominant chord.

Now socialism in its every point is the exact reverse of all this. It teaches that institutions are made for men, not men for institutions. It says that patriotism may be a virtue or a vice, according as the country towards which it is shown is a blessing or a curse to its citizens. It denies the right of private property in those things to which necessity men must be attached so that those who own the things will also own the men attached to them. All this would not fit in with the impressions already existing in the brains of those who heard it. Now it is a part of this same psychology that we spoke of before, that the mind can only take in those ideas which it can associate with something already in the brain. But the idea of socialism found few things in the average brain to which it could be "hitched on." It found no responsive chord in the daily life of those whom capitalism had so long had under its charge.

But every day that passes finds this separation lessened. There is now arising a race of people in the younger generation to whom many of the ideas of socialism are dimly familiar. A multitude of things are tending to shake their faith in the old order and little by little the truths of socialism are beginning to penetrate through the whole mass. Now the very characteristics that we have pointed out as constituting the bulwarks of capitalism will in the end contribute to its downfall. Once the idea becomes general that present society is subject to criticism and change and that economic evolution is a fact, and that the laborer holds his destiny in his own hands, there is an end of all such stuff being swallowed by the workers as the press of today is dinnling into their ears.

To the class-conscious socialist all things look different from what they do to one whose mind is furnished by the capitalist class. He sees everything from a different point of view. To him it is the things capitalist for which he has no interest because his mind is filled with the things that concern his own class.

Penn. State Committee.

The publication of a set of resolutions purporting to have been sent out by Section Blair County, Pa., in your issue of the 7th inst., is calculated to work us an injury. We ask the courtesy of space sufficient for brief rejoinder.

As to the insinuation that this committee is "self-constituted." This committee was elected by Section Philadelphia in regular meeting, at the direction of the New National Executive Committee, the old State Committee, located at Pittsburgh, having been sufficiently "self-constituted" to justly assume that the entire membership of the party in Pennsylvania had no business to have any opinions regarding the late crisis in the party, and had nothing to say while being labeled and handed over by that committee to that illiterate upstart and party wrecker, Daniel De Leon. Secondly, this committee is recognized by and is working under the authority of the National Board of Appeals, located at Cleveland.

The action of this committee in setting up a ticket in opposition to the one named at Altoona in May last was due to the fact that the Altoona nominees in July following seceded from the party and proceeded to make war on the very membership who had honored them. To have permitted their nominations to stand would have been the height of pusillanimity and cowardice. The Socialist Labor Party con-

trois their nominations before election. Furthermore, such action was actively participated in by hundreds of party members in Philadelphia and throughout the state whose life-long adherence to the principles of the Social Revolution qualifies them to be at least credible interpreters of "the spirit and letter of socialist ethics and principles" as are a number of people who, as late ago as 1896, were marching through the mud and rain for "Bryan and free raw materials."

In conclusion, this committee extends a full recognition as socialist comrades to those who, from an ignorance of the real issue, have yet failed to recognize its jurisdiction. We have full confidence that the rapidly developing truth will show them their duty. But we decline to include in this category any who attempt to hide a plain desire to "be on the winning side" behind a contemptible "neutrality."

By order of the committee. J. Mahlon Barnes, Corresponding Secretary.

Wisconsin State Committee.

The Wisconsin State Committee has established a fund to be used in carrying on the socialist agitation throughout the state. All contributions to this fund should be sent to the state secretary, Frank R. Wilke, 104 19th street, Milwaukee, Wis. All receipts will be published in the party organs.

Previously acknowledged ..... \$27.05  
Frank Rubinger, Milwaukee..... 1.00  
Robt. E. Phillips, Iron River..... 1.00  
Herbert Bottner, Milwaukee..... 2.00  
Total ..... \$31.05  
Respectfully submitted,  
Frank R. Wilke.

Meeting of Illinois State Committee.

Regular meeting of the Illinois State Committee at 65 N. Clark St., Chicago, Oct. 15, 1899, 8 p. m. Com. J. S. Smith in the chair. The following business was transacted. Application from Springfield Valley for a charter granted. Communications received from Quincy, Dalton, Menomoth, Streator, Bloomington, Elgin, Bradford and Genoa. Motion to send Com. A. Klenke to assist organizer at Section Dalton, Ill. Motion to appoint committee to see about purchase of 2,000 mile railroad ticket.

Income: For stamps, Chicago and other sections in the state.....\$58.50  
Expenses ..... \$2.45  
Motion to adjourn.  
R. A. Morris, Recording Secretary.

Clinton, Mass.

Clinton, Mass., Oct. 8, 1899. Whereas, At the convention held in Horticultural Hall, Worcester, Mass., Sept. 25th, 1899, a resolution was passed recommending to the various sections the desirability of discontinuing to circulate or recommend such papers as the Workers' Call, the Class Struggle, or any other papers, etc., which do not recognize the N. E. C. of which I. C. Kuhn is secretary, and

Whereas, We consider such action as traitorous to the movement in general and detrimental to the interests of true socialism and unbecoming of socialists; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we tender to these papers our hearty support, both morally and financially, and recommend to all other socialists to do likewise; and be it further

Resolved, That those resolutions be published in our party papers.  
J. J. Heagle,  
J. P. McDonald,  
George Knarr,  
Committee on Resolutions.

THE PACKERS IN NEW YORK.

Prediction of Workers' Call Regarding Them Verified.

The beef packers are preparing to open retail stores in New York, Brooklyn and Jersey City. It is the ultimate purpose to get entire control of the retail meat and poultry business in Greater New York and the Metropolitan neighborhood. To do this it will be necessary for the packers to drive out of trade 2,500 retail butchers, of whom 1,300 are in the boroughs of Manhattan, 900 in Brooklyn, 300 in Jersey City and its suburbs. Inasmuch as the average sales of a retail butcher amount to about \$500 a week, the combination will, by banishing the retailers, gain control of an increased trade of \$1,250,000 a week, or about \$65,000,000 a year. George J. Lossner of 174 Ninth avenue, admitted today that he had heard of the new move. He is the secretary of the New York Retail Butchers' association, which is fighting the beef packers, and now has an agent in the West looking for a site for an independent abattoir.

The beef packers have issued an ultimatum to the New York Butchers' association that if the association opens an abattoir the packers will go into the retail butcher business at once.—Chicago Tribune.

It will be remembered by the readers of The Workers' Call that this movement of the packers was predicted as soon as the retail dealers announced their intention of doing their own killing. It's up to them now. What will they do about it?

This week's Baltimore Manufacturers' Record states it as a fact that a cotton purchase of a bulk of the cotton mills of the South is under way, with good promise of success. The combination may reach a capitalization of from \$50,000,000 to \$100,000,000 and become one of the largest known. It is anticipated that the enterprise will be taken over almost entirely by northern capital, and that the capital now tied up in the mills to be consolidated will be released to invest in new southern undertakings.—Springfield Republican.

The Socialist Sangerbund are making extraordinary efforts to have an interesting program at their sangerfest on the 2nd inst. In addition to an extremely attractive song program with orchestral accompaniment there will be a one-act opera, "Das Sangerfest im Singsanghausen" presented. There are now eleven Chicago singing societies affiliated with the Sangerbund. Are YOU still hunting for subscribers?

Socialist Labor Party of the United States.

PLATFORM.

The Socialist Labor Party of the United States, in convention assembled, re-affirms the inalienable rights of all men to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. With the founders of the American republic we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of this right; but in the light of our social conditions we hold furthermore, that no such right can be exercised under a system of economic inequality, essentially destructive of life, liberty and of happiness.

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

To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economics is the direct opposite of our democratic system of politics, we plainly trace 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 millions of nations upon that class.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party once more enters its protest. Once more it reiterates its fundamental declaration that private property in the natural sources of production and in the instruments of labor is the obvious cause of all economic servitude and political dependence. The time is fast coming when, in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalistic combinations on the other hand, shall have worked out its own downfall.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of the United States and upon all honest citizens, to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a class-conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them by taking possession of the public powers; so that, held together by an indomitable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, we may put a summary end to that barbarous struggle by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of classless 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.

- With a view to immediate improvement in the condition of labor we present the following demands:
1. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production.
2. The United States shall obtain possession of the railroads, canals, telegraphs, telephones and all other means of public transportation and communication; the employees to operate the same co-operatively under the control of the Federal government and to elect their own superior officers, but no employee shall be discharged for political reasons.
3. The municipalities shall obtain possession of the local railroads, ferries, water works, 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. Reversion 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 water ways, and prohibiting the waste of the natural resources of the country.
7. Inventions to be free to all; the inventors to be remunerated by the nation.
8. Progressive income tax and tax on inheritances; the smaller incomes to be exempt.
9. School education of all children under fourteen years of age to be compulsory, gratuitous and accessible to all by public assistance in meals, clothing, books, etc., where necessary.
10. Repeal of all pauper, tramp, conspiracy and 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. Employment of the unemployed by the public authorities (county, city, state and nation.)
13. All wages to be paid in lawful money of the United States. Equalization of woman's wages with those of men where equal service is performed.
14. Laws for the protection of life and limb in all occupations, and an efficient employer's liability law.
15. The people to have the right to propose laws and vote upon all measures of importance, according to the referendum principle.
16. Abolition of the veto power of the executive (national, state and municipal) wherever it exists.
17. Abolition of the United States Senate and all upper legislative chambers.
18. Municipal self-government.
19. Uniform civil and criminal law throughout the United States. Distribution of justice to be free of charge. Abolition of capital punishment.
20. All public officers to be subject to recall by their respective constituencies.
21. Uniform civil and criminal law throughout the United States. Distribution of justice to be free of charge. Abolition of capital punishment.

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CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF SECTION CHICAGO, 65 N. Clark St., 1st and 3rd Tuesday; Sec. Jsa. Smith, 245 W. Monroe St.
BRANCHES.
FOURTH WARD, 3638 Armour Ave., 1st Thursday each month; Sec. N. Krugh, 3530 La Salle St.
FIFTH WARD, 2930 Wentworth Ave.; business meeting every Monday night; public meetings every Monday, Thursday and Sunday at 8 p. m.; Sec. Joseph Trentz, 339 24th St.
SEVENTH WARD, Workman's Hall, cor. 13th and Walter; 1st and 3rd Monday each month; Sec. Joe Stone, 330 Forquer St.
NINTH WARD, 427 W. 15th St., every Sunday; Sec. John Benda, 85 Fish St.
TENTH WARD, 116 W. 24th St., every Friday night; Sec. I. Finstrom, 1004 S. Wood St.
THIRTEENTH WARD, S. E. Cor. Grand and Western Ave., every Wednesday evening at 8 p. m.; Sec. Aug. Klenke, 808 Grand Ave.
FOURTEENTH WARD (Danish), 729 W. North Ave.; 1st and 3rd Friday each month 8 p. m.; Sec. T. Anderson, 1916 N. Campbell Ave.
FOURTEENTH WARD, 884 W. Division St.; 1st and 3rd Sunday, 9 a. m.; Sec. E. M. Stangland, 630 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, 839 Larabee St., 2nd and 4th Mondays; Sec. O. Gritchke, 34 Reese St.
TWENTY-THIRD WARD (Scandinavian), 105 E. Chicago Ave.; public meetings every Sunday at 8 p. m.; business meetings 2nd and 4th Sundays each month at 2 p. m.; Sec. A. B. Gulbrun, 133 Oak St.
TWENTY-FOURTH WARD, 65 N. Clark St.; every 2nd and 4th Thursday, 8 p. m., business meeting; Sunday, 3 p. m., lecture meetings.
TWENTY-SIXTH WARD, corner Southport and Belmont Aves. every Monday evening; Sec. Thos. Carr, 678 Ogden St.
TWENTY-EIGHTH WARD, Brett's Hall, cor. 45th Ave. and Lake St.; 2nd and 4th Thursday evenings each month; Sec. Carl Peterson, 2944 Lake St.
THIRTIETH WARD, 5430 Paulina, every Saturday night; Sec. H. Phillips, 2439 Paulina.
THIRTIETH WARD No. 1 (German), meets 1st and 3rd Monday each month at 8 p. m., Ashland Ave.; Sec. H. Steiner, 210 W. 46th Pl.
THIRTIETH WARD, Scandinavian, 1148 69d St. 2nd and 4th Fridays; Sec. A. Hassmann, 6247 Ada St.
THIRTY-FIRST WARD, 6739 Sangamon St., 1st and 3rd Fridays each month; Sec. J. Wanhope, 6629 Aberdeen St.
THIRTY-THIRD WARD, room 19 Commercial Block, Cor. Commercial Ave. and 12nd St., South Chicago; 1st and 3rd Mondays each month; Sec. M. H. Taft, 7919 Edwards Ave.
THIRTY-FOURTH WARD, 113 S. Michigan Ave., every 2d and 4th Sunday, 8 p. m.; Sec. G. F. Denne, 11437 Perry 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).
SIXTEENTH WARD, meets 1st and 3rd Saturdays each month at 371 Noble St., 8 p. m.; Sec. M. Pisch, 53 Elston Ave.
SIXTEENTH WARD, meets 2nd and 4th Saturdays each month at 571 Noble St., 8 p. m.; Sec. A. Gembicki, 11 Chapin St.
THIRTY-THIRD WARD meets at 8413 Superior Ave. (second floor front), every 1st and 3rd Sundays at 8 p. m.; Sec. Majk Plick.
LADIES SOCIALIST BRANCH, meets 1st and 3rd Sundays each month at 663 N. Paulina (Comrade Odalski's house), 3 p. m.; Sec. M. Tyliko, 709 W. 21st Pl.
PEORIA, every Wednesday evening at Mannerchor Hall, Olive St.
JACKSONVILLE, every 1st, 3rd and 5th Sunday at 2:00 p. m., 1st Trades Association 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 Vandalla and Clay Sts.
PHILADELPHIA SECTION meets second Sunday each month at 15 p. m., 6th and Brown, Labor Lyceum, entrance at Randolph.
CENTRAL COMMITTEE—1st and 3rd Wednesday at 2 p. m., 6th and Brown.
EVELENTH, 12th, 13th and 14th Wards, S. L. Club (formerly American Branch), every Wednesday at 3 p. m., 6th and Brown.
GERMAN BRANCH—2nd and 4th Sundays at 3 p. m., 6th and Brown.
THIRTY-FIRST AND THIRTY-THIRD WARDS, Social Labor Club—1st and 3rd Sundays, Kensington Labor Lyceum, 2nd and Cambria Sts.
SOUTHWARK BRANCH—2nd Saturday, 8 p. m., Southwark Labor Lyceum, Passaywick Ave. and Federal St.
TWENTY-NINTH WARD, Social Labor Club—every Sunday, 3 p. m., at Poplar and Hamby Sts.
JEWISH BRANCH—1st and 3rd Fridays, 516 S. 5th St.
THIRTY-NINTH WARD, Social Labor Club—1st and 3rd Mondays, 8 p. m., 2226 South 7th St.
TWENTY-EIGHTH WARD, Social Labor Club—1st Friday, 3 p. m., 25th and York Sts.
NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH WARDS, Social Labor Club—SW cor. 9th St. and Columbia Ave.; 2nd Tuesday, Discussion Meeting; 4th Tuesday, business meeting.
TWENTY-FOURTH AND THIRTY-FOURTH WARDS, Social Labor Club—2nd and 4th Mondays, 8 p. m., Lincoln Hall, 4398 LaCaster Ave.
SYRACUSE, N. Y.
General Section meeting every Wednesday evening until election, at Staub's Hall, corner Knaut and Butternut Sts.
BRANCH 1 meets second and 4th Thursdays at Staub's Hall.
BRANCH 2 meets 2nd Tuesday each month.
BRANCH 3 meets 3rd Thursday each month at Haux's Hall, corner N. Salina and Ash.
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