

# THE WORKERS' CALL.

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

VOL. I.—NO. 19.

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PRICE ONE CENT.

## NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE S. L. P.

### Representatives of Class-conscious International Socialists From East and West, Hold a Session in Rochester.

A Successful Convention—Good Representation of S. L. P. Sections From Boston to Los Angeles—A Consistent and Progressive Policy in Relation to Trades Unions Declared—Steps Taken Toward a Grand Union of All Revolutionary Socialist Forces—Work on the Platform—Industry, Good Sense and Enthusiasm Combined.

The Tenth National Convention of the Socialist Labor party was called to order in the council chamber of the city hall, Rochester, N. Y., at 11 a. m., last Saturday, by Henry Slobodin, national secretary. Frank Sieverman of Rochester was chosen as temporary chairman, and R. Kitchell of Buffalo as temporary secretary.

In the name of the 1,200 socialist voters of Rochester, Comrade Sieverman welcomed the delegates.

The following were elected members of the Credentials Committee: Delegates Long of Philadelphia, Waldinger of New York, Pick of Paterson, Smith of Chicago, and Kaplan of Boston. As members of the Committee on Rules, the following were chosen: Delegates Gerber of New York, Edlin of San Francisco, Crole of Kansas City, Fenner of Worcester, and Kamps of Hudson County, N. J.

#### DELEGATES PRESENT.

Credentials presented were as follows:

California: G. Benham and Wm. Edlin of San Francisco, and Job Harriman of Los Angeles.

Connecticut: W. E. White of Bridgeport, and Anton Frank of New Haven.

Illinois: James Smith and August Klenk of Chicago.

Michigan: George Eastman of Detroit and R. Hauke of Saginaw.

Minnesota: Adolf Hirschfield of Minneapolis.

Missouri: T. H. Crole of Kansas City.

Massachusetts: C. Spelman of Holyoke, Samuel Eschenbach of Springfield, Charles Fenner of Worcester, John McDonald of Clinton, Frank Tepper of Lawrence, F. Lüdernan of Chelsea, M. Kaplan and A. Stumpf of Boston, F. Blauenstein of New Bedford, Thomas Koehler of Adams.

New Jersey: Martin Kreck of Camden, John Weigel of Trenton, R. LaMonte of Bound Brook, C. Predmore of Newton, H. Pick of Paterson, E. T. Neben of Essex County, W. Kamps and Charles Ufert of Hudson County, and Charles Roberts of Elizabethtown.

New York: R. Woodruff of Queens County, M. Hillquit, Alexander Jonas, J. Halpern, H. Schlüter, N. I. Stone, B. Feigenbaum, J. Gerber, F. Hoppe, G. Dressler, August Waldinger, Franz Leib, John Nagel, S. Berlin, E. Kirchner, Jr., and H. Ortlund of New York City, W. Wessling of New Rochelle, G. Schnipp of Johnstown, Frank Sieverman of Rochester, F. Mueller of Oneida, B. Schwartz of Syracuse, and R. Kitchell of Buffalo.

Ohio: Max Hayes of Cleveland and O. E. Sparks of Cincinnati.

Pennsylvania: Fred Long of Philadelphia and Frank Gessner of Pittsburg.

Henry Slobodin represented the National Executive Committee.

#### PERMANENT AGITATION.

The credentials of these delegates were found correct and so reported. The Convention then proceeded to permanent organization. The following officers were elected: Chairman Frank Sieverman; Vice-chairman, M. Hayes; Secretary, R. Kitchell.

The following committees were also elected:

On Constitution: Kaplan, Mass.; Harriman, Cal.; Gerber, N. Y.; Smith, Ill.; Ufert, N. J.

On Platform: LaMonte, N. J.; Jonas, N. Y.; Hirschfield, Minn.; Feigenbaum, N. Y.; White, Conn.

Grievance Committee: Berlin, N. Y.; Klenk, Ill.; Tepper, Mass.; Weigel, N. J.; Leib, N. Y.

On Party Press: Spelman, Mass.; Stone, N. Y.; Benham, Cal.; Hayes, O.; Kreck, N. J.

Revision Committee: Schwartz, N. Y.; McDonald, Mass.; Nagel, N. Y.; Crole, Mo.; Roberts, N. J.

On Resolutions: Schlüter, N. Y.; Edlin, Cal.; Hillquit, N. Y.; Eastman, Mich.; Fenner, Mass.

On Ways and Means: Kaplan, Mass.; Dressler, N. Y.; Waldinger, N. Y.; Neben, N. J.

The reading of the report of the National Executive Committee held the close attention of the delegates, interrupted only by occasional bursts of applause. The Convention then adjourned for the day.

#### SUNDAY'S SESSION.

On Sunday the convention was called to order at 10 a. m. Benham of California

was chosen as chairman, and Frank of Connecticut as vice-chairman. Andrew T. Bowen of Reading, Pa., was seated as a delegate.

After a lively discussion of over an hour, Mrs. Martha Moore Avery of Boston, was seated as a delegate from the Eleventh Congressional District of Massachusetts—comprising parts of Sections Boston and Dedham. The Massachusetts delegation voted solidly against her admission on the ground that her credentials were illegal. She was seated by a vote of 99 to 21.

Communications were read from Sections Troy, N. Y., the Sozialistische Frauen-Verein of New York City, German Section Holyoke, Mass., and Section Cleveland, O.

The National Executive Board of the Social-Democratic party, at Chicago, sent the following letter, which was read to the convention.

#### MESSAGE OF S. D. P.

To the officers and members of the Socialist Labor party, in convention assembled:

Comrades:—The National Executive Board of the Social-Democratic party sends fraternal greetings. The Board has learned of the divisions which have arisen within the ranks of the Socialist Labor party, and recognizing the desirability of concerted action of all class-conscious socialists in this country, hereby extends a hearty invitation to your convention, as well as to all members of your party, to join the Social-Democratic party in the struggle to emancipate humanity from class rule and the slavery of capitalism by the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth. With an earnest desire for the success of the cause, we remain fraternally yours,

Jesse Cox,  
Chairman N. E. B., S. D. P.  
Seymour Steadman,  
Secretary N. E. B., S. D. P.

This letter was referred to the Committee on Resolutions, with instructions to draft a reply.

#### THE TRADE UNION QUESTION.

The Committee on Resolutions presented the following resolution on the trade union policy of the party:

Whereas, the trade union movement of the working class is an inevitable manifestation of the struggle between capital and labor, and is absolutely necessary to resist the superior economic power of the bourgeoisie, and to maintain their standard of life; and

Whereas, the class struggle carried on by the trade union tends to develop in the workingmen the sense of solidarity and political independence, by organizing them as a class antagonistic to the capitalist class;

Resolved, That we, the Socialist Labor party, in national convention assembled, fully recognizing that the exploitation of labor will cease only when society takes possession of the means of production, nevertheless declare it the duty of all socialists to participate in all struggles of organized labor to improve its conditions under the present system;

Resolved, That we hereby recall any and all previous resolutions expressing preference for one body of organized labor over another;

Resolved, That we reaffirm the resolution of the Socialist Labor party adopted in 1893 and re-adopted in 1896, recommending to all members of the party to join the organizations of the trades to which they respectively belong.

In the discussion of this resolution, Delegate Stone read a paper prepared by him, covering the relations between the political movement of the working class and the trade unions in America. In this paper, which will later be published in The People, Comrade Stone emphasized the importance of the trade union in our tactics, and went fully into the relations of the S. L. P. to the trade unions during the last ten years. He reviewed the struggle of the socialists in the A. F. of L., beginning in 1890, showing how the socialist vote steadily increased until 1894. He then reviewed De Leon's career in the K. of L., which ended in his withdrawal from that body, and the organization of the S. F. & L. A.—amid expressions of profound surprise, he revealed the machinations of the overthrown bosses, and showed how the Alliance scheme was sprung upon the party in a night, without any previous discussion in the party press and even without any notice in The People that it was to be started. He recalled to the minds of the delegates the events of the last national convention of the party, and pointed out under what false pretenses the endorsement of the Alliance was obtained. He then analyzed in detail the methods used by the former bosses in the Alliance, its internal organiza-

tion, its relation to the party, and its relation to the old trade unions. Then he gave his reasons for thinking that an organization like the Alliance could not succeed, even if it had better leaders. He pointed out the new tendencies in the trade union movement of America today which are favorable for socialist work. After quoting from Karl Marx and the proceedings of the last International Congress, he concluded with an appeal to all socialists to do their duty as workmen and socialists in the trade unions, and to help the working class of America to hasten the day of its emancipation by combining the economic and political movements into one harmonious whole.

The paper was listened to with the closest attention throughout, and was greeted with hearty applause.

The convention then adjourned at 1 p. m. No afternoon session was held on Sunday.

#### MONDAY'S SESSION.

The delegates assembled at 8:30 a. m., with Delegate Hayes of Ohio in the chair.

Messages were read from Sections Greater New York, the New York Socialist Literary Society, the "Jewish Volkszeitung," Branch 25 (Yorkville) of the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Society, greeting the convention and expressing the general interest in its work.

The convention then proceeded with the consideration of the resolution on the relations of the party to trade unions. The resolution was discussed at length and with much interest.

Delegate Sieverman of Rochester made a striking speech in support of the resolution, pointing out that the resolution adopted by the convention of 1896, inaugurating the close relations of the party with the S. F. & L. A., was the cause of the whole trouble. That resolution would never have been adopted if it had been fully understood, of its consequences foreseen. Delegate Berlin of New York also spoke strongly in favor of the present resolution.

All amendments to the resolution as reported were voted down, and the resolution was then adopted by unanimous vote.

#### SOCIALIST UNITY.

In the afternoon session the question of the relations of the S. L. P. to other socialist forces was taken up. The discussion was opened by Delegate Hillquit of New York, as chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, who said in effect:

"Before submitting to you the resolution on the question of socialist unity, permit me to lay before you the considerations which animated your committee in drafting the same.

"When the Socialist Labor party had, on July 16, disavowed the odious tactics and narrow policy of the former party administration, and repudiated the shameful practice of sowing discord within the ranks of the labor movement, the cry of union of all true socialists, elements in the United States was raised spontaneously, by the members of the S. L. P. and the S. D. P. alike. It at once became evident that a complete amalgamation of both parties had become a matter of necessity, in order to lead to the socialist propaganda the character of harmony so essential for its success, in order to awaken the enthusiasm of the great number of our sympathizers who have held back from active work on account of the dissensions in our ranks, and in order to prevent the ridiculous spectacle of presenting two or perhaps three socialist tickets to the voters.

"The Socialist Labor party has adhered to these views ever since, and now proclaims them with as much candor and conviction as ever. The rank and file of the Social-Democratic party, I am confident, also continue to adhere to these views. But unfortunately some of the leaders of the latter have lately adopted a very discouraging and rather unwarranted tone in the discussion of this grave question. They proceeded on the assumption that our party is in a state of anarchy, without a name, organization or cohesion. They apparently believe we will be forced to apply to them individually or collectively for admission, and instead of meeting us in a proper socialist spirit on a proposition to conduct negotiations for union as two self-respecting parties, they find petty pretexts for discord, and invite our better elements to join them individually. How woefully mistaken our friends are in their estimate of our party, this splendid convention, if nothing else, shows you.

"If any one of three socialist parties can maintain a separate existence, it is ours. In point of membership, training, number of party organs, and other factors that go to make up a socialist party, ours is without exaggeration superior to the other parties combined. We have not invited a comparison of strength, but if one is requested we are ready to stand it.

"I do not believe that those leaders of the S. D. P. have the approval of the rank and file of their membership. I believe the union of socialist forces will be decreed over the heads of the diplomating leaders, as it is a dictate of necessity.

"I reiterate, we are for union, fully, sincerely, and unreservedly; but for a union on a strictly honorable basis, not

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## A BRILLIANT CRITIC

Frederick Engels Patronized By a Little Bourgeois Scribbler.

## LEFT-HANDED COMPLIMENTS.

Capitalist Reviewers of Socialist Works Not Required to Read or Understand the Subject Reviewed.

There is a popular delusion to the effect, that a book, to be reviewed must first be read; it is supposed at least that the reviewer seizes the most important ideas and statements in the work under consideration, and either exposes their fallacy, emphasizes their truth, or points out their bearing or non-bearing on the subject proposed.

But it seems as if this idea of the duty of a reviewer, is fast becoming out of date. We are now in the last year of the nineteenth century, and our methods are so much improved over those of our ancestors that it does not seem necessary that a modern reviewer must understand the subject which he is supposed to dissect. He merely "reviews it."

These remarks are called forth, by an alleged "review" which appeared in the Chronicle of January 29th, and which occupied almost a column in that paper. Our attention was directed to this matter only on account of the subject criticized, which happened to be Kautsky's "Life of Frederick Engels," and we must say that the only effect which its perusal had upon us, was to fill us with admiration for the colossal nerve and effrontery of the writer.

A long acquaintance with capitalist methods of presenting socialism to the public has left us indifferent about deciding whether this particular gem is the result of astounding ignorance, wilful dishonesty, or a mixture of both. We expect such from our opponents, knowing that most of them, instinctively at least, recognize the struggle between the classes which the subject of socialism involves, and have always a keen perception of the necessity of catering to the master class upon whom they depend for bread.

The possession and exercise of either of the above two qualifications in this particular educator, is not nearly so interesting as the patronizing attitude adopted towards the central figure of the work. What the effect of this upon those outside the socialist movement may be, we cannot say, as we are not well able to see from that standpoint but in a socialist, this production is well calculated to produce a curious feeling of disgust, contempt and amusement.

We are not hero worshippers. No socialist is. Engels, like all other men was liable to error. But it is certainly a ludicrous sight to see an ignorant and conceited dwarf bearing testimony to the mental ability of an intellectual giant, and at the same time posing as a wise and enlightened judge.

The great intellectual ability of Engels is recognized, and the attitude of the outside world in considering such men as "unbalanced dreamers," "impractical," "shallow-minded," "little better than criminals," etc., etc., is mildly reprov'd, with such an air of judicial wisdom that the reader cannot realize its ridiculous effrontery, until he looks over what follows, and discovers that Engels is "to be damned with faint praise." We socialists as a rule do not go out fishing for compliments, as we expect none from our enemies, and are suspicious of any tendency in that direction. But it could be an abject socialist, who would regard the reviewer's tribute to Engels in the light of a compliment. We have heard of a live ass kicking a dead lion, but this writer reverses the process, and it is difficult to decide which performance is most offensive. The long-earred animal raising a mournful bray over the dead monarch of the forest, may perhaps outclass the other in the matter of "good intentions," but it is none the less an assine proceeding.

After this ceremony is concluded the reviewer ceases his lament, and like his prototype, prepares to get his heels to work in demolishing socialism. After some preliminary twaddle he delivers the first kick. "Engels," he says, "knew intimately, and sympathized with, the socialism of Owen—that socialism which the socialists today call Utopian with a happy unconsciousness that their own system as richly deserves the epithet."

After glancing over this production we leave it to our readers as to whether we are justified in making the above comparison. One of Shakespeare's clown characters, bewailed the fact that there was none present "to write him down an ass," but our reviewer has just performed that favor for himself, with the same "happy unconsciousness" which he charges the socialist with, regarding Utopia.

If he can make good this charge, if he can find the scientific socialist who is "happily unconscious" of the Utopianism of his ideas, if he can find one who cannot define the utterly different foundation which distinguishes the

dreams of Owenism, from the modern socialism of today, if he can produce the socialist, who will not scout the idea that the modern working class movement is a detailed preconceived "system," or can in the least substantiate the charge that modern socialism "richly deserves the same epithet," we are willing to admit that we ourselves bear more resemblance to the animal with which we have compared him.

It is wearisome work threshing over old straw. The literature of socialism covering all the above points, is so immense, that it is impossible for anyone wishing to understand the subject, to escape its contact. Those men who have written anti-socialist works worthy of consideration (and there are many such), would entertain about the same opinion of the qualifications of this reviewer, as we ourselves hold.

As if to make this whole production even more ridiculous, the truth is that in the whole range of socialist literature and action, no man has been more conspicuous than Engels in fighting those Utopian ideas with which he is charged. His work, "From Utopia to Science" is a most emphatic proof of this. If the reviewer can overthrow the thesis laid down in this work, as the basis of the socialist movement, if he can show that there is the faintest trace of a "preconceived" system in it, he can make his point. The fact is this, to speak plainly, the reviewer has never read one word of Engels' writings in his life, or if so, was as incapable of grasping their import as a six-year-old child. Probably the first time that he was cognizant of the existence of such a man, was when the pamphlet under discussion reached his hands, and even then he did not read it, or if so didn't understand it. We do not intend to inflict upon our readers any more of this production. The review proceeds by harping on the same string, about the impossibility of "pre-arranged systems," and a whole avalanche of platitudes, truisms, stale sayings, rant about "political institutions," "liberty," "fruits of experience," "building up rigid cast iron systems," etc., etc., which have no meaning to the writer, or for that matter to anyone else—but they are admirably adapted for the purpose of filling out the column, which after all, is most important from the standpoint of the critic's material interests.

After wading through this slush to the bottom of the column we at last drop upon one statement which is absolutely true, and we feel rewarded for the patience and suffering undergone in the perusal of the article. Our critic says that the book is worth reading, statement with which we cordially agree, and this taken by itself, is about the only thing of value in the criticism, and we take the opportunity of allowing him all possible credit for the production of this grain of wheat amongst a bushel of chaff. But alas! the article is consistent throughout, and doubt last upon this single find, which will render it valueless if the instruction regarding it be carried out. The book says our reviewer, is worth reading but he qualifies this by saying, it must be read "rightly." If by "rightly," it meant that it will produce the same impressions as the reviewer has given us, then we must warn our readers against parting with money for its purchase. But the people who know the value of such works as this, differ considerably in their mental make-up from the reviewers in capitalist organs—in that they are possessed of brain power and a desire to know the truth.

To give our readers some idea of the development of socialism among our German comrades, we give the latest enumeration of the socialist organs in Germany alone:

Central organs, "Vorwärts," weekly scientific magazine, "Die Neue Zeit," 15 daily papers in 45 cities; 12 three times a week; 6 twice per week; 9 weekly; 6 monthly; 2 comic papers, and 2 family illustrated papers.

Besides these, which are purely political organs of the whole party, there are papers representing the interests of special trades which also belong to the socialist party, as follows:

One three times per week; 28 weekly; 1 three times per month; 21 twice a month, and 5 monthly.

The German socialist press is assuredly a most powerful weapon.

Comrade Benham of San Francisco, Cal., will before returning to California, make a lecture tour, speaking on the subject of socialism at the following places and dates: Pennsylvania state, February 11th to 15th; New York, 17th of February; Boston, 18th and 19th; Worcester, 20th; Springfield, 21st; Johnstown, 22nd; Oneida, 23rd; Detroit, 28th; Saginaw, Mich., March 1st, and Chicago, March 3rd to 6th.

The following lectures will take place at Hull House, 325 S. Halsted street at 8 p. m.:

February 15th—A. S. Edwards, "Great-est Fact of the Nineteenth Century."

February 20th—P. Sissman, "Different Elements Making for Socialism."

February 27th—S. Steadman, "Imperialism."

March 6th—Joshua Wanhope, "Socialism and Plain Speaking."

Free seats and free discussion.

A sample copy asks for your subscription.

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## IN OLD KENTUCKY

Reasons Underlying the Goebel-Taylor Quarrel.

## WHY TAYLOR IS DENOUNCED.

Capitalism in Washington Not Concerned About Kentucky Republicans While "Property" Is Secure.

A merry war is now going on in Kentucky. And while it seems to be a trifling and ridiculous quarrel among the local politicians, many curious lessons may be learned from it, by workmen who are observant enough to search for the motives underlying capitalist conflicts, and in what manner changing conditions affect the conduct of those who label themselves Republicans or Democrats. In this quarrel the Republican party through its mouthpiece Hanna-McKinley, gives evidence of its complete capitalist character, and if any of the "old" Republicans imagine that this party today bears any relation to the Republican party between the years '54 and '68, a study of the action of the President in this matter is calculated to disabuse their minds of this idea.

During the war of the Rebellion, the eastern and mountainous portion of Kentucky was loyal to the Union, and opposed the slave-holders' rebellion to the utmost. These people are now about 100 years behind, industrially and socially, and with the change in the Republican party since the Civil war, they have been thrown overboard, like the negro voters in the South. The great Republican capitalist party, being assured that PROPERTY RIGHTS would be protected, were perfectly willing that the "moral principles" part of their program (which included the enfranchisement of the negro) should go by default. For years the people of eastern Kentucky have been voted out or counted out in every election by the old Confederate element, and the Republican administration, despite their high-sounding pledges, gave no heed to their protests.

A quarrel broke out among the Democrats, on the money issue, and in consequence of this, a Republican governor (Bradley), was elected four years ago. This was not to be permitted to occur again, and the last legislature passed the "Goebel" law, which as every reader knows, was condemned by almost every paper outside Kentucky. Goebel demanded the nomination as a reward for framing the infamous measure which bears his name, but "the best laid plans of men and mice, gang aft a-giey" as the poet says. An opposition grew up against Goebel and he was defeated at the polls by Taylor. Then the famous "Goebel" law was set in operation. Never mind the "voice of the people." The "legal" definition of that same "Goebel" law had for its object the nullification of that "voice." Somebody shot Goebel, and then Taylor adjourned the legislature, by which action according to the "respectable" press, Taylor has forfeited the "sympathy of the public." The following editorial extract from the Chicago Daily News defines the exact capitalist position on this matter:

The whole case is very simple, once the subject is looked at aside from partisan and selfish interests. There seems to be but little doubt that Taylor was duly elected governor of Kentucky. As to the throwing of the contest into the legislature by the disreputable means employed by the Goebellites, there is also scarcely room for difference of opinion by cool-headed observers outside of Kentucky. Even had not some one of Gov. Taylor's partisans attempted assassination and had not the governor himself, following that act, resorted to illegal and despicable measures, general sympathy and opinion would have been in his favor. He has chosen to act differently and has thus become in the eyes of the law an even greater offender against the peace and laws of Kentucky than Goebel himself.

Here we have a valuable lesson for workmen. These mountaineers of eastern Kentucky succeeded in electing a governor, who would have had the "sympathy and respect" of both Republicans and Democrats outside of the state of Kentucky, had he consented to surrender the mandate placed in his hands by a majority of the voters of that state. The capitalist classes have no "respect or sympathy" for the man who creates a disturbance while he is being robbed. Just as the strikers forfeit public "respect and sympathy" when they have the hardihood to resist their capitalist oppressors. Some day the working classes, will in different places, elect representatives of their class interests, and there is not the slightest doubt, but that they will also forfeit the "respect and sympathy" of the capitalist classes, when they insist upon carrying out the mandate by which they were duly elected. Precedents are even now being created that may be used to prevent socialist representatives from entering the legislatures, as the Roberts case now plainly shows, and whatever odium the capitalist press is able to throw upon them will be utilized.

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THE WORKERS' CALL.

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Advertisements: A limited number of acceptable advertisements will be inserted.

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

The Socialist Vote.

Table showing the Socialist vote in the United States from 1890 to 1899, with a total of 52,904 in 1899.

CONVENTION NEWS.

We have much pleasure in laying before our readers a full account of the proceedings of the National Convention of the Socialist Labor party now being held at Rochester, N. Y., up to and including Tuesday, 30th ult., and we believe its perusal will be satisfactory reading to the many thousands of comrades who have been expectantly waiting for the results which it is hoped this convention will bring forth.

So far the actions and spirit which animate our comrades who were elected as delegates, gives every promise that these hopes will be realized, that the individualism and self-seeking which has been such a fruitful source of discord in the past, will be minimized as much as possible, and the ground cleared of all obstacles that might impede the progress of a united class-conscious socialist movement.

There is every reason to believe that a new epoch in the labor movement will result from the deliberations of this convention, that harmony instead of dissension shall mark the future course of socialism in this land, and that the opening years of the coming century may see a united and powerful working class steadily pushing forward to the conquest of that political supremacy, which is the essential condition of economic freedom.

THE COMING LOCAL CONFLICT.

Apparently we are nearing another of those periods in which the antagonistic interests constantly existing between the classes, break out into open and undisguised hostility. The workers in the building trades see before them the prospect of a battle with their masters, which, whatever be the ultimate result, must bring with it, suffering and privation to themselves and their wives and families.

that it should, under present conditions, be legal and therefore right, according to current ethics, it is mere waste of breath to denounce them as greedy and avaricious, as their very existence depends upon the expansion of their business, and expansion of business depends always on increased profits.

SNAP SHOTS BY THE WAYSIDE.

Organized labor! Organized for what? A striking answer to this question is given in the Chicago Record of February 2nd. It contained the following headlines:

TALK OF A BIG STRIKE.

Said to Be a Campaign Move.

Coal Miners, It Is Alleged, Are Not Getting Their Full Share of Prosperity.

This then is one phase of organization of labor. To be used as a "campaign move." Not at all to further its own interest, but to act as a piece on the political chessboard in the game played by capitalist politicians.

Many years ago a far-seeing individual named LaSalle commented on such proceedings in words something like the following: "The backs of the laborers," he said, "form the green cloth upon which the capitalists gamble with each other for the possession of the product of labor."

The Chicago Tribune says in a press dispatch: Tolstol is vehement on the subject of the Transvaal war, speaking of which he said:

"It has thrown me into an indescribable state. I passionately desire a Boer victory. The war is the greatest folly of modern times. Such butchery following The Hague peace conference is a sign of the passion for gain which now dominates the world."

The above is good evidence that Tolstol and his ideas have very little in common with the world-wide working class movement, which some people try to identify him with.

One of our "prominent business men" wishing to advertise the universal "prosperity" which all are supposed to be enjoying, has made arrangements to distribute among 1,000 families (whose worthiness must be attested by investigation), 500 tons of coal at the rate of half a ton per family.

The pending strike or lock-out, which is expected amongst the building trades workmen in this city, would certainly take on a more hopeful aspect for the furtherance of the interests of the workmen involved, were there not such a close political alliance between the leaders of the council and the city administration.

The excellence of any commodity or thing is best brought to public notice, when the production and distribution of that particular commodity or thing is highly organized.

We cannot give this wonderful relation word for word but this is the substance: "A burglar, who professes to be 'reformed,' ascribes his reformation to the fact that his only start in life after serving a jail sentence, was five dollars and a Bible, which were given him by a police superintendent."

LETTER BOX.

Editor of Workers' Call: Seeing that at present there is grave danger that the importance of the individuals in the socialist movement may be exaggerated, thus tending to incalculable a feeling of dependence upon particular persons instead of a reliance on the working class as a class I would suggest that you run through your columns the first three paragraphs in the opening chapter in Marx's "Revolution and Counter-Revolution."

Thirty-third Ward S. L. P.

Since the first of January the branch has been holding public meetings every Saturday night in Nelson Morris hall, at 184 Ninety-second street.

Let it be known all over the land that the possession of a Bible carries with it an opportunity to accumulate \$200,000 and the trust will do a roaring business.

Chicago has just passed through one of the usual icy spells which are prevalent during our winters here.

With her two hungry children at her side and a patrol wagon standing in front of her house to take her to the county hospital, Mrs. Mary Garasek, who lived at 134 Foster avenue, died today from pneumonia and starvation.

Zero weather sent scores of Chicago's poor to the county agent's office today. Applicants for food and clothing filled the Clinton street establishment from early morning until late in the afternoon.

Coroner's Physician Springer yesterday found a mother and five children in destitution and a babe four days old dead from the cold at 1024 Girard street.

The husband, Frank Zielski, died two months ago of pneumonia. The family was without funds then and he had no medical attendance.

"I'll freeze to death," pleaded the prisoner. "I am helpless from paralysis. I can't work a stroke, and have no home or friends. I have been living in a lodging house, where they allowed me to stay for three cents a night, but when this cold weather came they increased the price to five cents. I only had three pennies, and being unable to secure more I was compelled to go out into the street."

The evidences of universal prosperity being apparent on all hands, it is hard to know what to say about the above particular evidences. To indulge in strong language about them would lay us open to the charge of "calamity howling" which under present prosperous circumstances would be ridiculous.

TRUSTIFYING THE DRAMA.

Art Prostituted by Capitalism Cannot Revive Until the Arrival of Socialism Brings New Conditions.

The Beacon, Boston, January 12th, takes a lugubrious view of the Theatrical trust, over which the genius of Messrs. Hayman, Froman, Klaw, Erlanger, Zimmerman and their associates preside.

The editor is enforced in his opinions by men who a generation ago had some little claim to public leadership in the artistic world.

"Art, sweet art, new radiance broke When her light foot flew over the ground: And in a scarp's voice she spoke, 'The curse a blessing shall be found.'"

is as true as when it was sung in grim puritan days, 'tho we give it a wider meaning. Socialists know that the capitalist art of fashioning raiment (only we don't speak it in poetic terms) of building bridges, of arranging that the great conscience drama of Macbeth shall be put upon the stage, is a curse which may be turned into a blessing.

The trust has control of nearly all the large theaters in the country; which gives the power by which dramatic stars and combinations who don't dance to the tune of the trust are black-listed.

Comrade Thomas J. Morgan lectures on "The Rights of Man" before the Chicago Liberal Society at Corinthian hall, Masonic Temple, 17th floor, Sunday morning, February 11th at 11 a. m. Everyone welcome.

From Milwaukee.

All the socialists of Milwaukee are urgently requested to attend the mass meeting of Section Milwaukee, S. L. P., at Kaiser's hall, on Sunday, February 11th, 3:30 p. m., sharp.

Grand March Festival.

There will be a grand March Festival, consisting of concert, living pictures and ball, given by the Socialist Sangarbund, for the benefit of the Socialist Propaganda Fund, at Brand's hall, 162 N. Clark street, corner Erie, Sunday, March 11th, 1900, commencing at 2 p. m. Tickets in advance, 15 cents for gent and lady; at the door, 25 cents a person.

takes the public to make up its mind to declare the "show business" public business to be run not for profit but for free recreation.

Cross-counters From "Big."

Some people are so used to splitting hairs that a real live issue would scare them into a fit.

The ubiquitous tramp is to the fore again. A reform paper extols the plan of giving them a chance to work for board and lodging.

The unemployed are dear to the exploiter's heart so long as they are disorganized, flat broke and anxious for a job at any price, for they are "bears" in the labor market who imagine their interests are a drop in the wage scale which will disgust some worker and give them a show.

But the unemployed who are such for the avowed purpose of raising wages, who have organization and money bank of them, are an entirely different proposition.

And they don't like the boycott, these fellows, though its twin brother, the black-list, is dear to their plutocratic gizzards. To drive a man from his job and make him a wanderer on the face of the earth is a worthy example of corporate wisdom and righteousness; but for labor to avail itself of its undoubted right to refuse to do business with a black-leg is a foul conspiracy.

The laborer in politics is the bulwark of the nation, as may be easily proven from speakers and writers of both old parties. But it is only when he bends the flexible knee to the dictates of the "boss," and cracks his voice cheering for the "issues" raised by his employer.

To neglect to support your labor paper is about the same kind of economy as to smoke 4-bit cigars and light them with a splinter to save matches.

Don't I beg of you, subscribe to help out the editor. Subscribe to help out yourself.

In Old Kentucky

ized to the fullest possible extent. But as the cause of socialism grows stronger the danger involved in any serious attempt to neutralize the intelligent will of the working classes, becomes always greater.

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# Economics and Socialism.

BY LAURA WILLARD TAFT.

(Continued from last week.)

It may be said that the article in the *Chautauquin* practically epitomizes all of the objections to socialism commonly offered, whether by people of high or low degree. In short, they cover the old "human nature" argument, so often expressed and so rarely examined; and the equally old self-interest argument, oftener not expressed, and still less often examined.

To go back for a moment to Professor Laughlin's numbered clauses relating to the factors of production, it may be suggested—without pausing at this time on the curious conception of the nature of "the state" under socialism, or to inquire about the meaning of "an economic court of final socialist resort," and raising, for the present, a discussion of the accuracy of the term "capital" under a socialist order of society that the considerations given as governing an increase in capital and in the efficiency of labor, are considerations which apply, as before, to the domain of philosophy, and not of political economy. When Professor Laughlin speaks of "an individual estimate of a future gain over the present indulgence," or the fear of a loss of "economic rewards" which "always acts as a stimulus to keep us at a high point of energy and activity," he is using, once again, the old argument from "human nature" or rather the relativity of human motives—regarding which, at the best, the economist has no inside information denied to the rest of mankind. As this argument forms the stock objection to socialism on the part of the non-socialist day-laborer, as well as of the millionaire, it is interesting to notice that Professor Laughlin returns to it with special affection again and again. His refutation deserves more space than can now be given, but it will be discussed at more length in a future paper. It may be said in passing that the positions assumed in the paragraphs just quoted are contradicted by the most common facts of every-day life, and this contradiction is made especially glaring by the developments following from the expansion of trusts. Again, as in reviewing some statements of a Harvard economist, one is impressed by the hermit-like remoteness from present-day realities which characterizes many of our university scholars.

One statement of this essay cannot well be passed over: "What causes the wide difference of opinion between the advocates of socialism and those who oppose it," we are told, "is probably a good deal a matter of temperament and preconceptions." Undoubtedly. But our author goes on: "It is very difficult for one brought up in our conservative business classes to believe, either on the basis of reasoning or experience, that rewards—in the long run and in general—as now distributed are not in rough proportion to deserts. . . . On the other hand, those who have never read anything but socialistic literature, who have become saturated with the bitter opposition to the existing system, will find it almost impossible to examine judicially an argument tending to show that equality of wages is an economic impossibility, so long as men remain unequal in industrial efficiency, as they are today; and that the conflict which everyone knows is going on is really not so much a struggle between capital and labor as it is a contest for different proportional shares between persons of varying industrial skill as producers."

What is the tacit assumption in all this?—the unexpressed premise which give these statements any bearing on the argument? It is the implication that socialists are pre-eminently such by "temperament and preconceptions," that they "have never read anything but socialistic literature" and that this reading, rather than life's experience, has made socialists of them. On the other hand, the contrast assumes that non-socialists are persons of noble disinterestedness, who study life in all its grim realities, and are forced by "reason and experience" to realize the "economic impossibility" of socialist dreams. In other words: "You socialists brood over unreal visions and fanciful wrongs created by the imaginations of other socialists who write, while we practical men of affairs face the battle of life and learn the truth as it exists."

Now the actual process which goes forward is the very reverse of all this. Whoever heard of a socialist who was such by "temperament and preconceptions"? Does one think of Marx or Engels or Liebknecht or Bebel or Lombroso or Jean Jaures or Keir Hardie? Their preconceptions were all in favor of the existing system.

When, in the late elections in Massachusetts, the workingmen of Haverhill and Brockton chose socialist mayors and elected eight socialists as city legislators, while two socialist representatives were sent to the state legislature,—were these all socialists by temperament and preconceptions? By no means.

By temperament and preconceptions everyone of us is a conservative. The child at whose home the family physician carries crutches has unshakable confidence in the belief that all doctors are lame. Not only children, but grown people as well, who have all their lives seen women arrayed in skirts and men as invariably clad in trousers, hold this differentiation of dress an intrinsic propriety—a sort of foreordination from the foundation of the world—and would

look upon the donning of Turkish trousers by women, or of comfortable knickerbockers, as immodest; while a quick by men to the flowing garment of the Greeks would be at once adjudged effeminate. We are all born conservatives. We are all prone to fancy that what is now has always been, and that what we see now we shall always see—at least, that it will not change "for a hundred years." Only a contact with hard reality or the slow teachings of reason and experience produce a change of conviction. Notoriously is this true of the workman.

And it may be doubted whether there exists a human being who "has never read anything but socialistic literature." There are many human beings whose economic reading has been absolutely confined to the "orthodox" economists, and there are some who feel obliged to compile an expurgated edition of even John Stuart Mill for their classes, lest his social sympathies should seem to interfere with his economic teachings. But socialists do not confine their reading to socialism. Many of them have received a degree in political economy from the older universities. And there are socialists in Chicago who work twelve hours a day and seven days a week in wage service under the existing system and still find time between waking and sleeping—how they do it is a mystery!—to learn what the "orthodox" have to say regarding social questions.

I had hoped to speak of Professor Laughlin's own "remedies" for the present state of things, and of his own conception of an ideal society. Perhaps, however, his statement of intrinsic justice is its own best indictment: "Under the competitive system, each man must of himself meet all the cranniness of those who would take advantage of him. . . . and meet the world as he finds it; he who does all this most skillfully. . . wins greater rewards. But some men are guileless and slow-witted. They fall of their rewards. Is it injustice that the stupid and incapable should get less. . . than the clever and the gifted? On what principle of justice is the universe founded, if man of unequal powers be given equal rewards?"

Truly, on what principle? Was there ever a more clear-cut exaltation of cunning deceit? And on what principle of justice shall "the guileless and slow-witted" be punished? Surely no intrinsic justice can punish inborn traits by depriving their owner of the means for his best development. And if this lack of intellectual brilliancy has been acquired from without, society has itself to blame, and cannot rightly punish by "apportioning less reward." But Professor Laughlin well knows that in this society of ours, there are other forms of social efficiency than the so-called "economic." In common English, this means today the power of making money. And even a professional economist knows that the saints and poets and artists of the earth—those who have given the world its most cherished conceptions of beauty and truth and goodness—have not been its millionaires.

(The end.)

## National Convention of the S. L. P.

(Continued from page 1.)

involving a sacrifice of our dignity and self-respect in any way. And with that end in view we submit the following reply to the National Executive Board of the S. D. P.:

To the National Executive Board of the Social-Democratic party: Greeting—The National Convention of the Socialist Labor party, sitting at Rochester, N. Y., returns fraternal greetings. The Convention regrets to state that it finds itself unable to grasp the exact import of the invitation extended by you to this Convention as well as to all members of our party to join the Social-Democratic party in the struggle to emancipate humanity from class rule and the slavery of capitalism by the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth. If it is a call for friendly and harmonious action by both parties to our common cause, we welcome it and heartily reciprocate the invitation. If it is an invitation for us to disband and join the Social-Democratic party, collectively or individually, we hope, for the honor and good sense of the membership of your party, that your Board does not bear the approval of the rank and file of your party in addressing such a highly peculiar request to a national convention of another self-respecting socialist party. Our Convention will communicate its views on the relation of our respective parties to the National Convention of the Social-Democratic party.

After a very animated discussion, the reply was amended by striking out all but the first and last sentences. The reply, as amended, reciprocates the fraternal greetings of the Social-Democratic party, and promises a communication to the National convention of that party upon the subject. This was adopted.

Delegate Hillquit then introduced, on behalf of the Committee on Resolutions, the following resolution, to be transmitted to the Convention of the Social-Democratic party:

The Socialist Labor party of the United States, in National Convention assembled, sends fraternal greetings to the Social-Democratic party of the United States:

Whereas, The course of development of the socialist movement in the United States during the last few years has obliterated all difference of principle and views between the S. L. P. and the S. D. P., and both parties are now prac-

tically identical in their platform, tactics and methods. Whereas, Harmonious and concerted action of all socialist elements of the United States is expedient for a successful campaign against the combined forces of capitalism: Resolved, That it is in the sense of this Convention that the interests of socialism will be best subserved by a speedy union of the S. L. P. and the S. D. P. into one strong, harmonious, and united socialist party;

Resolved, That we call upon the earnest and intelligent socialists of this country in the ranks of both parties to discard all petty ambitions and petty prejudices in the face of this great purpose, and to conduct the negotiations for the unity of both parties, not in the sense of two hostile camps, each negotiating for peace with a view of securing the greatest advantages to itself, but in the sense of equal parties, hitherto working separately for a common cause, and now sincerely seeking to provide a proper basis for honorable and lasting union for the benefit of that cause;

Resolved, That for the purpose of effecting union between the two parties on the basis outlined, this Convention do send a committee of nine to act as a permanent committee on Socialist Union, until the question is definitely disposed of;

Resolved, That the said committee be authorized to delegate a representative or representatives to the next national convention of the S. D. P., in order to convey this resolution to said party, and to invite the said party to appoint a similar committee; and

Resolved, That any treaty of union evolved by the joint committee on union, including the question of party name platform and constitution, be submitted to a general vote of both parties.

The discussion of this resolution occupied the rest of the day. At 6:30 p. m., a vote was taken by roll call, and the resolution as reported was adopted by a vote of 55 to 1. Three delegates not voting. The four who did not support the resolution were delegates Avery of Massachusetts, Berlin of New York, Gessner of Pennsylvania, and Spelman of Massachusetts.

The convention then adjourned for the day.

### TUESDAY'S SESSION.

On Tuesday the convention opened at 8 a. m., with Delegates Klentz of Illinois and Eschenbach of Massachusetts presiding.

Following is the platform as adopted by the convention:

The Socialist Labor party of the United States, in Convention assembled, reaffirms its allegiance to the revolutionary principles of international socialism and declares the supreme political issue in America today to be the contest between the working class and the capitalist class for the possession of the powers of government, so that our steadfast purpose to use those powers, once achieved, to destroy wage slavery, abolish the institution of private property in the means of production and distribution, and to establish the Co-operative Commonwealth.

In the United States, as in all other civilized countries, the natural order of economic development has separated society into two antagonistic classes—the capitalists, a comparatively small class, the possessors of all the modern means of production and distribution, (land, mines, machinery and means of transportation) and the large and ever-increasing class of wage earners, possessing no means of production.

This economic supremacy has secured to the dominant class the full control of the government, the pulpit, the schools, and the public press, thereby making them the arbiters of the fate of the working class, while it is reducing it to a condition of dependence, economically exploited and oppressed, intellectually and physically crippled and degraded, and its political equality rendered a bitter mockery; and the contest between these two classes grows ever sharper. Hand in hand with the growth of monopolies, goes the distribution of small industries and the middle class depending upon them. Ever larger grows the multitude of destitute wage workers and of the unemployed, and ever fiercer the struggle between the class of the exploiter and the exploited, the capitalists and the wage workers.

The evil effects of capitalistic production are intensified by the recurring industrial crises, continually rendering the existence of the greater part of the population more precarious and uncertain, which amply proves that the modern means of production have outgrown the existing social order based on production for profit.

Human energy and natural resources are wasted for individual gain. Ignorance is fostered, that wage slavery may be perpetuated. Science and invention are perverted to the exploitation of men, women, and children.

The lives and liberties of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit.

Wars are fomented between nations; indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged; the destruction of whole races is sanctioned, in order that the capitalist class may extend its commercial dominion abroad and enhance its supremacy at home.

The introduction of a new and higher order of society is the historic mission of the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts are interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the means of production. We therefore charge that in this country the democratic, republican and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production are alike the tools of the capitalist class.

The working class can not, however, act as a class in its struggle against the collective power of the capitalist class except by constituting itself into a political party, distinct and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied classes.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of the United States, without distinction of color, race or sex, and upon all citizens in sympathy with the historic mission of the working class, to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor party, as a party truly representing the interests of the toiling masses and uncompromisingly waging war upon the exploiting class, until the system of wage slavery shall be abolished and the Co-operative Commonwealth shall be established.

Pending the accomplishment of this our ultimate purpose, we pledge every effort of the Socialist Labor party for the immediate improvement of the condition of the wage earners and for the securing of its progressive demands.

"Workers of all countries, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains, and have a world to gain!"

Remember that we send The Call in clubs of ten for three months at ten cents each.

## FOREIGN NEWS.

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

AUSTRIA.

The "Arbeiter Zeitung" calls attention to the large number of suicides which take place among female domestic servants in Vienna. It says that they are overworked and urges them to form unions.

At Warradford, in Bohemia, there are many cloth and cotton mills. Five thousand of the workers of these mills have come out on strike for the ten-hour day. The men at Mahrtsch Ostrau have come out on strike for the eight-hour day, and the "Arbeiter Zeitung" says that the strike will be a very bitter fight and will most likely spread through the whole of the Moravian coalfields and about 60,000 men will be affected. The reactionary journals in Vienna have been blaming the government for not "preventing" the strike, and now the soldiers have been firing on the women and children. That is the way the Austrian government maintains order. My readers may remember that the workmen were shot down at Ostrau some days ago when demonstrating on May Day. But this vigorous policy may entail consequences fatal to the Austrian empire. The "Frische" of Teplitz was confiscated because it referred to King Alexander of Serbia as the "worthy" son of a "worthy" father. The curious point is that in the next number of the paper this decree had to be inserted, thus allowing everybody to see the incriminated article.

Arrangements are being made to establish a daily Polish newspaper at Cracow and a fortnightly paper published in Ruthenia at Lemberg.

GERMANY.

"Vorwärts" quotes a case of sweating in which the Court tailor is concerned. This person gives his work out, so that when the workman gets it he does not get the full price. In this case, for working at the Kaiser's overcoat, the tailor only got 15 marks when, according to the tariff, he should have got 22 1/2 marks. Another instance, as "Vorwärts" says, of the blessings of work being done at home.

The socialists have been calling attention on the Budget to the administration of justice in the empire, especially in Saxony, and have drawn attention to the unfair way in which the socialists are treated. Stadthagen, the socialist deputy. In the debate quoted some admirable words of the Prussian King, Frederick the Great, who wrote to one of his ministers as follows: Justice must make no distinction between men; the beggar is for her the king's equal. She must judge rightly. Before a court of justice a prince and a peasant are equal. A court of justice that acts unfairly is worse than a band of robbers. It is possible to protect one's self against robbers, but no man would be safe if judges are partial. It is my will that all, good or bad, shall receive the same justice. There is great need of these principles being followed in Germany and elsewhere.

In the Bavarian Landtag, the local parliament, a committee has reported in favor of an eight-hour day for miners. It is said that there is to be a debate between four professors of the Berlin university and four socialist members on the question of an increase of the German navy.

The Prussian government have decided at last to appoint two women inspectors of factories. They will be stationed at Berlin. "Vorwärts" points out that the number should be increased, and that the women should be workingwomen elected by their comrades.

The socialists in the Berlin Reichstag have been calling attention to the need of inspection in home industries, and they pointed out that in these industries the hours of work were very long, and that sanitary regulations, etc., were often disregarded. The minister, Count von Posadowsky, admitted that the conditions of employment were not satisfactory, but that reforms should be introduced with great caution. So nothing will be done this year.

In the German Reichstag the Socialists Stadthagen called attention to deaths and accidents to workmen. In 1898 no less than 7,384 workmen were killed and 30,000 injured. He well said that if employers had to pay more greater care would be taken of men's lives.

RUSSIA.

A strike has been going on for the last six weeks in the match factory at Dwinsk, in the province of Dunaburg. The hours were very long at this place; on ordinary occasions the men worked from six in the morning till eight at night, and sometimes from three in the morning till ten at night, though there is a law not allowing more than twelve hours' work a day in factories. Sanitary precautions were also neglected, and the men were fined for the slightest infringement of regulations. At first many men were imprisoned, but the workmen have been very firm, and are receiving help from other workmen in the town.

SWEDEN.

The Swedish Socialist party has suffered a great loss in the death of Frederick Sterky, who has died at Stockholm. He caught cold at the funeral of A. Danielsson and died from inflammation of the lungs after a short illness. He was only 40 years old. He was a wealthy man, but gave himself and his money to advance the cause of socialism. He may be said to have practically started the party in West

Sweden, and he founded a newspaper at Gothenburg, the "Ny Tid" (New Era). His memory will long live in the thoughts of his grateful comrades, and that is, after all, the truest and best immortality that we can hope for.

## MARX AND DARWIN.

The Great Italian Scientist Ferri, On Darwinism and Socialism As Related Truths.

(Continued from last week.)

The scientific and positive socialism harbors no dreams of the physical and mental equality of all men; on the contrary it maintains in accordance with Darwinism, that inequality in both directions is based upon nature, and will therefore never cease, but it sees in the future socialist state that this very inequality will form the basis upon which must rest, the division of social labor. All will be required to work, but when everyone will be conscious of having his existence secured, and will be able to select the work for which he is best fitted according to capacity and natural disposition, when it is understood that the more intense the labor the shorter will be the required labor time and vice versa, and also that the worker shall receive the full value of his labor for his own use, work will not be evaded by any, because a normal, healthy and well-fed human being has a natural inclination for work and avoids idleness. The whole difficulty lies in the question—in what way are the products of labor to be divided? Collectivism answers, "to each according to his labor, while Communism declares, "to each according to his reasonable wants." No one today is able to solve in a practical manner the details of the question. One thing may be said, and this is recognized by Marx himself, that the Communist formula represents rather a later stage of development which must be preceded by that of Collectivism.

It would be erroneous to suppose that with the introduction of collectivism all further development and aspiration after new ideals will cease. An individual as well as a society who would not always aspire to higher and nobler ideals would be condemned to perish. The demands of communism, as ideals of a later futurity, need not be considered here, and those of collectivism present a somewhat different postulate: to each the full product of his labor, in order to secure a worthy human existence. Taking into account the inequality of development and ability of individuals it proposes to make the very best use of it in the organization it is endeavoring to establish. With this, as Professor Ferri says at the end of his chapter, disappears the fanciful contradiction between Darwinism and socialism regarding the inequality of men.

There is, however, another objection to socialism put forward, namely, that every individual is to successfully overcome in the struggle for life, while according to Darwinism, thousands must perish in the struggle and a few only survive. On this is based the law of selection, the corner-stone of the Darwinian theory. This apparent contradiction, Professor Ferri disputes in the third chapter (Victims of the Struggle for Existence).

First of all he points to the fact that the higher the place occupied by a certain species in the series of organic structures, the fewer individuals succumb in the struggle for existence, and the greater the number who emerge victoriously from it. The lowest species in the organic world, have great powers of reproduction, but with this they have small endurance only, their life is short, and the number of victims in the struggle for existence is innumerable. Plants, for instance, produce thousands and millions of seeds but how few of them develop and ripen. Animals have less numerous offspring, but the number of surviving individuals is greater in comparison. Taking into consideration the vegetable world we see that its lower organisms (mushrooms for example) multiply with extreme rapidity but live only a short time, while palm trees have few seeds, but their lives extends to several hundred years. In the animal world, fishes produce many thousands of eggs, while an elephant or chimpanzee have but a small progeny, but their life, however, is very long. A similar process is going on in the human world. The uncivilized semi-barbarous peoples multiply rapidly but their offspring are short-lived, while civilized peoples increase slowly but live much longer.

From the above we come to the conclusion, that the higher the development of the species, the more the struggle for existence weakens, and the smaller becomes the number of victims required. It is therefore a mistake to reproach socialism with a misapprehension of the struggle for existence, and impute to it the supposition that the future of human society may be without sacrifices. Socialism does not assert this, but in striving for a higher and more perfect organization of humanity, in which all will have better conditions for existence, it may boldly assert that the struggle for life will grow milder and the number of victims smaller. The law of struggle for existence reigns throughout the whole world, rules also among men, but we see that the higher the degree of civilization reached by humanity, the milder it becomes, and the more different aims and forms it adopts.

At first in the primitive human societies it is a brutal struggle for food, for the possession of the women, etc., carried on by the strength of the fist and muscles; soon however it changes into a social and political struggle where mind becomes of greater importance than physical force. In the ancient world, continues Professor Ferri,

it is a struggle for civic equality. In the middle ages it becomes a struggle for religious equality. In the eighteenth century a struggle for political equality, and the struggle for economic equality appears today. Its process changes more and more, being carried on more mildly and with less brutality, or so to speak more spiritually.

Similarly, to the non-disappearance of the competition for equality, in the economic and social conditions, the future organization of society will not do away with such pathological phenomena, as crises, diseases, etc., which demand so many victims. When, however, the material conditions of all individuals will be improved, the number of motives for so-called misdemeanors will decrease, and when the born criminal is dealt with properly, there can be no doubt that the number of crimes will be vastly diminished. This also holds good in regard to diseases, when misery and want have disappeared and sanitary conditions for each individual have improved, their number will also decrease.

But there is, according to the Darwinian theory, another law of evolution which should not be ignored, and which manifests itself everywhere in nature, and therefore also in human society, namely, the law of the solidarity of individuals of the same species, and even a solidarity of different species, and which manifests itself in the so-called "Symbiosis." Though the importance of this law is sometimes exaggerated, yet is an exaggeration also to say that the struggle for existence alone directs the world. In the animal world we already see mutual assistance given in the struggle against enemies and nature, as in human societies according to the degree of development, the struggle for existence grows milder and is carried on for higher aims and with more humane weapons.

The warrior type which prevails in the primitive societies, disappears with its development and the improvement of the conditions of existence, and changes into the plowman and craftsman type. On the whole the consciousness of interests and solidarity begins to gain ground over competition and struggle for existence. Socialism therefore may boldly assert that in the higher social organization it aspires to attain, where every individual will have his or her material existence assured, the struggle for existence will therefore tend to a minimum and the number of victims will also diminish rapidly.

In chapter four (The Survival of the Fittest) Professor Ferri disproves the third argument of Haeckel, that in the struggle for existence according to the Darwinian theory, only the strongest and best individuals may survive, therefore a sort of aristocratic selection results, while socialism shows a democratic and levelling collectivism.

First of all, says Professor Ferri, the survival of the "best" should not be spoken of, because this is teleology, which Darwinism excludes from the realm of positive science; we must consider the "best fitted." And those "best fitted" to the surroundings and historical movement, may be neither the strongest nor the best. The social selection is different from that in nature. In the latter, the cosmic forces cause the regeneration of micro-organisms into more and more perfect creations, the transformation of lower species into higher ones. In human society civilization does not progress in a straight line. After each stage of evolution there follows decomposition, which produces ferment for a new, higher civilization. Thus we see that the oldocracy of the East, perishes to make room for the Graeco-Roman world, in which revive the remains of their civilization. This in turn is replaced by the feudal nobility. Feudalism in turn perishes, hastening its fall by its own abuses, and its place is taken by bourgeois society, which latter manifests itself most markedly in the Anglo-Saxon race. Today this society is being shaken by a process of decomposition which may be seen from numerous signs foretelling the coming of a new epoch of civilization—the socialistic.

Therefore, in the evolution of civilization, though on the whole it marches to an ever higher ideal, we may notice very marked moments of dissolution. In such moments the social selection takes on a character which is the reverse of that in nature. Individuals survive in the struggle who are most fitted to the given conditions and the historical epoch, consequently in the moments of social decomposition, not the best, but the worst, individuals survive. Indeed, continues Professor Ferri, this happens today, proving that the present society and the civilization upon which it is based have outlived themselves. For example, at the present time, as a result of the celibacy forced upon soldiers, during the period of their service, marital relations are entered upon rather by the weaker individuals who are free from military service, than the stronger ones, which tends to the degeneracy of the race. As a result of capitalistic monopolies and an assured comfortable existence, the rich weaklings live longer than the strong and healthy poor, who are exterminated by overwork and miserable sanitary conditions. To this might be added the moral degeneration; because capitalism in its struggle with the proletariat, saves rather the base and cringing, than the men of character who cannot and will not bear its yoke.

From the above facts, revealed and pointed out by socialism, the conclusion that Darwinism and socialism are contradictory is not admissible. On the contrary the latter recognizes and acknowledges the law of natural selection, that in the struggle for existence, only the best fitted to the conditions of surroundings and time, survive, but they assert that as only the bad sur-

vive there must be something corrupt in these conditions. Socialism aims therefore to change these conditions, restate selection corresponding to nature, that is, the surviving of the best. The argument that the survival of the "best" will cause the formation of an aristocracy is answered thus by Professor Ferri: "Hereby reins all over nature and will soon level the difference. Everything that rises too high over the average type, transgresses the law of nature, according to which the enjoyments of life are to be equally accessible to all. Therefore whenever individuals or whole families either through their intellectual standing or fortune grew by far above the average type in society—in each historical epoch different ones—and elevated themselves too high, their progeny soon stepped down and degenerated."

### AN IMPOSSIBLE TASK.

Revolutions Cannot Be Accounted For By The Actions of Certain Individuals. —Marx Comments Thereon.

The first act of the revolutionary drama on the continent of Europe has closed. The "powers that were" before the hurricane of 1848 are again the "powers that be," and the more or less popular rulers of a day, provisional governors, triumvirate, dictators, with their tail of representatives, civil commissioners, military commissioners, prefects, judges, generals, officers, and soldiers, are thrown upon foreign shores, and "transported beyond the seas" to England or America, there to form new governments "in partibus infidelium," European committees, and to announce their advent with proclamations quite as solemn as those of any less imaginary potentates.

A more signal defeat than that undergone by the continental revolutionary party—or rather parties—upon all points of the line of battle, cannot be imagined. But what of that? Has not the struggle of the British middle classes for their social and political supremacy embraced forty-eight, that of the French middle class forty years of unexampled struggles? And was their triumph ever nearer than at the very moment when restored monarchy thought itself more firmly settled than ever? The times of that superstition which attributed revolutions to the ill-will of a few agitators have long passed away. Everyone knows nowadays that wherever there is a revolutionary convulsion, there must be some social want in the background, which is prevented, by outward institutions, from satisfying itself. The want may not yet be felt as strongly, as generally, as might ensure immediate success; but every attempt at forcible expression will only bring it forth stronger and stronger, until it bursts its fetters. If, then, we have been beaten, we have nothing else to do but to begin again from the beginning. And fortunately, the probably very short interval of rest which is allowed us between the close of the first and the beginning of the second act of the movement, gives us time for a very necessary piece of work: the study of the causes that necessitated both the late outbreak and its defeat; causes that are not to be sought for in the accidental efforts, talents, faults, errors, or treacheries of some of the leaders, but in the general social state and conditions of existence of each of the convulsed nations. This "other source" we will now discuss.

The passing of some laws in this as well as all countries sometimes give opportunity for the entirely different use of the laws passed. Thus we find the use of railroads for the transportation of mails, give opportunity for Federal interference by use of troops if workmen dissatisfied with conditions attempt, if refused an advance to wages—to better their condition by a strike, which endangers the capitalists' profits. In this case the plea "interference with United States mails" could be used as a "reason why" the Federal troops should be used to "keep the mails moving." The moving of these trains BREAK THE STRIKE, and defeat the laborers in their demand for better conditions. The A. R. strike in '94 is a living proof of this assertion. The call for United States laws making it possible for the Federal authorities to interfere in state affairs—using for an example the Tulaha case, the lynching of five Italians by a mob—may be made to read so that it will be possible for the Federal government to interfere, as in France today, a centralized republic—the unseating of an official upon the ground that he does not stand for the law and constitution as it reads.

(The Italian government demands indemnity of the United States authorities for the lives of five of its citizens who were lynched by a mob. The United States officials under the plea that there are such laws called "state rights" that do not permit the United States authorities to interfere in state affairs, without consent of the state officials, have asked for time to consider the demands.)

The socialist mayor in a commune in France was unseated by the central authority in Paris. At the new election called he was again re-elected by social (six voters.)

This country being a capitalist country, in a capitalist society, under capitalist conditions, with the centralizing of industries, the necessity of the ruling class having a government agreeing with their industrial system becomes apparent.

The centralizing of industries with centralized control demands a centralized government, with absolute control of this government, also of government officials by this class. The first step towards this centralized control taken consistently by nations.

### RULE FOR FUTURE USE.

Precedent in the Roberts Case May Debar Future Socialist Representatives.

"The voters of a sovereign state elected me to the National Congress," said he, "and I believe they will not quietly submit to such treatment as we have received. Am I surprised at the vote for expulsion? Not in the least. I fully expected it."

To Congress and the people at the present time a question of importance is being discussed. The "expulsion and unseating of Roberts of Utah," as Congressman from that district. Apparently to the general public the reason given for his exclusion or expulsion is stated to be "immorality." Viewing this case as a socialist without taking issue on the question, it has a side or a phase not yet discussed, and, in truth, I do not think that our capitalist journals whose morality has suddenly become extremely evident, cares to discuss it. Roberts was elected to serve a constituency in a certain congressional district of Utah. Under the constitution of the United States these voters choose him to serve their interest at Washington. The election clerk in that district, after the expression of the "will of these people," gave to Roberts a certificate of election, thus entitling him, Roberts, to a seat, representing a constituency at Washington. On presentation of these credentials Roberts was refused his seat—on what grounds? "Immorality."

The question of capitalist morality does not concern us as socialists, but this being a mere plea in the case, the grounds upon which was based the evident desire to unseat Roberts. The presentation of petitions opposing his being seated by a number of church organizations, women's clubs, etc., etc., in which prominent members with Helen Gould as chief spokeswoman of certain of these organizations it is almost useless to go over—all pleading for his, Roberts, rejection as a congressman. This is too well known to be discussed here.

"Immorality." We are not concerned in this, I repeat. Those who will notice, to a great extent who signed this petition did not protest against the fact of the debauchery and licentiousness of certain senators and congressmen, which are known facts—but to the main question: the unseating of Roberts. In a country as "free" as we are supposed to live in the returning to office, by the voters—which is grandiloquently discussed as "sovereign rights," is generally supposed to be final. The will of the people. The rule of the majority, according to the constitution.

The unseating of this man could only take place if a protest concerning the regularly, or rather correctness of his certificate of election should arise, or a protest by an opponent claiming irregularity, which would be settled by a committee of the official body to which he was elected.

No protest of either kind has been filed. The correctness of his certificate of election has not been questioned. Simply this the grounds upon which he has, or will, according to latest reports, be excluded, is "immorality," thus stepping outside of the constitution entirely: It having been proven by scores of witnesses that these charges of immorality were not sustained by those called by the prosecution, we must look to other sources for the cause of his exclusion. This "other source" we will now discuss.

The passing of some laws in this as well as all countries sometimes give opportunity for the entirely different use of the laws passed. Thus we find the use of railroads for the transportation of mails, give opportunity for Federal interference by use of troops if workmen dissatisfied with conditions attempt, if refused an advance to wages—to better their condition by a strike, which endangers the capitalists' profits. In this case the plea "interference with United States mails" could be used as a "reason why" the Federal troops should be used to "keep the mails moving." The moving of these trains BREAK THE STRIKE, and defeat the laborers in their demand for better conditions. The A. R. strike in '94 is a living proof of this assertion.

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### 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 and liberty and of happiness. With the founders of this republic we hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be owned and controlled by the whole people; but in the light of our industrial development we hold, furthermore, that the true theory of economics is that the machinery of production must likewise belong to the people in common. To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economics is the direct opposite of our democratic system of politics can plainly be traced the existence of a privileged class, the corruption of government by that class, the alienation of public property, public franchises and public functions to that class, and the abject dependence of the 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 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 effect 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 take possession of the public power; so that, held together by an indomitable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, we may put an end to that barbarous struggle by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder: a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

#### Immediate Demands.

1. 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. All lands shall be inalienable. Reclamation 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 be compulsory, gratuitous and accessible to all in public assistance in meals, clothing, books, etc., where necessary.
  10. Repeal of all pauper, tramp, conspiracy and suspension laws. Unbridled right of combination.
  11. Prohibition of the employment of children of school age and the distribution 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 for the executive (national, state and municipal) wherever it exists.
  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. Secret ballots, inalienable. 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. Eminent domain inalienable. Reclamation of all land throughout the United States. Administration of justice to be free of charge. Abolition of capital punishment.

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sciously becomes evident. The possibility of going outside of constitutional limits to send the militia into states for certain purposes will lead, and did lead to the establishing of a custom.

The exclusion of labor without constitutional law bearing on the case establishes a precedent proving the socialist contention, that the making of public opinion and the molding of public opinion into law or custom, is a fact, and, that as long as the capitalist class shall be able to do so laws and customs shall be made and established for the benefit of this class.

LATER, WHEN SOCIALISTS ARE ELECTED TO POWER ATTEMPTS MAY BE MADE TO EXCLUDE THEM THROUGH THE PRECEDENTS THAT ARE NOW BEING ESTABLISHED.

Constitutions are only constitutions as long as they serve the interest of the ruling class. The gradual move towards the placing of power; to exclude all who do not represent their interest, in the hands of their representatives, becomes an evident fact. Workingmen should read these lessons and learn to act quickly and place into power as officials THEIR representatives. These representatives will come from the socialist ranks only. R. A. M.

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