

THE WORKERS' CALL.

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

VOL. 1.—NO. 45.

CHICAGO, ILL., JANUARY 13, 1900.

PRICE ONE CENT.

SHEAR THE SHEEP

Literary Decoy-ducks Get After the "Young Man."

BAIT FOR RAINBOW CHASERS.

Ambitious Would-be Shearers Must First Yield Up Their Own Fleece to Their Masters.

Many years ago a famous diplomat of Europe whose name is to this day a synonym for deceit and fraudulent cunning, gave vent to the following philosophical remark, "Society," he said, "is divided into two classes, the shearers and the shorn; you should always try to escape from the latter into the former class." And this text has been the foundation of hundreds of "moral" lessons and diatribes preached to "young men starting out in business," and in many cases the preachers thereof, have earned a "reputation" as men of deep wisdom whose advice was based upon experience, and which if heeded was a sure guide post to "success in life" which at present signifies what Tallestrand has stated, viz., passing from the ranks of the shorn into those of the shearers. The written and printed matter upon this subject would fill a large-sized library building already, but its output shows as yet no sign of decrease. For example we have in the Daily News of January 5th, this city, another of these "moral" productions from the pen of a person called Barrett, not differing in noticeable manner from thousands of its predecessors in its recommendations of punctuality, thoughtfulness, painstaking, discretion, tact, economy and the numerous other necessary qualifications which go to make up business "success." As socialists we have long learned to "beware of the bourgeois" more especially when he preaches of "morality," as experience has shown us that there is always some object, other than the apparent one in these effusions of "sound" advice. But admitting the possibility of every young man strictly adhering to these teachings and practicing them throughout his whole business career, we fail to see how all the young men could become "successful business men" as all their virtuous striving would not only not open more opportunities but its success would actually close them to the remainder of the struggling crowd. The opportunities to become a shearer at once, are recognized to be non-existent by this writer, therefore the apprentice who wishes one day to enter the plundering class must perforce permit himself to be shorn, and the sure road to success lies in the quantity of fleece that he can yield to his master. This is the sum and substance of all of these sermons: Make yourself useful to the boss, more useful than the fellows who are competing with you to render him service, and your success will be proportionate to the amount of profit which your labor produces for him; if that amount falls below that which the other excellent young man who is competing with you, can produce why then so much the worse for you and the better for him, but at any rate the advice holds good, and the employer secures the greatest possible profit. And it is this latter that is the ruling motive for the most of these wise counsels. They are intended to spur the coming generation of wage slaves into harder and harder efforts for the certain benefit of the employing class, and a possible success for a few individuals out of the many thousands fighting in desperate competition with their fellows for this dubious prospect. Cheap and willing slaves are wanted, and the cheaper and more willing are always preferred. Incidentally a proper respect for the beneficent employer, and an humble and unassuming attitude on the part of the slave is inculcated. What else does the following mean?

"Never expect your income to equal your earning capacity!" It would be a monstrous outrage that any person should have all that his labor produces, but it is perfectly natural and correct that a few favored individuals should own the results of the labor of millions of others. Recollect that the capitalist is a "benefactor" and it is for the "benefit" of the young men upon whom Barrett inflicts his sermon, that the capitalist exists and carries on his business. Thus a proper attitude of humility is engendered in those who re-

ceive these "benefits" and the safety of capitalist class supremacy is assured. And as a reward for this good behavior on the part of the "young man starting out in business," a bait is dangled before his eyes, that he may, by the fiercest and most tireless energy in behalf of his master's interests, some time or other pass into the ranks of the "shearers" himself. But as the concentration of wealth goes on these avenues close, and the very competition prescribed, helps further to close them, the chance of the aforesaid "young man" becomes comparable only with the chance, say of winning first prize in the Louisiana lottery where 150,000 persons are all out for the one reward—well what then? It looks as if the near future will see enormous quantities of "good sound advice" of the Barrett brand dumped on the scrap heap. The "young man" in question, in common with all other wage slaves, will cease the pursuit of this capitalist phantom, and the reality of socialism will start up before him as an inevitable and inexorable necessity. In conclusion, there is one statement which Barrett makes to his supposititious young man which the latter may look into with advantage to himself. His "guide, philosopher and friend" informs him as follows:

If you will examine carefully you will find that the majority of those employed at complainingly low wages are merely followers or thinkers.

That is in the main true enough, but a still more careful examination will discover a residue whose numbers though small at present, represent a growing power which must and will constitute itself the majority of society. They are those who think for themselves, and as a result of that thinking, they totally reject the platitudes of writers of the Barrett type. Understanding thoroughly the impossibility of attaining this "commercial paradise" in our present society, they refuse this bait so temptingly held before them, knowing that its end and object is merely the perpetuation of the economic system of the present, a system which is already doomed, and even now is ushering in its successor, the Socialist Commonwealth, where there can be no incentive to the plundering of man by his fellow man, and where the "shearing" industry has therefore no place.

THE ANGEL OF DISCONTENT.

When the world was formed and the morning stars
Upon their paths were sent,
The loftiest-browed of the angels was made
The Angel of Discontent.

And he dwelt with man in the caves of the hills,
Where the crested serpent stings,
And the tiger tears and the she-wolf howls—
And he told of better things.

And he led man forth to the towered town,
And forth to the fields of corn;
And told of the ampler work ahead
For which his race was born.

And he whispers to men of those hills
In the hush of the misty west;
In the light of that eye does the slave behold
A hope that is high and brave;
And the madness of war comes into his blood—
For he knows himself a slave.

The serfs of wrong by the light of that eye
March with victorious songs;
For the strength of the right comes into their hearts
When they behold their wrongs.

'Tis by the light of that lifted eye
That error's mists are rent;
A guide to the table-lands of Truth
Is the Angel of Discontent.

And still he looks with his lifted eye,
And his glance is far away,
On a light that shines on the glimmering hills
Of a dimer day.

—S. W. Foss.

We frequently see persons in insane hospitals who were sent there in consequence of what are called religious mental disturbances. I confess that I think better of them than of many who hold the same opinions and yet keep their wits and appear to enjoy life very well outside the asylums. Any decent person ought to go mad if he really holds such opinions. It is very much to his discredit in every point of view if he does not. Anything that is brutal, cruel, heathenish, that makes life hopeless for most of mankind and perhaps for entire races; anything that assumes the necessity of exterminating instincts which were given to be regulated, no matter whether a fakir or a monk or a deacon believes it, if received, ought to produce insanity in every well-regulated mind. That condition is a normal one under the circumstances. I am very much ashamed of some people for retaining their reason. If they were not the most stupid or the most selfish of human beings they would become no competent at once.—(Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes.)

The South Town convention will be held at 3336 Wentworth avenue, Monday, Jan. 15th, 1900 at 8 P. M.

Hereafter all orders for THE WORKERS' CALL be made payable to The Workers' Call, 36 North Clark street, Chicago, Ill.

AS OTHERS SEE US

A French Socialist's View of American Capitalism.

MUST CONQUER ALL NATIONS.

Burden of This Conquest Rests on Shoulders of Overworked Wage Slaves.

In the issue of this paper of December 29th a short notice of the significant article by M. Georges Wenierse upon "The Conquest of the World by the United States" was printed in these columns under the title of "Cheap Commodities." Since that time the full text of the article has reached this country, and has been published in many of the capitalist daily papers, with headlines honoring the author of these flattering and agreeable predictions of capitalist supremacy, and paying tribute to his sagacity and clearness in depicting the "realities" of the "Commercial Conquest." The press also states that M. Wenierse "argues from facts alone" a statement with which we thoroughly agree. It is not often that the socialist finds himself in harmony with the outpourings of the capitalist press, and when this occurs, there is generally some attending circumstance, of whose existence one of the harmonious parties is either ignorant or deliberately pretends ignorance of, an explanation which holds good regarding the subject of this discussion. When our capitalist contemporaries declare that the conclusions of M. Wenierse are based upon "facts alone" we hasten to corroborate their statement, and say further, that most people who hold similar economic beliefs as M. Wenierse are also in the habit of basing their arguments upon the same substantial foundation. In short, M. Georges Wenierse is not only a socialist and one of the most prominent socialists in the movement in France, but not more than six months ago he made a lecture tour of the United States speaking under the auspices of the Socialist Labor party of this country. Our readers can judge for themselves whether the capitalist press was ignorant of this or deliberately suppressed it. However this may be, it is not difficult to discover why the fact, if known, was not mentioned. It would have been a fly in the ointment, a bitter drop in the pleasant draught which this clear-sighted writer offers to the greed of American capitalism, and might perhaps produce a degree of respect and consideration for socialist reasoning which would be inimical to capitalist interests—and therefore not to be alluded to.

The description of the growth of capitalist production in the United States, and the causes for, and necessity of such growth, comprise the main features of this essay which the organs of our ruling class quote with so much pride. It is in reality a comment on, and a confirmation of the materialistic philosophy contained in the celebrated "Communist Manifesto" of Marx and Engels, which appeared in 1847, and which is still recognized as the basic conception underlying the socialist movement, and if there is one passage more than another in that powerful document, which might serve the writer as a text, we are inclined to think the following the most appropriate: "The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie (capitalist class) over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, establish connections everywhere."

This writer clearly and concisely points out how the capitalist system of production in the United States during the period in which the national frontier limits afforded a sufficient market for the sale of its products, unconsciously fostered the idea of expansion, instinctively, as it were, seeing that a time must arrive when the ideas must materialize. He shows how the sentiment of "liberty," the racial and religious hatreds, the outbursts of "patriotism," the idea of "the Monroe doctrine," the know-nothing cry of "America for the Americans," every traditional political war cry, every fetish which the masses of the people still adhered to, was used as a means to that end by the ruling class.

During the war with Spain he explains the real motive of the "yellow" press in its cry for blood, scouts the idea that the destruction of the "Maine" can be regarded as the cause of expansion, and that Dewey stayed in Manila bay by chance, after the destruction of the Spanish fleet. The certainties that lay behind the annexation of Hawaii and Samoa, as he points out, will demand that the same action be taken regarding Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines. We are then taken through a formidable array of figures descriptive of the rapid and enormous growth of American industry, showing how the European competitors are year by year slowly being pushed out of the markets of the world by the rising giant of the West. The energy of the servants of

CLASS STATE-CRAFT

Roosevelt's Message to New York State Legislature.

TEDDY TACKLES THE TRUST.

"Remedies" and "Reforms" Suggested, But Capitalist Private Property Must Be Preserved.

The governor of the state of New York, in his message to the legislature, takes up the same question which is at present bothering every political trickster who is endeavoring to "prepare a snare for votes in the coming presidential campaign." Both Democrats and Republicans have been testing public sentiment in their respective wings of the capitalist political machine, on this subject. This was in evidence at the last campaign, when the Democrats with Bryan for their mouthpiece, appealed to the self-interest of the dying middle class, in their vain efforts to resist the more perfect organization of industry which must inevitably compel the establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth.

On the other hand the Republicans, backed up by the great capitalists, instead of appealing to the middle class, boldly took the position that in the working class lay the power which it was necessary for them to secure. Correctly presuming on the ignorance and distress existing among the workers, they promised work to the starved and stupid proletariat, and thus won out. When the workers understand that where they in their majority vote, is the only side that can obtain success, and adopt the logic of it, they can then place themselves in power. But when will that be?

To return to our subject, Roosevelt starts off as follows:

The contrast offered in the highly specialized industrial community between the rich and the poor is exceedingly distressing, and, while under normal conditions the acquisition of wealth by an individual is necessarily of great incidental benefit to the community as a whole, yet this is by no means always the case.

Probably the large majority of the fortunes that now exist in this country have been amassed, not by injuring mankind, but as an incident to the conferring of great benefits on the community—whatever the conscious purpose of those massing them may have been. The occasional wrongs committed or injuries endured are, on the whole, far outweighed by the mass of good which has resulted. The true questions to be asked are: Has any given individual been injured by the acquisition of wealth by any man? Were the rights of that individual, if they have been violated, insufficiently protected by law? If so, these rights, and all similar rights, ought to be guaranteed by additional legislation. The point to be aimed at is the protection of the individual against wrong, not the attempt to limit and hamper the acquisition and output of wealth.

There you have it. The contrast between the idle, wealth-appropriating rich, and the poor, wealth-producing working class, as the Governor says, is "exceedingly distressing," but does he inquire for the reason of this contrast? No, certainly not, that is not his business, neither is it the interest of the class he belongs to, that any such inquiry should be set on foot. He assumes that the majority of the rich got their property by virtuous effort of their own industry. But does he attempt to prove this? Certainly not, again. And by this assumption without proof he demonstrates his ability as a statesman.

As the next subject Teddy handles the "reformer," and through him leads up to the trust:

It is almost equally dangerous either to blink evils and refuse to acknowledge their existence or to strike at them in a spirit of ignorant revenge, thereby doing far more harm than is remedied. It is well to remember that many of the worst and most dangerous laws which have been put upon statute books have been put there by zealous reformers with excellent intentions.

This problem has a hundred phases. The relation of the capitalist and the wage worker makes one; the proper attitude of the state toward extreme poverty another; the proper attitude of the state towards the questions of the ownership and running of so-called "public utilities" a third. But among all these phases the one which at this time has the greatest prominence is the question of what are commonly termed "trusts," meaning by the name those vast combinations of capital, usually flourishing by virtue of some monopolistic element.

He sees a very difficult problem ahead; so many interests to be guarded, and above all the interests of great capitalism, and the question between the capitalist and the wage worker. Does not the Governor see that the very fact that this latter question forces itself upon the law making power makes its social character evident? Does he not know that the state is in duty bound to see that justice is done, and further that no justice can be done until the full product of labor in a social (not commercial) sense is secured to the producer? But he must not see it—may he will not see it in that light; such would not be to the interests of the

NOT CHEAP ENOUGH

"Civilized" Japanese Workers Want Too Much.

"SUPERIORITY" OF CHINESE.

The Cheap Workmen of Far-off Japan Are Being Knocked Out by Skill Cheaper Laborers.

Can that commodity called a "workman" ever become cheap enough for his master? There is a lesson to be learned by American wage slaves on this matter. The latest news from Japan, a country that has hardly yet got into the full swing of capitalist production, is that the Japanese workman is becoming too expensive for his exploiters, who are importing Chinese labor to supplant him; a matter which it is said forms a "serious problem" for the Japanese government. By the bye one of the surest signs of the growth of capitalism in Japan, lies in the fact that they are adopting the same political cant in dealing with matters pertaining to the working class, that our ruling classes are so fond of indulging in. The influx of Chinese labor to Japan is a "serious problem" just as immigration is in this country. But will the growing capitalist class in Japan, of their own free will stop Chinese immigration? Hardly. Just read the following reasons and see: and working men will find that this identical reason holds good everywhere where capitalism exists:

In many points the Japanese workman is inferior to the Chinese, and the merchants and manufacturers of Japan are the first to realize it. The Chinese are more sober, more susceptible to discipline, less likely to strike, and willing to work for smaller wages. The Japanese, on the contrary, are more civilized, and civilization means more needs to satisfy.

From the standpoint of the ruling class these points constitute the "superiority" of one class of workmen over another. First the Chinese are more sober—and can therefore live upon less—and of course will be made to do so. They can be better disciplined—which means that their labor can be made more intense, and therefore more productive; they are less likely to strike, and thus the uncertainty of production is diminished. And lastly they are willing to work for smaller wages which—which will the columns of this paper are not sufficient to contain the tenth part of the reasons why this last qualification should be looked upon as a proof of superiority by the buyers of labor power. The Japanese workman is civilized, and a civilized man has more needs to satisfy, and therefore, like "Oliver Twist," wants "more," which is a most heinous and unpardonable crime in the eyes of those "benefactors" who "provide employment" for him. No, in this case the "Chinese must not go," the wonderfully cheap Japanese laborer is not cheap enough. If he wishes to successfully compete he must get down lower than his competitor. This he cannot do, being a "civilized man" who "wants" more on account of being "civilized." But if he cannot do this he will just hint to our readers what he can do, must do, will do and is even now beginning to do—and that is, understand his class interests as a workman. Socialism has already gained a firm place among the workmen of Japan, just as the cheapening process brings the same results in every other country. But what is to be thought of a "civilization" which creates new desires, and depends for its continuance upon the fact that these new desires cannot be satisfied under its conditions? It does not require the mind of a philosopher to see the finish of such a system. The statement of the "Manifesto," that capitalism (upon which our present "civilization" is based) not only produces its own grave-diggers, but actually arms and equips them for the struggle which is necessary, before the latter can proceed with the burial, is being borne out in every "civilized" country on the fact of the earth.

At an address before the Central Federated union in New York, President Seth Low of the Columbia university is said to have "astonished the labor men by his advocacy of the trusts." But to those who understand the intellectual caliber of these so-called "labor men," and know something of the nature of the muddled middle class economic pap which they have been raised upon, their astonishment seems natural enough. It will soon be the turn of the real "labor men," the socialists, to astonish Seth Low and his class, by the advocacy of one great trust in which every worker shall be shareholder in proportion to the social value which his service renders to the community.

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Chicago subscribers are requested to mail us 50 one-cent stamps for renewal when their subscription expires. Do not wait for an agent, as it is cheaper to use the mails.

New Broom Sweeps Clean.

The great railroad magnates of the country are said to have formed an "offensive and defensive alliance" which is to begin proceedings by inaugurating "sweeping reforms," and when we see connected therewith, the names of such men as Rockefeller, Vanderbilt, Pierpont Morgan, Jas. J. Hill, and others, it is pretty safe to guarantee that the "sweeping" process will be thorough. The broom which this combination brings into action will sweep into the economic dust bin the hopes of the reactionary little business men, and clear the ground for the advance of socialism. It means that nothing short of the precipitation of the middle class into the great body of wage workers will ever bring the former to a sense of the hopelessness of their position. As socialists we do not rejoice at their misfortunes, but are not responsible for them. Neither do we feel grateful to their expropriators, for the latter are only obeying a law of economic development which they cannot ignore. But we can confidently and hopefully watch the development of the modern system of production knowing that its every tendency brings to the front always more clearly the nature of the coming struggle, the antagonism between the interests of the propertyless wage workers and their exploiters, and the certainty that only upon the basis of socialism will the solution of these antagonisms be reached.

(Continued on page 4)

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

Editorial Announcements: To secure the return of unneeded manuscripts postage should be enclosed.

Contributions: Contributions and items of news concerning the labor movement are requested from our readers.

Special rates for the hundred: Orders for current issue should reach the office by Tuesday evening.



The Socialist Vote.

Table with 2 columns: Year and Amount. Rows for 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899.

OH, FOR AN ISSUE!

An issue, an issue. Anything for an issue, is the despairing cry of the Bryan Democracy.

This was most beautifully illustrated by the recent speech of W. J. Bryan while in Chicago.

I have discussed the trust question in this city so recently that it is only necessary for me to say that the Democratic party will meet the issue with a plain and positive remedy.

Then follows an almanac chestnut, and the argument (?) is closed.

Unless by some means the trust question can be shelved the Democratic party is undone and the road cleared for socialism.

The silver question in the last campaign had at least one virtue. It made the average voter think that he ought to use his brains on political questions.

Bearing this in mind some idea of the predicament of the Democratic leaders is seen.

There must be something that at least sounds reasonable somewhere in the scheme. It cannot be made entirely out of hand from whole cloth.

dilemma with which Mr. Bryan and his friends are confronted. Truly they are in need of sympathy.

A PASSING PHASE.

In speaking with workmen one cannot fail to remark a general tendency to confess helplessness and self-distrust.

The conditions under which they live tend in their every aspect to foster this feeling, and the ruling classes are also careful to instill into the minds of the workers the idea that the latter possess no initiative force in themselves.

Workers, who have as yet no conception of their class interests and therefore cannot realize the irresistible power which an intelligent and united proletariat can wield.

On the surface it might seem that the untiring agitation carried on by the workers in the socialist movement is responsible for this steady advance.

While the ruling classes through press, pulpit and college, may labor unceasingly to preserve this mental attitude on the part of the workers, we may rest assured that such attempts must ultimately prove ineffectual.

REASON EASILY GIVEN.

Teachers, Like All Other Laborers, a Commodity to be Bought in the Cheapest Market.

The complaint has been made and is probably not without foundation, that the lower grades in the public schools are being neglected.

If retrenchment be necessary it should be applied to the higher grades rather than the lower.

school education is finished when they get through the primary grades of the public school than it is to provide expensive school facilities for the more fortunate ones who can complete their education at their leisure in the higher schools.

These are sensible words, so far as they go, but the writer evidently does not see that there is a deep reason why school boards should employ the least competent teachers at the lowest salaries for the primary grades.

In the first place there is the common place economic reason that there are more people ready to take low positions than high ones in the schools.

But there is a still deeper reason than this. School boards represent the governing class, and do its bidding.

The truth is, the men behind this sheet have no conception of Social-Democracy. Oligarchy is the end and object of their aspirations.

Oklahoma on Deck.

The Socialist party of Oklahoma met at the hall over the old post-office building in Oklahoma City, December 27th, 1899.

Why should he? He is simply faithful to the larger capitalist interests embodied in the company.

WAKE UP.

We wish to send out ten thousand sample copies within the next sixty days.

SNAP SHOTS BY THE WAYSIDE.

A boy under the age of fourteen hanged himself in a barn in Connecticut the other day.

No doubt when a number of respectable and intelligent jurymen sit at the inquest over the remains of this victim of "civilization" they will bring in a verdict of "insanity."

Sam Gompers has said that the plan-makers' strike could have been easily settled if the owners of the factories wished to do so.

In reading a paper which at present is in bad odor with the socialist movement, one would be inclined to believe that the "Manifesto" had never been written.

The development of the masses, and their self-assertion as a consequence are the only evidences of progress that a true socialist will recognize.

It makes all the difference whose ox is gored. The injunction, which was first described by the socialists as a "gating gun on paper" has always been lauded to the skies by the capitalist press when used against workingmen.

An attempt upon the part of this company to collect two fares from a passenger named Bradley, at a place called Hawley's Road was resisted by the latter.

This injunction is issued by Court Commissioner Harper, and the paper which publishes it says that "the commissioner gives no reason for such extraordinary rulings."

Another terrible danger with which the "community" is threatened, is to be disposed of by the "Woman's Club" of this city.

away their time while men, women and children of the working class are compelled to slave at a pittance which barely maintains life.

But they are up against it. They cannot improve the condition of the proletariat. That is the work of the proletariat itself, and it cannot be performed until the surplus product out of which the workers are robbed by the capitalist system of production is taken by them.

E. J. Lehman of "The Fair" is dead. Died of "overwork" as the press informs us.

Others who claim to have been intimate with "Tetje" Lehman insist that he was a fakir who followed the country fairs and sold snide jewelry to the jays.

Regarding the "overwork" theory as the taking away of this eminent pillar of society, it is said that he was the owner of blooded horses, had plenty of time to attend races, and spent whole seasons at summer resorts.

THE "RIGHTS" OF WOMEN.

To be Defined by the Exploiters of Female Domestic Labor.

Here is news for the working class. A lady in Kansas City has "evolved a plan" for the establishment of a "college" where the female domestic wage slave is to be instructed in the arts and mysteries of general housework and cookery.

This lady in order to clear the ground we suppose, before the intended plan materialize has forwarded a circular containing some inquiries as to what the employing classes in general consider the status of the domestic slave.

- 15. Has a girl any rights?
16. Has she the right to demand the same careful sanitary inspection of her quarters as the shop-girl?
17. Has she the right to demand and receive wages without having to deposit money with a lawyer to bring suit for her?
18. Has she a right to her own religious belief without ridicule?
19. Has she a right to demand respectful treatment from the whole family?
20. Has she the right to ask the mistress for her "character"?
21. Has she the same right to be kept in repair as a machine?

How the "representative citizens" and others of the same class may decide upon these questions we cannot say, but the fact that they so naturally assume the position of judges on this matter, enables any thinking person to perceive that their verdict generally speaking will allow their wage slaves every "right" which entails no injury to their own material interests.

It is stated that the Czar of Russia intends publishing another "peace conference" manifesto, embodying proposals for disarmament as before.

BOOK REVIEWS.

FREDERICK ENGELS, HIS LIFE, WORK, AND WRITINGS. By Karl Kautsky.

To those who comprehend the destined mission of the modern working class, the life of a man who for more than fifty years has been one of the ablest and most untiring champions of the labor movement which finds its highest and clearest expression in modern socialism, cannot fail to be of the utmost importance and interest.

The socialist, prior to Marx and Engels, had no conception of the Class Struggle. This struggle was naturally a political one. Its aim was the attainment of political power to be used in the interest of the laboring class.

Engels lay in their bridging over the chasm between the theoretical socialism and practical political labor movement. They sought to utilize every power of the struggling proletariat to bring in the new society.

Engels has always succeeded in keeping himself free from illusions. That he can do because behind him lies the experience of half a hundred years, in which the world has changed more than in any previous hundred years.

Such elementary events naturally cannot be advanced or hindered according to our desire. When they occur we must see as far as possible to exploit them in our interest.

When we wait in this manner, the waiting will not be long. When every moment is used in the best possible manner, we can without unnecessary sacrifice become masters of the situation in a short time.

This work is published by the well-known firm of Charles H. Kerr & Co., 25 Fifth Avenue, Chicago, and can be procured at the very moderate price of 10 cents per copy.

It is stated that the Czar of Russia intends publishing another "peace conference" manifesto, embodying proposals for disarmament as before.

Industrial Evolution.

By WM. T. BROWN.

(Continued from last week)

Confining ourselves to the one field of industry as far as possible, what is it that we find? We find that the earliest form of social and industrial life after the emergence of the human race from its primitive barbarism was communism—the communism of the tribe. The first unit of society after the family was the tribe, and in the tribe property was common. Wealth did not belong to individuals as private property, but to the tribe as common property. I know of no difference of opinion among scholars on this point. It is also true that the civilization represented by that tribal communism was rude and primitive, and the world not only would not desire, but it could not, if it did, return to that early form of industrial and social life. When the race left the primitive communism, it left it for good and all. Communism in one form or another has existed since that day and exists even now, but it is not general and never will be. The race cannot return upon its path. It must go upward and forward. It cannot go backward. Any yet, I have no doubt that we best things which were of highest worth, things which we shall sometimes regain, though it be in a higher form. That was a time when life was lived close to Nature's heart, when man was almost consciously a very part of Nature, when everything he saw and heard seemed but a projection of himself, and when such a thing as disease was practically unknown. I think that it is true that with every stage of progress in civilization, while much has been gained, somewhat has been lost. And though we may not return upon our path, perhaps if we could see in broad relief the track which our race has followed and which it is destined still to follow through the ages, we should find that it is a spiral in which with every circling curve the best in the past will be taken up again and realized in a higher form. I do not believe it is unscientific to expect that sometime in the future we are to find again that nearness to the heart of Nature and that communion with her myriad forms of beauty and sublimity, that sense of oneness with her as our Mother, that freedom from disease, that grace of form and rhythm of movement, and that sympathy with the world around us which was the religion of those primitive ancestors and which surely may find a fitting place in the higher unfolding of the race.

But we should prove ourselves poor students of history if we did not cheerfully recognize that step that the race has taken has been a step upward, a necessity to the working out of something higher of which the race was capable. Just what were all the agencies which led to the next phase of civilization I do not know. But one of them is very clear. In some way or other the institution of private property came into existence. I am satisfied that this institution was one of the most potent and useful factors in the progress of the race. But the form of industrial life to which it gave birth was slavery. I think there is no difference of opinion as to the fact that the second form of industrial organization was chattel slavery. There was a long period, as you know, when throughout the civilized world the manual laborer was a slave. There were forms of labor then, as there have always been, which were done by free men. But the laborers, as a class, were chattel slaves. That was the case in Egypt in the time of Moses, and no doubt long before. It was true in all the so-called universal empires down to and including the Roman. The term used to designate a laborer was the same that was used to designate a slave. The usage has not been altogether lost in our day. The Latin word "servus" meaning slave, survives in the English word "servant," meaning a domestic laborer. With the breakup of the empire there gradually took place a change. The race seemed then to take another step forward on its journey. Chattel slavery as a general form of industrial life was left, never to be returned to. To be sure, it has since existed and exists today, even under the protection of the United States government. But it is not general and it is inconceivable that it will ever be again. Evolution has made it impossible for the laborer ever again to be a chattel slave.

The next form which the industrial life of the world took was that of feudalism. The land was possessed by a class, and the multitude, denied the ability or privilege of owning the land, became the dependents and vassals of those who did. I shall not stop to point out the gain to the laborer which feudalism brought. It was real and substantial. It is rather with the next stage of industrial evolution that we are mainly concerned. For the successor to feudalism was capitalism. Indeed, it is really at the downfall of feudalism that the most important part of the evolution of industry begins. It is at this point that the evolution of industry becomes a vital part in the evolution of society.

The industry of the Middle Ages was practically limited to handicraft. Every peasant farmer combined in himself whatever trades were necessary to supply his needs, which were few. They raised their own sheep, spun their own wool, wove their own cloth, made their own tools. They manufactured whatever tools were necessary for their work, which was almost wholly agriculture. The wage system did not ex-

ist. Neither did the system of profits, as we know it today. A combination of causes beginning in the fourteenth century brought about a change. The epidemic of the "Black Death" swept over England wiping out a third of its peasant population. The feudal barons had exhausted their resources in the French wars and the wars of the Roses, and began to discharge their retainers. The feudal bands were broken up. The suppression of the monasteries and the eviction of the monks by Henry VIII further increased the landless class. The impoverished nobility evicted the peasants from the land, expropriated the small proprietors, and turned it into sheep pasture. The discovery of America and of a sea route to India and the later movement toward colonization opened a new era in commerce and created a demand for manufactured goods.

The next industrial stage after handicraft is that of manufactures. In other words, it is the beginning of the associated labor for the production of commodities. It was the response of industry to the first demands for a larger product. In this stage we have the embryo of capitalism. In it is to be seen the rise of the profit system. The discovery was made that production can be accelerated by division of labor. A number of artisans of the same or kindred trades worked together under one employer. Here also is seen the rise of the wage system. In the handicraft stage of industry, each man has his own employer. He produced not for sale, but for his own needs and those whom he served. With the association of artisans together under one employer came the wage system. It was the beginning of production of commodities for commercial purposes. From the employer's point of view, it was also the production of commodities for profit.

Capitalistic production requires two things: the perfect freedom of the laborer and the separation of the laborer from the means whereby he realizes the results of his labor. That is to say, capitalistic production cannot go on unless there is an unlimited supply of laborers. So long as the industrial population of Europe was tied to the soil as serfs to their feudal masters, capitalism could not enter upon its career. And so long as the laborers owned the instruments with which they did their work, capital was impotent to realize those profits by which it lives and thrives. I am not discussing the ethics of the matter. It has none. Material evolution knows no ethics. Gravitation has nothing to do with ethics. Neither has the rise of capitalism. It came into existence naturally and inevitably. Given the increasing demand for commodities, the freedom of the laborer, and his separation from the tools with which he worked, and you have the essential prerequisites of capitalism. The events of the fifteenth and sixteenth and seventeenth centuries created a growing demand for commodities. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had set free a great multitude of laborers by the fall of feudalism and the dissolution of the guilds. It remained for the last third of the eighteenth century to furnish the third requisite. Think for a moment of the inventions that belong to the latter half of the eighteenth century. In 1769 the fly-shuttle was invented by Kaye of Burry. In 1769 improvements were made in the carding process. In 1769 the spinning frame was introduced by Arkwright, and Watt took out his patent for the first steam engine. In 1770 the spinning-jenny was patented by Hargreaves. In 1773 the mule jenny was invented by Crompton. In 1785 the power-loom was invented by Cartwright. In 1792 the cotton-gin was invented by Whitney. It is easy to see what the result of these inventions was to industry. They marked the real beginning of that revolution in the method of production which has given us the modern system of capitalism.

Let us stop to think for a moment of the extent of this revolution. Before the invention of machinery, industry is practically in the hands of artisans. The workman possesses all that is necessary for production. He owns his tools and he has his trade. He possesses the skill to use those tools for the production of commodities. No one has any advantage over him. He is master of the situation. He has no rival in the field, except his fellow laborer. He is himself, to all intents and purposes, a "captain of industry." Serfdom practically vanished by the end of the fourteenth century, leaving the great mass of the population free peasant proprietors. The wage laborers of that period were few in number and each possessed a cottage and at least four acres of land, besides having access to the common lands for pasturage and fuel. This was the condition of labor in the fifteenth century, which has been called "the Golden Age" of English labor. Says Thorold Rogers, member of parliament and late professor in Oxford university: "I have stated more than once that the fifteenth century and the first quarter of the sixteenth were the golden age of the English laborer, if we are to interpret the wages which he earned by the cost of the necessities of life. At no time were wages, relatively speaking, so high, and at no time was food so cheap."

(To be continued.)

Keep your eye on your subscription number.

FOREIGN NEWS.

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

The Socialist party of France is founded upon the principles expressed in the formula convocating the congress. The party is composed of:

- (1) The five organizations formed on national lines.
 - (2) The district and departmental organizations.
 - (3) Groups that request admission to the party from the General Party committee.
- Such groups shall be eligible only under the following considerations:
- (a) They shall have had at least one year of existence.
 - (b) That they shall number at least fifty members.
 - (c) That there be no federation in their department.
- These groups will be excluded from the party if they fail to organize a federation in their department within one year from date of admission. They will be admitted to the party only on unanimous assent of the members of the General Committee.
- (4) Labor organizations who expressly adhere to the socialist principles that have served as a basis for the convocating of the first general congress of the party.
 - (5) The co-operative societies who adhere to the socialist principles above mentioned and who will devote a part of their income for the socialist propaganda.

GENERAL CONGRESS.

The party will assemble each year in a General Congress. Each congress will determine the place of its next assembly, but it is understood, that except in the next year on account of the exposition, each congress shall assemble in a different district.

CONSTITUTION OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE.

In eight days at the latest, a General Committee of the Party shall be organized, whose term of power will last until the next congress.

Each of the organizations shall be represented by delegates designated by it, in proportion to the number of mandates they have sent to the congress, one delegate for each fifty mandates and each fraction of fifty. The autonomous federations will cease to be considered as separate organizations. They will form several district organizations, viz. Ardennes, Cote-d'Or, Doubs, Bretagne, Bouches du Rhone, Seine et Oise, Saone et Loire, governed by laws as given below. Each of them will however in fact have one delegate. There is in it a kind of communistic alliance.

In order to re-establish an equilibrium, each of the other organizations represented in the congress will receive a supplementary delegate.

The decisions of the General Committee are taken by the majority of votes. Each organization is obliged to pay to the General Committee a certain sum which is to be fixed by the latter proportionately to the number of mandates held by each organization.

CONTROL OF THE PRESS.

The congress declares that none of the socialist journals, at the present state of affairs, is to be considered as the official organ of the party. But all those journals which call themselves socialist have definite obligations which increase with the importance of the paper and the support which the militant socialists in all countries render to it.

The liberty of discussion on all questions of method and doctrine is complete, but as to action, the journals are required to conform strictly to the decision of the congress as interpreted by the General Committee.

The journals are also required to abstain from all polemic, and all communications that may injure any of the organizations. They are also obliged to insert all the official communications of the General Committee, and those of adherent organizations.

Should the General Committee find that a journal violates the decisions of the party and causes prejudice to the proletarian movement, it shall cite before it the responsible editors. After giving them a hearing, the General Committee, when necessary, shall give them to understand through a public notice, that they will ask against them, either the censure of the party, or exclusion from the party or even a boycott against the journal itself. These measures if found necessary shall be brought before the congress.

THE CONTROL OF REPRESENTATIVES.

The members of the parliament who are elected upon the theoretic principles set forth in the convocating are placed directly under the control of the General Committee who will remind them of the decisions of the congress, and influence them as much as possible to a unity of vote.

ELECTIONS.

No person shall be considered as a socialist candidate who does not expressly accept the principles which have served as a basis for the convocating of the congress.

During the period of election the General Committee shall, under no circumstances, give any authorization whatever to any of the other candidates. In case of a conflict in the second elections the General Committee will naturally act as umpire.

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?

A LESSON IN SOCIALISM.

Comrade Charles H. Vall Gives an Editor Some Pointers in Economics.

To Editor Rochester Post-Express.
My attention has been called to an editorial in your issue of December 15th, which is an attempt to criticize my address recently given at the Labor Lyceum at Rochester. The editorial is so full of errors that in justice to myself and the cause of socialism, I must ask for space in your paper to reply.

The first error into which you have fallen is due to a failure to grasp modern industrial conditions. Your failure to distinguish between the era of individual production or the succeeding stage, the individual ownership of social tools, and the joint-stock or corporation stage of industry, has led you to confound the captain of industry with the modern capitalist. This oversight has caused you to postulate of the latter certain functions which belong only to the former. When the corporation entered industry the two functions of ownership of the tools and direction of industry became divorced. The capitalist today is not the director of industry; he has handed this function over to hired employees. In order to see clearly the position occupied by the modern capitalist you need to understand his historical development. At first he was a manual laborer working with his men, a master workman employing a few laborers and so able to make a small profit off their labor. The possession of more wealth raised him above manual labor and he became a mental laborer, a manager, who received wages of superintendence. But the possession of still more wealth raised him above even the labor of direction and he handed this function over to an hired employee, thus becoming a mere interest receiver or profit monger.

The capitalists united in a joint-stock company do not pretend to labor, but hire a manager in whose hands they place their capital, and whose business it is to make profits for the stockholders. The whole capitalist class, as such, have thus become superfluous, the work previously performed by them being handed over to hired employees. Nearly all leading industries are today joint-stock concerns and a capitalist may hold stock in a score of such industries. He may never go to the factories or even to the town in which they are located. He simply takes the stock and locks it up in his safe and at the end of three months draws his dividends, with which he takes a trip to Europe, where he may stay as long as he pleases and his dividends regularly follow him. In fact, we mean by capitalist, today, one who receives an income without personal exertion. Do you think that the Duchess of Marlborough or William Waldorf Astor personally performed any useful function in industry? Still they receive a portion of the product produced by American labor. Why is this? Simply because they are owners of instruments of production, the possession of which enables them to levy a tax or tribute upon productive toil. The whole capitalist class are today pensioners upon the working class; they have parasitically fastened themselves upon industrial society. In the preceding stage of industry the capitalist combined the office of capitalist with that of superintendent, and so legitimately claimed a reward for his effort like any other laborer. But this is no way accounts for what he appropriated as capitalist. If a capitalist today performs the function of superintending, and so becomes a laborer, he should receive a compensation for his labor performed. This condition, however, only exists among the small capitalists, or middle class, a class which represents a past stage of industry and is rapidly being exterminated. These two stages of industry are well-represented by Commodore Vanderbilt, to whom you refer, and his descendants. The elder Vanderbilt combined the function of director of industry with that of ownership. But how about his posterity? Can you put up the claim of superintendency for his descendants? How about the Duchess of Marlborough? Is she a captain of industry? No, Mr. Editor; the conditions when Mr. Vanderbilt took hold of the railroad business were entirely different from what they are today. Were the commodore alive today he would have become like his descendants, merely a redundant organ, and, like all useless organs, bound to disappear. The same is true of Mr. Carnegie. The development of industry has raised him from a captain of industry to a capitalist proper—he does but little in the way of directing industry today. The era of monopoly, the trustification of industry completely separates the directors of industry and owners of the tools. The board of directors in our great trusts do not usually own the capital invested. They simply do business for the stockholders. The capitalist class today are non-producers; "they toll not, neither do they spin," but live in idleness off the tolling and spinning of others. This failure to grasp modern industrial conditions has caused you to commit a frightful blunder.

Your effort in the next paragraph to bolster up the wasteful system of competition must have impressed all your readers as futile. It is somewhat amusing to hear a man, in these days, endeavoring to uphold an economic principle which belongs to a past era, apparently wholly in ignorance of the changed conditions. The paragraph in question is an echo from the tomb, as though an Adam Smith had arisen and proclaimed anew his economic philosophy unconscious of the lapse of time and the economic revolution which has been effected since his day. Competition, as a principle of industry, belongs to the era of individual production and

the first part of the period of modern mechanical industry. It remains today but its field of operation is being constantly limited by the concentration of capital and the organization of great trusts. Field after field has already been fenced in and closed to competition. Modern industry has passed, or is rapidly passing, through its competitive stage and is taking on the form of monopoly. In the economic evolution, as in the physical, the changes are not usually abrupt but gradual. Although competition in certain branches of industry still survives, we must not fall into the error of supposing that competition will be the ruling factor in the last days of the capitalist system. The appearance of the trust foreshadowed the doom of the competitive order. One who understands the causes which have led to the substitution of combination for competition, well knows the impossibility of ever returning to the latter. The choice must be made between monopoly under private control, for monopoly in some form is sure to obtain. We cannot return to the days of free competition and small things, for such would constitute a reversal of all progress. Nothing can be more visionary than the free competition of fifty years ago. That condition has been buried in the same grave with the stage coach and the hand fall. The death of hand labor meant the death of the old competitive system. As soon as we entered the era of social organized labor it was but a question of time when monopoly would rule the day. The business of the future must be done by organized capital. The question is, Shall we have this capital in the hands of individuals or in the hands of society? The choice is not between competition and combination, for the former is rapidly disappearing. Combination either of the few or many is inevitable.

We rejoice at the inevitable outcome of economic development. Who would wish to again restate in full power the vicious principle of competition? That competition is wasteful and injurious is evident from the fact that it is being supplanted by the principle of combination. Capitalists have seen the folly of competition and have adapted the principles of socialism—combination, co-operation and systematization. Every trust virtually admits the truth of socialist charges, that competition is wasteful and that by combination the cost of production is greatly reduced and harmony restored in the individual realm.

The principle of competition is absurd in theory and false in practice. It assumes that all have an equal chance, the proletariat and the millionaire! Freedom of competition under present conditions is simply freedom of the strong to fleece the weak, and of the cunning to ensnare the innocent. The very essence of competition is antagonism, and necessarily begets enmity, cruelty, injustice, oppression and selfishness.

You speak of "honest competition." Shades of the apostles! Honest competition in the conditions of economic inequality! My friend, with all due respect, you are a modern Rip Van Winkle, only you have been asleep more than twenty years. Your plea for competition is a back number. It might have been taken seriously fifty years ago, but such antiquated reactionary economics have no place in our modern industrial system.

Toward the close of the paragraph you say that "instead of promoting waste the successful manufacturers promote economy." I hope you do not think that you are upholding the principle of competition. If so, you are a little confused. Who are the successful manufacturers? Are they the small producers who compete among themselves or the large trusts who have crushed out competition? The more completely organized the industry the more successful, for the cheaper the cost of production. The most successful producers today are the trusts, and they are successful just because they have abolished the wastes of competition. That combination is more efficient and economic than competition is evident from the fact that the former is rapidly supplanting the latter. Competition is the individualistic way of doing business, combination is the socialistic way. The trust is simply socialism for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many. What we want is socialism for all at the expense of none. We propose to socialize the trust that the benefits now reaped by the few may become the inheritance of all.

Competition does not produce cheaper and better as you imply. Under competition four or five times as many are engaged in doing anything as would be necessary under an organization of industry. The trust has demonstrated this; many examples might be cited but it is unnecessary. If competition produces cheaper why has the trust been able to undersell all others and hold the field? As to the quality of goods under competition, it is well-known that competition leads to wholesale adulteration.

Let us now note the first sentence of the paragraph. You quote me as follows: "The commercial class spend most of their time in waste trying to beat themselves." Of course this is but a brief report of my statement. In fact, the passage which you quote is but a few sentences taken from what would at make at least a column. Let me give my statement in full for the sake of clearness, not that I object to the sentence quoted. I said: "Those engaged in commerce and manufacturing spend much of their energies in fighting among themselves to secure the largest portion of the wealth which they have compelled the working class to give up. This constitutes prodigious waste. There are many more men engaged in the production and distribution of wealth than is necessary. Un-

der a rightly ordered system three-fourths would be saved in the realm of production and nine-tenths in the field of distribution." This is so evident that I need not take space to elucidate. (See "Principles of Scientific Socialism," ch. IV.)

In the next paragraph you take exception to my statement that the professional class consume out of all proportion to the wealth they create. You say that "when a lawyer or physician gets a fee of \$100, or \$1,000 or \$10,000, it is fair to assume that he has rendered a service that his client regards as an equivalent." Here you resort to sophistry, hoping thereby to belaud the question. The question is not what the client regards as an equivalent but whether the status which this class occupy under the present system, enables them to consume out of proportion to their due share.

You assume that the reason this class is able to consume more is that they create more, that they do not consume in excess of what they create." This is an error. The only ground upon which a larger income for this class can be justified is that they should be remunerated for the years of apprenticeship and study given to qualification. But this reason is not sufficient to justify some receiving \$10,000 or \$100,000—you speak of a man receiving the former amount as a single fee—while the great majority are obliged to eke out an existence on \$200 or \$400 a year and many on much less. This disparity, as you well know, is not due to the difference in the amount of wealth created. Those who receive such princely incomes are consuming out of all proportion to their due share. There is only so much wealth created and the more appropriated by the few the less remains for the many. You need to remember that all kinds of labor are necessary in modern society, and were it not for these performing the common manual labor the professional class as well as the capitalist class would soon cease to exist. Are you certain that the work performed by the artist is so much more necessary and consequently more valuable than that performed by the street and sewer cleaners? If you could have but one which is the more conducive to health? The unjust method of distribution under the present system seems to have completely warped your moral judgment.

John Stuart Mill, in speaking of the manner in which the product of labor is appropriated, says that it is "almost in an inverse ratio to the labor—the largest portion to those who have never worked at all, the next to those whose work is almost nominal and so in a degrading scale, the remuneration dwindling as the work grows harder and more disagreeable, until the most fatiguing and exhausting bodily labor cannot count with certainty on being able to earn the necessities of life." Your effort to uphold the present distributive injustice shows that you are either a member of the ruling class or one of its flunkies. The attitude of your paper is but another proof of the validity of the socialist philosophy that the ruling class control and shape public opinion by either directly or indirectly controlling the means of information. That the old press as a whole will continue to prostitute itself is to be expected as long as the present ruling class exist, but there are signs, even in Rochester, that some papers are beginning to see the rising tide and have determined at least to give the socialist a fair hearing.

But, to return, your error here, as before hinted at, is in assuming that because a man pays a lawyer, say \$10,000, that the lawyer has created that amount of wealth. This is a fearful blunder. You must have written your article in great haste or you would not have committed so great an error. As a matter of fact the lawyer creates no wealth whatever. This class is but a parasite of property and is only necessitated by our present system of private contract and private capital. The capitalist, having appropriated the wealth others have created, gives to the lawyer a handsome fee to enable him to retain it, or through litigation secure an advantage over his fellows. The capitalist parting with a portion of the surplus, which he has exploited from labor, does not prove that the man who receives it has created any wealth—added to the values in existence. He has rendered a service, as you say, which the capitalist may recognize as an equivalent to the price paid, but that is something entirely different from the statement that he has created values. He has only added in the manipulation of values already created. Perhaps he enables the capitalist to retain this unearned increment, and for his effort receives a portion of the surplus value which the capitalist has fleeced from labor. So far as society is concerned (especially the laborer) it would make no difference whether the \$10,000 remained in the hands of the capitalist or is given to the lawyer. In either case it is a part of the wealth produced by labor. I hardly think that you will claim that as an editor you create any great wealth. But it may be possible that the ruling class recognize your efforts in their behalf and give you liberal patronage. Let me intimate, however, in passing, that unless you can do better for capitalism than is evidenced by your editorial of the 15th, the ruling class will have but little use for you in the future. You would save yourself many of the grave blunders if you would familiarize yourself with the subject.

In this connection, you speak of my condemning bankers, lawyers, insurance men, traveling salesmen, etc. You are greatly mistaken. Socialists do not condemn these men; we only condemn a system which necessitates these useless vocations. Under socialism these functions, which are necessitated by the

competitive system, would be unnecessary, and the men thus engaged would be turned into useful employment. It is indeed amusing to have one refer to these classes as producers. The trust is eliminating traveling salesmen but I have not yet heard that production has been decreased thereby. Because you see that these vocations exist today, you have erroneously concluded that those thus engaged are producers and that people are willing to pay for them, when, as a matter of fact, they are obliged to pay whether they will or no. Socialism would turn these thousands into useful production. To set up the claim that these classes are today productively employed, shows that you are hard-pushed for an argument.

The last paragraph dealing with luxuries is based upon an inaccurate report, consequently your effusion here is not to the point. Perhaps you might be interested to know the socialist position, so I will quote what I did say: "Many laborers are engaged in producing things which only the rich can buy, which can minister only to luxury and folly, and which people living manly and corrupted lives, would not think of requiring. Such products are not wealth but waste. Laborers engaged in the production of such products are not usefully employed." Allow me to inform you, in conclusion, that socialism does not propose to deprive people of all "pleasurable things which people can get along without." Socialism is a protest against present conditions giving these "pleasurable things" only to the few. We want all to have an abundance of such luxuries as are good and will administer to their betterment. This does not mean, however, that the luxury of the rich is beneficial to labor, as so many assume. There are many phases of this question and many other points which I would like to consider, but will not ask for more space.

Thanking you in advance for the favor in publishing this reply, I am
Respectfully,
Charles H. Vail,
Jersey City, New Jersey, Dec. 18th.

sings—he works. Otherwise he could not live, for he is paid by the piece. At the end of the first week the newly arrived European workman makes little money—his lodging is not his food is dearer. The next week he works harder. He soon catches the fever, but at the price of his pleasures, repose and safety. It is great muscular use of force which taxes the brain. If one measured human force in the manner we measure electric force we would find at the end of his eight or nine hours the American workman has spent more of his physical and mental force than the European workman in ten, or eleven hours. One only has to see the collapsed, feverish state in which American workmen leave their shops to realize this.

The superiority of the American in the economic world is due, not only to the richness of the soil, the perfection of machinery, the decision, and the audacity of the labor of the directors, but also to the immense prodigality, intensity of the muscles and the brains of the workmen.

As this paper is written in the interest of the working class, we would like to know what the American workmen think of this characteristic sketch, as a type. They cannot but admit its truth. But the main question is: are they content to be used in this manner and do they consider that the "shifting of the financial center of the world from London to New York" is sufficient recompense? Great Britain was once the "workshop of the world" and during that period the most miserable proletariat the world has ever seen was to be found in that island. And yet this is the outlook over which the American workman is supposed to go into throes of patriotic rapture. The gladiator of history was often "butchered to make a Roman holiday," but the modern American worker is to have his life force torn from him day by day as he leaves the shop or factory in a "colored feverish state," and all that a small class who thrives upon this modern system of cannibalism and who represent the "United States" may accomplish "the commercial conquest of the world." But during the continuation of this process the American workers will be compelled to direct some of the "intensity" of their brain (which they now use in the interest of their exploiters) to relieving the "intensity" of the strain on their muscles, and when our capitalist classes almost have the prize in their hands they will be confronted with a proletariat for whom the idea of "commercial conquest" has lost all charm, and who will insist that the product of their labor, instead of serving the greed and ambition of their masters, shall be owned and controlled by themselves. The only logical finish to M. Welter's picture is the era of socialism, which his flattered capitalist contemporaries are fortunately too "industrious" to perceive, but as the old proverb runs, "whom the gods wish to destroy, they first make mad."

Some Cynical Truths.

These children the Salvation Army are giving a Christmas spread in various cities (one meal a year is rather slim feed, strikes me) are the children of the useless idle, I presume. Surely the children of those who do our country's useful work have plenty and their orphans are tenderly cared for. (This is sarcasm.)

While I'm about it I may as well voice my regret that it is no longer considered the proper caper to jail the knights of the clarinet and tambourine. I do not mind their disturbing the peace, but I do mind their charity work. It may be more blessed to give than to receive, but for an outfit that makes a specialty of the working classes to go on the hypothesis that the sticking salve of charity will cure the ills of the body politic is not a ballable crime in my calendar.

"The man who attempts to reform by fear or restraint acts in opposition to God's law."—Coming Age.

Every once in a while I run up against something of this kind which makes me paw the air and howl. Some oleaginous reformer for revenue only, with his own private wire laid to the throne of grace, throws some late Divine interpretation into us which overturns all God's known laws and negates intelligent effort at reform. He must have late advice indeed from the Most High who would make God out of an anarchist; who would infer that the laws of God, like the resolutions of a peace convention, were null in that they carry no penalties.

Fear and restraint are to be left in the control of our exploiters, ain't it? Conservatism, entrenched in the citadel of Rigidity, is to have the weapons of fear and restraint and reformers are to move to the attack armed with soft soap and taffy. Count yours truly out then. He never goes up against a dead sea thing.

At first glance the Coming Age quotation seems only silly, but on closer examination its mischievous and dangerous nature is apparent.

It would cripple reform efforts, make the reformer a laughing stock, the butt of ridicule, a modern Don Quixote tilting at windmills. Those who engaged in a struggle where King Arthur's Excalibur were none too potent a weapon it would give a Palafrican dagger of lath.

The author must "read his title clear" with a vengeance, if in his mind the "shalt thou" of the Deity are meaningless phrases unaccompanied by punishment for their infraction.

Don't you never believe it. Don't let alleged reformers, who are neither "fab, flesh or fowl," set you off on a wild goose chase after the "ignis fatuus" of moral suasion.

Don't let some bulging-browed theologian misquote the laws of God to your undoing.

Reformers, stand firm! The weapons of fear and restraint are yours for the winning. True, with their possession comes great responsibility. They

Socialist Labor Party of the United States.

PLATFORM.

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

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

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

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

Human power and natural forces are thus wasted, that the plutocracy may rule.

Ignorance and misery, with all their concomitant evils, are perpetuated, that the people may be kept in bondage.

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

Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party ever more enters its protest. Once more it reiterates its fundamental doctrine 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 destruction of the rights of the laboring class, 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 the necessities of public power, so that, held together by an indomitable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, we may set 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 collectively owned and controlled system, the abolition of all forms of wage slavery, the establishment of a planless, production, industrial war and social disorder, a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

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. Repeal of all land grants to corporations or individuals, the conditions of which have not been complied with.
 5. The United States to have the exclusive right to issue money.
 6. Congressional legislation providing for the scientific management of forests and waterways, and prohibiting the waste of the natural resources of the country.
 7. Inventions to be free to all; the inventors to be remunerated by the nation.
 8. Progressive income tax and tax on inheritance; the smaller incomes to be exempt.
 9. School education of all children under fourteen years of age to become compulsory, gratuitous and accessible to all by public assistance in meals, clothing, books, etc., where necessary.
 10. Repeal of all paper, 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 industrial establishments.
 12. All wages to be paid in lawful money of the United States. Equalization of woman's wages with those of men where equal services are rendered.
 13. Abolition of the contract labor system.
 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. Universal and equal right in all elections. Universal and equal right of suffrage without regard to color, creed or sex. Election days to be legal holidays. The principle of proportional representation to be introduced.
 20. All public officers to be subject to recall by their respective constituencies.
 21. Abolition of civil and criminal law throughout the United States. Administration of justice to be free of charge. Abolition of capital punishment.

have long been the instruments of oppression, but they are equally potent, in the proper hands for equity, justice and peace.—Bigge Eddy in the Freeman's Labor Journal.

ACROSS THE BORDER.

Socialists of London, Ont., Struggle With Combined Capitalist Parties, and Almost Win Out.

Our educational campaign has been an eventful and era-making one in the history of this city. The dominant and all-powerful Liberal and Conservative parties dropped their "mask" of "pretended combat" under which they have always heretofore hoodwinked workers into the capitalist shambles of Grit and Tory fakirs, and fused together in loving embrace, on the advent in the political arena of our Socialist Labor party nominees. There was thus clearly disclosed in this campaign what the S. L. P. has always asserted, that there was no real fight between the parties; that there were but "two classes," the capitalist class and the working class and that they are and must be hostile to each other. The capitalist nominee for mayor selected by the fused parties by a so-called citizen's committee of 400 "prominent citizens and business men" among whom (a noticeable fact), not one working man appeared, was Mr. Kimball, a typical manufacturer capitalist. Our comrade, F. I. Darch, again upheld the banner of the S. L. P. and came within 255 votes of capturing the mayoralty chair:

Mayoralty vote—Kimball	2,637
Mayoralty vote—Com. Darch	2,402
Mayoralty vote—Com. Darch, 1899 ..	65
Mayoralty vote—Com. Darch, 1899 ..	656
Mayoralty vote—Com. Darch, 1900 ..	1,746

There were also disintegrating forces in our propaganda which helped to produce a cleavage among the weak-kneed. If this cleavage of the union vote had been avoided there is no doubt that our comrades would have been seated with a handsome majority as mayor over the combined capitalist party vote. It need hardly be said there was panic in the capitalist camp. They saw their finish when the workers were united and voting true to their own class interest. The fact that Comrades Darch and Ross were endorsed by the Trades and Labor Council and that said endorsement did not have its full effect in getting for them a solid union vote in consequence of the truthful presentation of the beneficial effects of "pure and simple" tactics by our speakers and writers was patent to all. On the other hand the balance of our ward nominees (5) had to withstand an influx of capitalist nominees endorsed by the Trades and Labor Council and styled "labor men" who served as decoy ducks to elicit the vote that might otherwise have been cast for our nominees, and thus prevented them from having a larger increased vote. The result of the aldermanic combat places our comrade David Ross in the council for ward three; the first socialist ever elected on the straight S. L. P. platform.

Total aldermanic vote, 1899	708
Total aldermanic vote, 1900	1,062
Aldermanic vote, 1900, increase	354

At this writing our comrade Ross is engaged with the enemy (the old and new council) single-handed at special meeting called to vote money for our African contingent, the term of the old council having expired and while the new is not yet legally seated and while an overdraft of only \$18,000 exists in our city exchequer. Our comrades

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NINTH WARD, 427 W. 12th St., every Sunday; Sec. John Benda, 56 1/2 Flat St.

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Yours fraternally,
A. B. Baried.
—Section London, Ont., Jan. 1, 1900.

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