

# 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. 50.

CHICAGO, ILL., FEBRUARY 17, 1900.

PRICE TWO CENTS.

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

### Job Harriman of California for President and Max S. Hayes of Ohio for Vice-President.

Nominations Made amid Great Enthusiasm—Sketches of Candidates—Revised Platform Adopted—New Plan of Organization for the National Executive Committee—Increased Provisions for the Party Press and for Socialist Literature—Notes and Sketches of the Convention.

The National Convention of the Socialist Labor party held its fifth day's session on Wednesday, January 31, under the chairmanship of Sieverman of Rochester, and Wright of New Jersey.

The question of the Labor Lyceum in New York was next taken up, and it was resolved to leave that institution, as before, in the hands of the N. E. C.

#### PARTY PRESS AND LITERATURE.

In the afternoon session Delegate Stone reported for the Committee on Press. The committee was of the opinion that the party press and literature had been altogether too much neglected. We need more socialist literature—papers, leaflets, pamphlets, and books. The party organs have a most important mission and they ought to be supported by every member of the party. But other literature should be given careful consideration. Various recommendations were made, of which the following were adopted:

There shall be created in New York a Literature Committee of seven members, chosen by the N. E. C.

The regular dues shall be increased to 25 cents a month, of which 2 cents shall go to the Literature Committee and 3 cents to a fund for the support and advancement of the party press.

#### THE SUN LOCKOUT.

At this point, the following resolutions, bearing upon the struggle of the printers in New York with the New York Sun, were introduced by Delegate Long of Pennsylvania and Neben of New Jersey. They were adopted unanimously by a rising vote:

Whereas, An industrial conflict now rages between Typographical Union No. 6, of New York, and the New York Sun newspaper, as a result of a lockout of the Sun compositors; and

Whereas, The facts in the case show conclusively that this lockout was to be the first battle in a war between organized capital in the newspaper trade and the International Typographical Union, and that the purpose of this war was the extermination of a powerful and bona-fide organization of labor; and

Whereas, The infamous injunction of Judge Bookstaver against the officers and members of No. 6 is but one more proof that the capitalist class is in complete control of the judicial, executive and legislative powers, and never fails to call into use every force at its command; therefore be it

Resolved, That this Convention congratulate the members of 'Big Six' on the splendid fight they have so far made for the integrity of the union; and be it further

Resolved, That we call their attention to the fact that their struggle is but one more manifestation of the class war now going on throughout the world between the working and capitalist classes.

Resolved, That we call upon the members of 'Big Six' to take up and use in this fight their most powerful weapon—the class-conscious ballot of revolutionary socialism.

Resolved, That we call upon the socialists of the United States to immediately extend every aid to the New York printers in their war upon the New York Sun and all its supporters.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to the officers and members of Typographical Union No. 6 and the socialist press and labor papers of the country.

The convention then adjourned for the day.

#### THURSDAY'S SESSION.

The convention met Thursday morning with Long of Pennsylvania and Berlin of New York presiding. A communication from the Workingmen's Educational Association of New York was received with applause.

The consideration of the report of the Committee on Press was then resumed. The People was again declared the official organ of the party. It was decided to create a Press Committee of seven members, chosen by the N. E. C., which shall have immediate supervision of the party press.

#### THE CONSTITUTION.

The constitution of the party was then taken up, on the basis of the report of the Committee on Constitution, which was presented by Delegate Harriman of California.

The first portion taken up was that concerning the National Executive Committee. A strong feeling against leaving the N. E. C. in New York was manifested during the debate. Many delegates had come instructed against the present system of an executive elected in the Section of Greater New York. This feeling gradually gave way, however, as the facts in the case were calmly considered. Delegates Siever-

man of Rochester and Gessner of Pittsburg defended New York. Delegate Sieverman showed that it was not New York which instituted bossism in the party in the old days, but the sections of the country which allowed that bossism to be imposed upon the unwilling comrades of New York. He pointed out that it was due to the action of the New York comrades that this convention now took place. Delegate Gessner said in effect: "I shall favor New York as the headquarters of the National Executive Committee. Something is due to the comrades who have ousted the bosses and cleaned out the Augean stables of the party. It is often necessary to compare ideas daily; and for this reason the members must be near together. I shall very strongly oppose the composition of the National Executive Committee from different states. This would make every meeting of the committee cost from \$20 to \$50, with which sections could and should be organized to increase the funds and numerical strength of the party. The headquarters of the party should be located in the very heart of our movement. Not only is New York a metropolis, but it is at the gateway of the sea, through which flows the great current of population to and from Europe and the rest of the world. The great industrial states after all, may be counted on one's fingers—Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois; and these great states, which bear the greatest promise for the immediate future growth of our party, not only include the bulk of the population of the United States, but they also contain the largest portion of our movement. For the reasons here outlined as to the location and composition of the National Executive Committee, I shall favor, first and foremost, the city of New York; and secondly, if that cannot be done, owing to the adverse instructions of delegates and the evident prejudice against New York, resulting from the misdoings of the National Committee, I shall favor the city of Philadelphia; and that only for the reason that Philadelphia is so close to New York and has, next to it, the largest and clearest class-conscious local organization. Since Pittsburgh cannot have it, I want the seat of the N. E. C. to go to the next best place, the city of New York. (Laughter.) This convention measures up far higher in intelligence than any convention of socialists I have ever been fortunate enough to attend, and I do not believe that they will vote for the removal of the N. E. C. from New York, because the comrades of that city, who have created and thus far carried forward this splendid movement, have given us ample proof that the N. E. C. is perfectly safe in their hands."

The discussion occupied the whole day. At last the following plan was adopted, by a vote of 48 to 3:

#### THE N. E. C. shall consist of as many members as there are "organized" states, that is, states represented through state committees. Every state shall elect its executive members by general vote.

Further, those sections which are located in New York, Kings and Queens counties, New York, shall elect four members (out of these counties); the state of New Jersey shall elect (besides its state member) two members, who must reside in Hudson or Essex counties. They may both of them reside in either one of these counties.

The city of Philadelphia shall elect one member.

The state members shall have their expenses paid by their respective states; the New York, New Jersey and Philadelphia delegates shall have their expenses paid by the National Executive Committee as representatives of the whole party.

Four members shall form a quorum and may adopt binding resolutions.

The National Secretary shall be elected by a general vote of the whole membership (after nominations have previously been made in proper manner) without regard to where he may at the time reside.

#### NOMINATIONS MADE.

An evening session was held on Thursday in order to hasten the adjournment of the convention, which had already sat six days.

At the beginning of the session a motion was made that, in consideration of

the fact that steps have been taken toward a union with the S. D. P., no nominations should be made by this convention. A short but lively discussion ensued, in which most of the speakers were decidedly opposed to the motion. It was pointed out that there is nothing certain as to the result of the steps toward unity thus far taken. Delegate Hayes declared that for the convention to fail to make nominations would be sheer cowardice. For the present, he declared, we have to proceed as if there were no Social-Democratic party. Delegate Harriman favored the motion, thinking it a wise step, on behalf of unity, not to make nominations. Delegate Sieverman declared that the party expected nominations to be made. The motion was lost, and, by a unanimous vote, it was decided to proceed to nominate.

Delegate Schwartz of Syracuse offered the name of Comrade Charles H. Matchett as candidate for president. Delegate Berlin of New York rose to nominate Comrade Job Harriman of California. Comrade Harriman's name was greeted with enthusiasm, and then he was nominated by acclamation.

Comrade Harriman made a very brief speech thanking the delegates for the honor done him, and promising to do all in his power to make the campaign a successful one.

Delegate Stone of New York then proposed Comrade Max S. Hayes of Ohio as candidate for vice-president. Delegate Edlin of San Francisco nominated Comrade Frank Sieverman of Rochester. Comrade Sieverman promptly declined, and the nomination of Comrade Hayes was carried with loud acclamation.

Comrade Hayes, much moved, declared that he preferred to fight for others rather than for himself, but that he would do his full duty for the great cause which he was chosen to represent. He thanked the delegates from the bottom of his heart for the confidence which they showed in him. He hoped the unity of all socialist forces would be effected, so that we could go before the workmen of the country and show them a united fighting front in the battle for industrial freedom.

With cheers for the party and its candidates, the convention adjourned.

#### SKETCH OF THE CANDIDATES.

Job Harriman was born on January 15, 1861, in Clinton county, Indiana. His people were farmers, and he remained on the farm until he was eighteen years of age. He then went to Butler university, at Irvington, where he graduated.

He went into the ministry, but his views soon became changed, so that he could not conscientiously continue in the church. He then took up the practice of law.

He was brought up as a Democrat, but became dissatisfied, and did not vote at all after 1887, until 1890, when he became interested in socialism. At this time he was living in San Francisco. For the next five years he was more or less active in the socialist movement there.

In 1895 he removed to Los Angeles and immediately entered the work there, where he has been an active agitator ever since. In 1898 he was the S. L. P. candidate for governor and made an energetic campaign, polling 5,600 votes.

In the beginning of 1899 he was chosen as state organizer and put in the whole year in propaganda work throughout the state.

M. S. Hayes was born on a farm near the little village of Havana, Huron county, Ohio, on May 25, 1876. At the age of ten years his parents removed to Fremont, O., and in 1883 to Cleveland. The subject of this sketch attended the common schools until he was thirteen years of age, when he entered a printing office, "the poor boy's college," as Horace Greeley so often put it.

In 1881 he assisted in establishing the Cleveland Citizen, which, a few months later, was turned over to the Central Labor Union, of that city. Four years later he became editor of the paper, which, though but a local organ, has gained national prominence in the trade union and socialist movement because of its fearless attitude in advocating socialism.

He has always been active in politics. In 1896 he was a delegate to the St. Louis People's party convention, and when that assembly had declared for fusion, and nominated W. J. Bryan for president, he decided to join the Socialist Labor party, and since that date has been an aggressive worker in the party. He has steadily believed that labor organizations, having drawn class lines, were a proper recruiting ground for socialism, and, with these views uppermost in his mind, he has never hesitated to point out in all his addresses before trade unions the necessity of carrying class-consciousness to the polls and expressing the same through voting for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a co-operative commonwealth. On this issue he was elected president of Typographical Union No. 63, and repeatedly as secretary of the Central Labor Union. In 1896 he was elected delegate to the A. F. of L. convention in Kansas City, where he, in conjunction with others, attempted to secure the adoption of a resolution

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## A HIDDEN MOTIVE.

### Material Interests in Kentucky Disguised As "Principles."

### WASHINGTON IS INDIFFERENT.

#### Great Capitalism Not Much Concerned About States Where Industry Is Yet Undeveloped.

It is commonly supposed that the disputes arising from political partisanship, such as have lately taken place in Kentucky, are merely battles for "principles" so-called, which most of the participants are supposed to have adhered to for the greater part of their lives, and for whose ascendancy they engage in fierce strife with each other, but a closer survey will expose the fact that the material interests of groups and communities are the real objects for which these political wars are waged, while the so-called "principles" are merely the cloak used to disguise such interests. The economic side of the political ferment in Kentucky is carefully hidden by the capitalist press, under the cloak of devotion to Republican or Democratic "principles," but nevertheless material interests form the basis of every action on the part of both disputants.

Kentucky is not a state where capitalist industrial development has reached the stage that it occupies in other states, but yet the middle class in Kentucky, represented mainly by the Democratic party, are fully alive to the necessity of defending their own interests against what appears to them the grabbing propensities of the Louisville and Nashville railroad, whose interests come into the conflict under the guise of Republican "principles." In the mountainous districts, the inhabitants are mostly Republican by tradition, they being communities which are largely isolated from the modern industrial and social life which more or less marks the progress of capitalist development. However as they dub themselves Republicans, the railroad interests look upon them as a tool ready to their hand, and uses them as such.

Yet amongst this community there is a distinct material interest, which furnishes a reason for their vigorous action in these political disputes, although it might be thought that an isolated primitive people like these mountaineers, might reasonably be expected to live out their lives, without much concern for politics. This material interest is one that is looked upon by capitalist morality at Washington as both illegal and immoral. To the Kentucky mountaineers, the government seems embodied mostly in the revenue officers who scour the mountains in search of illicit whisky plants, and whose energy has largely crippled this "industry" by destroying the means of production, and jailing the producers. Deprived of one source of income, it was necessary that another be discovered, and in the election of Governor Bradley four years ago this problem was partly solved. Many of these mountain men secured political jobs, and having had a taste of the spoils for some time, their interest in local politics became more intense, and so they swarmed down upon Frankfort to uphold the Republican "principles" involved in the election of Taylor. Not that they either know or care much about the interests of the railroad which the "middle class Democratic party denounce as "monopoly," but they understand perfectly well that the results of the election opens opportunities to them, for which heretofore they had no need.

Whatever be the outcome of the situation in Kentucky it is not difficult to see why the great capitalist interests which speak from Washington, adopt the tactics of denouncing Taylor as a disturber of the peace. The industrial development of Kentucky is not sufficiently great to induce them to take either side of the question. No particular interest of capitalism is at stake, and therefore they care little how the matter is settled, provided the peace is not disturbed. Taylor who loudly clamors for his "rights," finds no encouragement from them, as they know that the "sacredness of property" is as secure under the Democrats as under the Republican administration in that state. It is to them a local quarrel about jobs, and therefore of comparative indifference. Kentucky is not one of those states where a Hanna or a Rockefeller or any other magnate would be likely to contribute large sums to the state campaign funds. The game is as yet not worth the candle. But when the industrial development of Kentucky becomes sufficiently important to attract the attention of our ruling classes, the candidate who stands for the great interests of capitalism in the state will have no reason to complain of the indifference at Washington regarding the election results.

In many of the other southern states which are growing more industrially important through the establishment

of the cotton manufacturing business, it may be reasonably expected that a few years will see the great capitalist emptying his "barrel" to carry elections in those states, as is now done in Pennsylvania, Ohio, New York, etc., but Kentucky must wait awhile—her hour is not yet.

### AN OMINOUS SIGN.

#### The Passing of the Capitalist System in France, Reflected At the Burial of a Socialist.

No better proof of the international character of the working class movement, and the terror engendered amongst the ruling class by its progress, could be given than by the following description of the funeral of Peter Lavroff in Paris, which is here reprinted from the Chicago Tribune of February 12th. Men from many different nations participated in the ceremonies, men who though speaking different languages, were inspired by one motive, the hope of emancipation of the toilers from capitalist exploitation, gathered in thousands to honor the memory of a dead comrade. No wonder that the significance of such an event caused uneasiness amongst the ruling classes of France. The savage attack upon the emblem of revolutionary socialism by the police, bears witness to the fact that socialism in France has reached that stage, where the capitalist classes are compelled to attempt its suppression by physical force, and still further strengthen the recognition of the class struggle. It is too late to dispose of the socialist movement by labelling it an impracticable dream. Everywhere throughout Europe the fact is being brought home to the exploiters of labor, that they are now confronted by a power whose reality is not to be questioned. It is an encouraging sign to see the capitalist classes in France trying to make a scape-goat of Waldeck-Rousseau in accounting for the spread of socialism. It is clear proof that the foundations of the economic system of today are not so invulnerable as the ruling classes pretend, when the action of Waldeck-Rousseau or any other individual is held accountable for the progress of the social revolution. The old order is evidently passing away, and even the incident of the funeral of a champion of the proletariat brings added proof that the cause in which these men spent their lives and energies is immortal, and that nothing can now succeed in stemming the tide of social evolution which is now carrying political and economic supremacy into the hands of the working class.

Paris, Feb. 11.—The funeral of the nihilist, Pierre Lavroff, today was the occasion of an immense socialistic revolutionary demonstration. At noon the various socialist societies commenced their march to the former residence of Lavroff, and brought with them huge wreaths, mostly made of bright red flowers. Despite the almost superhuman efforts of the police, traffic on the streets was blocked by the crowd, which was picturesque, and included Italians, Germans, Hollanders, Russians, and the students of the Latin quarter lent an artistic note to the scene.

One delegate bore a wreath, with the motto: "The conscripts and political exiles of Siberia to their Grand Master, Pierre Lavroff." A priest, who had plunged in the crowd by mistake, was roughly handled, and amid cries of "Down with the priests!" was ordered to salute the body, which he did, and was then led away out of danger by the police.

A riot occurred when the Guesdists unfurled a red flag, which the police succeeded in tearing to pieces and arrested the Guesdist flag-bearers. Later another red flag was produced, and after a fierce struggle some pieces were secured by the police, which they gave to Deputy Viviani, who had promised that red flags would not be raised. A great throng of more than 6,000 men set out to follow the funeral in a body to the Mont Parnasse cemetery. They were all chanting revolutionary songs. The French socialists and the Russian revolutionary delegates sang their hymns, and each foreign delegation sang its own language. The whole affair had a weird terror, as the striking death chant of these international hymns of liberty, added to the solemn tone of the funeral, gave a religious character to the songs.

At the grave violent discourses were made by Viviani, Allemane, and Lefargue, a son-in-law of Karl Marx. The discourses were frequently interrupted by shouts of "Vive socialism!"

"The History of Socialism," Jean Jaures, in collaboration with Guesde, Viviani, and Lefargue, appeared yesterday, attracting wide attention.

Lavroff was a nihilist who came of a noble Russian family and was at one time a colonel in the Russian artillery. He was involved in a political movement and exiled from Russia, when he fled to France. Since then he has devoted his life to revolutionary propaganda. He was compromised in an attempt upon the life of Alexander II. at Karakoum.

In the press today Waldeck-Rousseau is accused of giving too great an impetus to socialism.

The Thirty-first Ward Branch of the Socialist Labor party will hold a public mass meeting Sunday, February 18th, 1900, at 190 Fifty-fifth street, corner of Jefferson avenue. The meeting will open at 3 p. m. R. A. Morris will deliver a lecture on "The Necessity of Socialism," to be followed by free discussion, the audience being invited to ask questions. Admission free, and everybody is invited.

Your slavery rests on your neighbors' ignorance. Give him a Workers' Call to help break your fetters.

## LEADS TO NOTHING

### Time and Energy Wasted at Playing Proletarian.

### AN INDIVIDUAL EXPERIMENT.

#### The "Put-yourself-in-his-place" Idea, Not Possible While Opportunities Still Remain Open.

It is reported in the press that a clergyman now in Chicago is trying to get an insight of the life of the working class, by laboring in factories, etc., and living the life of a workman, a la Walter Wyckoff. The reverend gentleman is merely wasting his time, and his "conclusions" will be of little value. There is no such thing as an artificial proletarian; the very fact that the man who attempts to live the workman's life, has something, or the hope of something to fall back upon in case of failure or difficulty, renders the experiment worthless.

The real genuine proletarian who is without property and who possesses nothing but his power of labor, must necessarily see from a different standpoint, from those who imagine they can experience the feelings of a workman by merely imitating his mode of life for a short period. Mr. Wyckoff who has embodied his experiences in this line, in a book, thinks on the whole that the lives of the workers are tolerable enough, and the truth is, that it was not possible for him to come to any other conclusion. This writer who for some time lived the life of the thousands of casual workers who are to be found in all large cities, might easily deceive himself into believing that he was actually what he pretended to be, but nevertheless, with the best of intentions, he was but a counterfeit worker, and could not possibly be otherwise. Between him and the genuine "hobo" there was a great gulf fixed, to wit, the fact that it was within his power at any time to drop the role he was playing, and resume his accustomed life of plenty and comfort. The knowledge of this would necessarily tend to make the temporary discomfort appear tolerable, and more easily borne, and there is no fault to find with the conclusions arrived at, as they were natural enough for the author, who like all other men could only see from his real material conditions. The privations endured might in some sense be understood, but the hopelessness which such a miserable life entails, is a feeling that the experimenter could not possibly share.

Those who have really mastered the nature of the economic problem presented by the proletariat, have gained their knowledge, not by first attempting to identify themselves with that class, but by seeking the economic changes which produce it, and studying the tendencies of the present capitalist mode of production. The former at most can only result in useless sympathy, and the pursuit of petty schemes of "reform" which cannot possibly accomplish anything. The latter will enable the enquirer to do valuable service in the labor movement, by understanding the march of social evolution, and the necessity of the task imposed upon the proletariat, viz.: the struggle for supremacy with that class who through the ownership of the means of production and distribution are the economic and political rulers in all countries throughout the civilized world. Only through the possession of such knowledge can the inquirer see from the standpoint of the working class, and employ his educational advantages in hastening the inevitable economic change which the ever growing strength of the socialist movement clearly indicates.

### Work for the Night Is Coming.

Here is a sample of the productive labor performed by our city council in the interests of the "people" and the cause of "liberty":

### WORK DONE BY THE CITY COUNCIL.

Adopted two resolutions of sympathy with the Boers and requesting the federal administration to interfere in their behalf.

Defeated a resolution of sympathy with Aguinaldo and his Filipino friends.

Consistency is said to be a jewel, but it is evident enough that our city fathers are not to be tempted by this sort of jewelry. A diamond star presented to an alderman for manipulating city franchises in the interest of capitalist corporations is no doubt a greater attraction than such an unrealistic asset as consistency. The average alderman is perfectly qualified to distinguish between the material and the ideal in such matters.

The following comrades were nominated at the West Town convention, S. L. P., January 30th: Clerk—Sol Siegel, 246 N. May street. Supervisor—Louis Marcus, 513 Union street. Collector—S. Odalski, 663 N. Paulina street.

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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 censored manuscripts postage should be enclosed.

The Socialist Vote: UNITED STATES. 1870 18,704; 1880 16,552; 1890 25,686; 1900 34,869.



CLOSE UP THE BANKS!

Now that the national convention held at Rochester has concluded its labors, it remains for the rank and file of the socialist party, to gird up their loins again for the struggle against capitalist class rule.

NO ESCAPE IS POSSIBLE.

Vain Attempt to Avoid the Inevitable - Capitalist System Produces the Revolting Worker.

The continual persistence of the class struggle, which is exemplified by the almost chronic "labor troubles" in Chicago, is inducing some of our local capitalists to seek new fields where the "labor agitator" is no longer a factor.

From Milwaukee.

A meeting of Section Milwaukee, S. L. P., was held at Kaiser's hall on Sunday the 11th inst.

THE IDAHO AFFAIR.

Delegates Benham and Harriman introduced a resolution bearing upon the Idaho outrages.

CAMPAIGN FUND.

It was decided to raise a national campaign fund, so that the coming campaign may be pushed with vigor.

A CORRECTION.

An error was made in last week's report, in saying that Delegate Berlin of New York was among those opposing the resolution of greeting to the S. D. P.

different, and they would copy the smooth and crafty tactics of those who have axes to grind, and calculate on using the workers to turn the grindstone handle. Socialism, when presented to the average workman is often disagreeable for many reasons.

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SNAP SHOTS BY THE WAYSIDE.

The socialist contention that prosperity under capitalism in any country, and at any time, exists for the dominant class alone, is signally illustrated by an incident in the economic struggle of the workers in this city, which has been given in the public press some days ago.

The girls employed in the Stockyards packing house of Libby, McNeill and Libby, are on strike against a reduction of 25 per cent in their wages. The firm states that these girls have been earning from nine to twelve dollars per week, a statement which appears rather doubtful, though it is not the point at issue.

The argument advanced by the capitalists to justify this reduction, is not that business is bad, not that competition compels such action, not that they are not enjoying prosperity, but the reason is given point blank - THAT THE GIRLS ARE GETTING TOO MUCH.

Wages in this case being determined by piece-work these girls were enabled in the duller periods, to earn from three to five dollars per week only. (A little below the existence wage and a great deal below the socialist demand.)

Fortified by the strength of the public powers, which in a capitalist state, exist for the protection and maintenance of capitalist "property rights" the owners of this plant are able to defy the workers, and hope to starve them into submission.

GOES TO RESTORE PEACE IN KENTUCKY.

Accompanying Senator Blackburn to Frankfort to help in straightening out the muddled Kentucky situation was Colonel Philip B. Thompson, Jr., of that state.

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union, discovering this, threatened to prosecute, but the firm begged off, and were not idle in promising to handle union goods in the future.

It is true enough that the passive parasite cannot be considered as a blessing, and the working class will no doubt, when they recognize the situation, make him impossible.

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National Convention of the S. L. P.

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placing the trade unions on record as declaring for socialism, which met with failure, after a whole day's discussion.

He is an enthusiastic advocate of amalgamation of socialist forces upon a fair and honorable basis, and numbers friends by the hundred in the Socialist Labor party, the Social-Democratic party and the trade union movement.

FRIDAY'S SESSION.

The convention held its last session on Friday, February 2, adjourning sine die at noon of that day.

THE CONSTITUTION.

The consideration of the party constitution was then resumed. Several changes and additions were made. Among the most important were the following: National conventions shall be held every alternate year.

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tion, but, unfortunately, their representatives, Comrades Santiago Iglesias, editor of the socialist organ "El Porvenir Social," and Eduardo Conde, arrived on last Friday, as their steamer met with an accident.

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MARX AND DARWIN.

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

(Continued from last week.)

Having thus shown conclusively that socialism is not contradictory to Darwinism in any of the points raised by Haeckel, Professor Ferri proceeds further to prove that in all other main points, socialism and Darwinism are in agreement.

Thus, at first in regard to its relation to religion. (Chapter V. Socialism and Religious Belief.) Darwinism is agnostic on this subject, as every positive science must be, antagonistic to super-natural creeds and religions, and lessens their sphere of influence. God is a hypothesis which as Laibace said, positive science does not need, and at the most, according to Herzen, he is an unknown quantity, like the algebraic X, and that X, says Professor Ferri, does not lie beyond the knowledge as DuBois, Raymond and Spencer would have it, but comprises all that science has not yet penetrated, and is therefore a changeable quantity; as the scope of our knowledge increases, in the same measure this X decreases. And socialism occupies the same position, first because it is based upon positive science, and secondly, because, holding the possibility of realizing heaven on this earth, it regards another beyond it, as unnecessary and superfluous. Though the Marxists have declared at the Erfurt Congress (1891) that socialism has no concern with religion, leaving it to the individual conscience, and that it even combats religious intolerance everywhere, yet this it does only on account of the certainty of its ultimate victory. Moreover socialism considers religion as a heritage from primitive times, which must eventually disappear, but also comprehends that the ruling classes use it as a valuable narcotic to maintain their rule over the lower classes. Therefore the combating of religious beliefs is one of the main tasks of socialism, and one of the most important means of propaganda. Socialism looks without fear upon what is known as "Christian socialism." It does not oppose the action of the latter, especially in rural districts where religious traditions are still powerful, because it recognizes that the fruits of such action cannot be reaped by its promoters, knowing that when the principles of "Christian socialism" are once accepted by any particular group or community, it will be an easy work for socialists proper to win them over to themselves. As in government, the necessary evolution leads from the absolute to the constitutional monarchy, and from that to the republic, which moreover differs from the former only by the eligibility of its head, so socialism knows that this process must develop by itself, and has therefore no interest in and refuses to share in the republican propaganda. The position and relation of socialism to religion and forms of government are similar.

Another point in which socialism and Darwinism are in accord, says Professor Ferri, is their attitude toward the question of the relation of the individual to the species. (Chap. VI. "Individual and Species.")

At the end of the last century there was a general deification of the individual. Society was considered to originate in the voluntary agreement of individuals, and to exist only for their benefit. This exaggerated individualism, which has revived to day in anarchism, was a necessary reaction against the then existing domination of certain social classes, e. g., nobility and clergy. Today, biology teaches with Darwinism, that the individual considered separately, is nothing, while society, the aggregate is everything. Everything that lives is a composite of parts; as is the animal so is the man; as is man so is human society. The cells which compose living beings, and even the parts of those cells, as nuclei and protoplasm, are also formed by atoms and molecules. The higher the grade of the species, the more complicated and multifarious becomes the aggregate, that in itself is a composite of particles.

Already in the mammals we meet with different forms, each of which has its own peculiar form of movements, and more so in societies, which are an aggregate of the communities, districts, and provinces; in humanity itself, which is a federation of different nations. Each country, each province, represents different characteristics and requires different administrative arrangements. The individual, however, always exists for society. Already of the two fundamental impulses of life, viz., hunger and love, the latter necessarily requires a social life. It should be kept in mind, however, that the existence of each aggregate depends on the life of the parts composing it, consequently that of society depends on the life of individuals, who therefore should not be sacrificed to society as some of the Utopian and communistic teachings would seem to indicate.

The third point of agreement between Darwinism and Socialism is the conception of the struggle for existence. (Chap. VII. "Struggle for Existence, and the Class Struggle.")

Through his law of the social struggle between the social classes, Marx has transferred the teachings of Darwinism on the prevalence of the struggle for existence all over nature, into the field of social economy. Not until this law, was known, could the history of mankind, in its evolution from savagery to civilization be comprehended. History ceases to be a series of individual actions and endeavors, and becomes a powerful and necessary drama. Society as a higher structure is not a

uniform mass, a sum of more or less numerous individuals, but an organization composed of multifarious parts of diverse individual characteristics. These are the social classes, which may be either distinctly separated from each other, like the "castes" in India, "rank" in the middle ages, or they may be less distinct like those in America, and the European societies of the great French revolution. The basis of the social evolution of societies is always a material and economic one; and concerning this basis and its monopolization, the struggle of the social classes is constantly going on. This is a necessary result of the given state of things in the midst of which human society lives, and is a necessary condition of its further evolution.

As long as humanity had not reached the consciousness of the importance of economic existence, the struggle not having any definite goal, was carried on for diverse particular privileges, rights and liberties, such as religious liberty, enfranchisement, education, etc., but today this struggle is being consciously directed against the chief basis and cause of the ruling power of one class over another, against the individual ownership of capital.

It will always remain to the merit of Marx, for having proven that private ownership of capital appropriates the whole surplus product of labor, which appropriation causes a constant increase of capital. From this follows, that the economic preponderance of the owners of capital over the laboring classes is a necessary result of that ownership, and further, that wealth on the one side, and poverty on the other must always increase.

No accusation against this or that particular individual, no inflexible action, or single-handed attempt, can do anything but injure the reputation of socialism. On the other hand, all the individual endeavors, with the best intentions to improve the condition of the laboring classes, as well as attempts at some special reform, must just as surely prove futile. The struggle for the reconstruction of the economic system must be directed against the whole propertied class, and against the holding of private property in the means of production. In this way the struggle is causing further changes in the economic structure, and further social evolution, just as the struggle for existence, causes in nature the transformation of lower species into higher.

In the second part of this work, entitled, "The Theory of Evolution and Socialism," Ferri demonstrates the consistency of socialism with the general theory of evolution.

And thus in chapter VIII (Social Economy and Socialism in the Light of the Theory of Evolution), he proves that socialism is only an application of the evolution theory, to social economy. While the older so-called "classical political economy," accepted everlasting and immutable laws of nature, while it supposed the present capitalistic system is a necessary result of those laws, it must therefore always remain the same. Socialism has proven that the laws which Adam Smith laid down for political economy, are relative, that they concern the present times and conditions, but could not be applied to the pre-historic, or ancient epochs, nor will they have any application in the future.

The philosophy of evolution, so ably promulgated by Spencer, has caused a revolution in the whole field of contemporary science, which therefore, has departed from that older, abstract mode of thinking, known as metaphysics. The present positive science, in all its branches, teaches that everything is undergoing a constant evolution, that changes and transformations are eternal, taking place, and it supports with proof of the ideas of Leibnitz and Haeckel, expressed in abstracto, viz.: "The present is the child of the past and the parent of the future," that in nature "nothing is," but everything "becomes."

While the older metaphysics, in accord with the conceptions of Plato, could not do without fixed conceptions of morality, social organization and social economy were necessarily looked upon as the results of everlasting laws.

While it could not part with the absolute and dualism, the positive contemporary science elevates itself to the powerful synthesis of monism. As the only reality, it recognizes matter, and its inherent force, the latter causing a constant change and transformation of the former, which takes on, relatively to time and space, ever new forms. Morality and politics, are only constructions based upon economic organizations, which in turn are different under every meridian and in every century. Everything is changeable, everything is relative. In Europe and America, the killing of a father or mother is considered a great crime; in Sumatra it is, on the contrary, a meritorious action. Cannibalism is still practised in some parts of the interior of Africa, just as it once was in prehistoric Europe. The history of the human race shows that the form of the family changes with economic conditions. From a complete disorder in the sexual relations, it elevates itself successively through polyandry and polygamy, to monogamy. Why then, should the private property system of our present capitalist society, be considered the only form exempt from the action of evolutionary change?

Just this latest consequence of the evolutionary theory has been accepted by Marxian socialism, which also accepts the fundamental ideas of the said theory, viz., that a constant development and transmutation of all phenomena exists in nature. The transplantation of these ideas upon the economic field, will always remain the peculiar merit of Marx, who has thereby succeeded in proving the conformity

of socialist teachings with the evolution theory.

Chapter IX (The Law of Apparent Retrogradation and Private Property), repudiates the assertion that socialism in aspiring for the realization of collective property, is in reality aiming at a return to the backward arrangements of primitive times, and therefore contradicts the fundamental evolutionary idea, according to which, humanity marches forward. This contradiction is only an apparent one. It is true that socialism has for its objective collective property, and it is equally true that the evolution of property, started in the primitive times with just such a property; but this circumstance means nothing. In nearly all the categories of phenomena, we find such returns to primitive forms, but this return is only an apparent one; in truth, these forms already represent a higher and more perfect stage. In the philosophy of today the scientific monism, is in some sort, a renewal of the ancient Greek philosophy; in religion, the primitive humanity sought at first to establish a paradise on earth, then for a long time during its evolution, it hoped, to find one in heaven, and now again it returns to the idea of an earthly paradise for future generations. In the political organizations of society, the power at first lies in the will of all the members of society, then the will of one ruler; later the ruling power lies in the hands of a minority—a privileged class; today we again return to democratic forms of government—the will of all the people. The same is the case with the penal laws, which were at first a defence against actions injurious to society, and today, after rejecting all the intermediate ideas of justice, expiation, free will, etc., again returns the idea of permanent or temporary removal of objectionable individuals. Again in the institution of marriage. At first, easily dissolved, it becomes, under the influence of theology, insoluble, and yet today we again return to the first position.

Such must also be the case with the institution of property, which must return to the collective form, notwithstanding all the arguments against it. Spencer who in the year 1850 foretold that private property in realty (real estate) will eventually disappear, and who upheld this idea in his principles of sociology as well as in his later works, expresses some doubts today as to whether Henry George's proposed socialization of land, could be realized. And this for two reasons: first, because the present owners are not the descendants of original conquerors of the soil but have acquired it by means of a legal contract; second, that it would be necessary to remunerate them for all the improvements and investments made, and such remuneration would reach incalculable amounts. Both these objections are met with the following answer: As to the first, he insists that where public welfare is at stake, "all individual rights of whatever nature they may be, must cease as is the case even today, and as to the second he believes that the remuneration need not be a complete one. Already today the "pretium affectionis" of the land owner is not admitted whenever land is expropriated in the public interest. Society will secure the collective possession of land, and means of production, and this will not be a return to a primitive state, but a progress towards a higher form. It is perfectly in accord with the theory of evolution; and just upon this is based the "law of apparent retrogradation," which manifest itself in social evolution, and is so excellently characterized by Loria in his work "The Economic Basis of Social Institutions."

Chapter X (Social Evolution and Individual Liberty), disproves the assertion, that socialism aims at a new form of tyranny, and the destruction of personal liberty, and shows that here, as well as at all other points, the alleged disagreement of socialism with evolution is erroneous.

(To be continued.)

ON THE OTHER SIDE.

Upholding the Interests of the Workers. Reason Why "They Do These Things Better in France."

It has often been asked, "What would you socialists do if placed in power?" This question is a just one, and demands an answer, and it is one which will admit of a variety of answers. In many cases those who make this inquiry have a very limited conception of the nature of socialism, and are not able to grasp the idea, that the fact that socialists were placed in power, implies the existence of a majority of intelligent workmen, who know exactly what they want and how to get it, men who do not consider those elected members of their own body, as occupying a "higher" position than themselves (which is the prevalent idea today) and therefore do not "look up" to those "higher" individuals as persons who through benevolence, good will, socialist zeal or any other personal qualification will be graciously pleased to "do something for them."

Well then, what would socialists do if placed in power? Keeping the above in mind, we may answer, that they would do exactly as those who placed them there demand that they shall do. What would that be? That they further in every possible manner the material interests of those whose servants they are, such material interests being everything which tends to secure to those workers the full product of their labor. This in turn involves the overthrow of the system of capitalist production, and includes everything which tends to that end. It is evident that the possibility of accomplishing the whole socialist program would require not only power but SUPREME POWER, a majority of the whole popu-

lation being necessary to secure this.

However, as it is certain that in the struggle for complete political supremacy on the part of the working class, no sudden coup can be effected, which will at once bring about this result, we have therefore to consider the action of socialist representatives in states, cities, townships, etc., where they have achieved local supremacy, which carries with it a limited power only.

In such cases, these representatives would act up to the very limit of the power placed in their hands, in furthering the direct material interests of the working class, so far as this could be done under existing circumstances, such for instance as the employment of all unemployed citizens in their jurisdiction at the best possible wage; the supporting of strikers against their masters in all cases, relief from the public funds for such strikes, etc., etc., in short, the carrying out of every measure calculated to benefit the producers materially and intellectually, and prepare them for the last great struggle with their economic exploiters.

It may be objected that this would imply the disorganization of "business" interests, to which the socialist may answer: "That is precisely our object, and everything which tends to that end we encourage and support. The working class cannot achieve freedom while capitalist "business" methods remain, and therefore the abolition of such "business" is a necessary prelude to the establishment of the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution."

In such cases the actions of the socialists would be largely determined by the limitations of their power, but in pressing forward every local and temporary measure for the interest of the workers, they never lose sight of the main object.

It would be their duty to take the workers outside of the movement, understand clearly that such palliatives are upon no account whatever to be confounded with the ultimate aim of socialism, that in fact they are not part of it, and are only necessary because capitalist society still exists, and that while they cannot be expected to accomplish any important change, they are still the immediate interests of the workers, under existing conditions.

In many countries where the working class have succeeded in capturing political power in particular localities, it may be observed that the above program is at present being carried out. An incident illustrating one phase of the work of a socialist deputy in France for his constituents, we reprint from "Le Petite Republique," as an example of the attitude of the socialist compared with the representatives of capitalism, on matters concerning the working class:

The Board having been settled, patriot Collard begins to speak requesting a credit of 200,000 francs in favor of the striking weavers of St. Etienne. The deputy for Lyons, expresses in a precise speech, the situation of those brave workers, who for several months have struggled courageously against the despotism of their employers.

The following analytic account reproduces but imperfectly the speech of our comrade:

Patriot Collard: "For months the valiant weavers' organizations of St. Etienne, La Loire and Haute Loire, have ceased working, as a consequence of the continuous reduction of their wages.

These brave people, doing the most valuable work, receive no higher wages than one and a half or two francs per day.

The strike seemed to be finished, after the arbitration between the employer and employees; the latter, however having broken their word, no understanding now exists.

The matter is this: Here are 30,000 workers, with wives and children, who have no food. It is the duty of the Chamber of Deputies to take care of them. (Applause from the extreme Left.)

"As I was saying the manufacturers of St. Etienne agreed to refer the matter in dispute to arbitration. Just as the strike seemed about to finish, and the workers had accepted this agreement, the manufacturers reject arbitration. I call that a provocation of a populace, who are intelligent and devoted to democratic institutions. (Applause from the extreme Left.)

"Can the Parliament remain indifferent in the presence of these 30,000 workers? M. Le President has just spoken most eloquently on liberty and humanity. Is not this a question of humanity? (Applause.)

"The weavers did not strike for their own pleasure. After all no one among us likes to be forced to be a party to strikes.

The question now is, to assist those workmen and their families, and for that reason I propose for their relief a credit of 200,000 francs, in the name and on the principles of humanity. This question is URGENT and I DEMAND its IMMEDIATE DISCUSSION." (Renewed applause.)

M. Waldeck-Rousseau requests that the proposition be sent back to the Budget Committee. That "sending back" too often means complete dismissal, and Deputy Collard points this out with precision. He resumes:

"If the committee will promise to make its report immediately, agreeing with the government, I shall accept the return. On the contrary I shall still maintain the urgency." (Applause from the extreme Left.)

The general reporter at once makes the engagement requested by the socialist deputy. G. C. L.

This then is an example of the ordinary procedure of socialist representatives in countries where a sufficient number of workmen have recognized the conditions under which they live, and the causes therefor. To the average workman in this land, a similar proceeding on the part of his so-called "representatives" would appear unbelievable, while strange to say, the usual course pursued, which consists in ordering out every force, military, police, and militia, to crush down the aspirations of striking workmen, seems to him something quite natural and proper, and he resigns himself to the situation with a stupid fatalism, which would appear equally as amazing to his foreign fellow-workmen, who have gained a recognition of the

irresistible power which can be wielded by their class.

Workmen of America! When you compare the actions and attitude of those men whom you look upon as "labor leaders" with that of the men who are the mouthpieces of your foreign brethren, you certainly cannot feel proud of the comparison. See a Gompers, a Sovereign, and others of the same ilk approaching the powers of capitalism in an humble and supplicating attitude, begging grudging favors for groups of "organized" laborers, and then turn to the manly, outspoken, "I demand" of Deputy Collard. Why this astounding difference?

The reason is, that behind the French representative, is the united strength of more than a million CLASS-CONSCIOUS laborers, while behind your "chosen" leaders there is a mighty mass of vacillating, flinching, easily duped workmen, whose lack of perception renders them powerless to demand, and compels their spokesmen to assume the crouching, slavish attitude of a cur begging for a bone. Your representatives can only be strong in your strength, and your strength in turn can only arise from your intelligence, from your knowledge of the conditions under which you live, and the reason for the existence of such conditions. When you recognize the idioty and humiliation entailed in begging favors from those whose power is the creation of your apathy and stupidity (which you insist in calling the "will of the people"), you will be in a position to elect representatives who will DO because you KNOW.

The continuance of capitalist supremacy means for you, beggary, humiliation, want, abject dependence, and moral and physical degeneration. On the other hand its abolition means a life of plenty, manliness, freedom, and an ever more perfect development of mind and body.

What can socialist representatives do for you? Nothing. What can you do for yourselves, using socialist representatives as your servants and mouthpieces? Everything. There is no limit, except the limit of the power of your class, and that is amply sufficient, if exercised intelligently, to place the economic control of the world in your hands. Slavery and poverty are the fruits of ignorance, while intelligence brings freedom and plenty into being.

FOREIGN NEWS.

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

A beautiful sign of the working class solidarity which overleaps the narrow bounds of race and creed solidarity, is now spreading over the world, it to be found in the following New Year's greeting which the united trade unions of Denmark addressed to their Belgian comrades:

Copenhagen, January 1. "Dear Comrades:—Receive on the occasion of the New Year, our best wishes and our very sincere thanks for the great help, which you rendered us last year, during our struggle with the power of the capitalists of our country. We regard this lockout as an engagement of out-posts in the social struggle between the workers and their exploiters, a struggle inevitable, which we must bring to a successful end before we can attain the grand aim of the modern labor movement—a fraternal society based on liberty and equality!"

"In this struggle all the workers ought to be solid, and during the lock-out in Denmark, we received palpable proofs that this solidarity is not a vain word, but a very real fact. The help which our brothers abroad, and amongst them the Belgians, lent us, shows conclusively that the workers of all countries understand the importance of this struggle, and that they are ready to make the necessary sacrifices for our final victory!"

"We hope that during the coming year, the workers will find the means of organizing still more closely, nationally and internationally, in such a manner as to become strong enough, not only to repel the attacks that may be directed against us, but also to gain new victories for our great cause!"

"Long live the Belgian labor organizations!"

"Long live the international labor movement!"

"For the united trade unions of Denmark." J. Knudsen."

EGYPT. Over 4,000 workmen in six large cigarette factories at Cairo have gone on strike.

SPAIN. Efforts are being made by holding meetings, by petitions, etc., to obtain the release of the prisoners still suffering detention in the fortress of Monjuich, but hitherto without success, though it was said they would be pardoned by the Queen Regent on January 1.

Pablo Iglesias, the socialist leader, is on a lecturing tour in the north of Spain. He is holding good meetings, but except in the manufacturing towns the progress of socialism is very slow.

AUSTRIA. The strike in the Moravian coalfields has now spread to Bohemia and Austrian Silesia, and it is estimated that about 50,000 men are on strike. So far there have not been any riots, but the situation is a very serious one. Owing to the lack of coal many factories in Austria have had to cease working, and this contributes to make the matter worse. The government has at last become alive to the importance of the

question, and is making efforts to secure arbitration. The workmen appear to be resolute in their demands for the eight-hour day, and though very poor and enduring great hardships are very firm. It is satisfactory to note that workmen of other trades, both in Austria and Germany, are helping the strikers by contributions out of their poor wages. The government may well be anxious, because there are so many discordant elements in Austria owing to the different nationalities forming the empire that the whole system may fall to pieces at any moment.

SWITZERLAND.

Over 300 workwomen employed in cigarette factories at Châssis in the Ticino have struck against a proposed reduction of wages. Their wages which it is proposed to reduce are only 1 franc, 25 centimes (12.) a day for eleven hours' work.

—Jacques Bonhomme in London Justice

The establishment of a daily paper is earnestly taken into consideration by our Polish comrades in Galicia. A party conference at Przemysl resolved to take all the necessary steps to transform their, as yet weekly party paper, "Naprzod" into a daily.

The Ruthenian Social-Democracy founded its first party paper under the name of "Wola."

LET US BE JOYFUL.

A Thousand Corpses on Spion Kop, Create a "Favorable Impression" Upon "Civilized" Society.

At every step along the pathway of life the idols which men have at first cherished, are to be found strewn around in broken fragments. High aspirations, noble ideals, which stimulate men on the road are often found impracticable and in consequence abandoned. Truth and falsehood, the ideal and the real, become indistinguishable, and most men after ridding themselves of what they find to be mere useless incumbrances, are content after a fashion, to plod wearily onward in the narrow path which an era of commercialism dictates that they shall tread.

Unquestioned and unquestioning, they accept things as they are, or rather as they see them, and are generally unaware or forgetful of the existence of these broken idols, which at one time seemed the incarnation of truth.

It is perhaps to be regretted that so much that is high and noble in man, should meet this fate, but it is almost needless to reiterate the truth so well known to socialists, that an evil economic environment renders impossible the realization of high ideals, upon the part of those who hold them as a matter of sentiment, and ignore the economic basis upon which they alone can rest.

Yet it is not alone, "the good the beautiful and true" that suffers in this age of contradictions. Similes and comparisons designed to illustrate the highest point of absurdity, sometimes take on an appearance of reason when compared with things which actually occur.

We have in mind an American "free thought" orator of undoubted ability, and who possessed in a remarkable degree the power of exposing the absurdities of the orthodox churches and their practices, in a manner which was designed to convince many of his hearers, and often did so convince them. The late Robert Ingersoll, the gentleman we speak of, was found of throwing ridicule upon the church under whose influence his childhood days were passed. He would eloquently describe the long and wearisome Sunday school lessons, the equally wearisome sermon that followed, the tedious discourses on dogma and doctrine, which made the children fidget, and long to be out playing in the sunshine. When these signs upon the part of the latter became unmistakable, a respite was granted, and then, the orator used to observe, as a climax, "they took us out for a walk through the cemetery to cheer us up."

The contradiction between the means employed and the end sought after, appeared so complete that its humor became apparent to all, and evoked hearty laughter from the audience.

For a long time this action upon the part of the old fashioned pillars of the church appeared to us as the highest point of absurdity that could possibly be reached.

For a long time this illustration served us as high class exposition of the absurd and ridiculous. That a cemetery could possibly possess any qualities calculated to excite feelings of cheerfulness and mirth in any human being, no matter how young and inexperienced, appeared to us so unworthy of consideration, that we merely looked upon it in the light of a clever joke and laughed accordingly. But we have since had cause to change our opinion, and another old landmark has disappeared, another idol has been shattered by the way. The absurd, becomes the real, in face of facts as they actually are, the eloquent freethinker's climax falls flat.

This is how the disillusion took place: In glancing over the record of butchery which has marked the last attempt to relieve Ladysmith, in the South African campaign, we came across the following dispatch from London:

The report that the Boers left 1,000 dead on Spion Kop, has created a most favorable impression here, and very few are inclined to discredit it.

The sight (figuratively speaking) of 1,000 mutilated corpses on this hill top, creates such a favorable impression that very few are inclined to allow this picture to disappear from their minds. Now if this sight produces such an ef-

fect, why may not the contemplation of a peaceful country cemetery be considered as a source of inexhaustible delight?

A thousand unburied corpses torn to pieces with shot and shell, hacked and stabbed with sabres and bayonets, lying around promiscuously in all postures, on the rocks, in the gullies, trenches and breastworks of Spion Kop, creates a feeling of cheerfulness and satisfaction among countless adult human beings, seven thousand miles away; and all this is told in such an artless and natural manner, as if it were a matter of general acquaintance, a cause, the effect of which is regarded as reasonable by all civilized peoples.

And yet were anyone so bold as to say that the calm and peaceful aspect of a country cemetery, where all the ghastly signs of death and destruction are carefully covered by the growth of nature, where nothing could be seen but the simple monuments erected by loving hands to the memory of departed friends, might possibly exercise a cheering effect upon the spectator, he would be regarded as most illogical and absurd. But the contemplation of the other sight, as productive of satisfaction, is a statement which passes unchallenged. The recognized absurdities of "civilization" sometimes appear reasonable, when compared with what is accepted as fact.

Whether 1,000 Boers were really slain in this place is not relevant to the subject. If 1,000 dead men "create a favorable impression," 2,000 would no doubt invoke greater enthusiasm, while 3,000 might be expected to produce unbounded joy and rapture. In like manner the spectacle of one, two, three or five thousand slaughtered Britons, would create a similar effect upon other "civilized" communities.

Who are the people who find satisfaction in horrors like these? They are those who consciously or unconsciously support the present capitalist economic system, the existence and maintenance of which necessitates the destruction of human life throughout its every phase. The thousands slain upon the world's battlefields are only a counterpart of the relentless slaughter in the industrial world, on the railroads, in the mines, factories and workshops, where the lives of human beings are sacrificed in order that the world's economic rulers may secure the product which their slaves create.

These things are accepted with cheerful resignation by those who thrive under the conditions which produce them, and with a dreary fatalism by those who suffer, but do not understand the reason why.

But when war breaks out, a concentration of these horrible sights produces a sense of satisfaction, especially if it is the "enemy" that suffers.

A "favorable impression" is then created upon the holders of stocks and bonds, upon the capitalists, manufacturers, and all who are looking for commercial domination, by which their interests may be subserved; by every hypocrite who from the pulpit prays for the "success of Her Majesty's arms" and at the same time preaches the gospel of "peace on earth;" by a majority of workingmen whose "patriotism," race or religious hatreds carefully manipulated in the interests of those whose economic and political dominance requires that the working class shall continue to supply the raw material necessary to create such "favorable impressions."

How well they have succeeded in reconciling their victims to the sight of the slaughter pen, the publication of the statement we have criticized bears ample witness; that its ghastly absurdity should pass unnoticed, is stronger evidence still.

Yet there are, those in existence who recognize to the full, the significance of such a statement: men who constantly point out to their victimized fellow workers that this and similar expressions really mean to them; men who never fail to show the awful and ridiculous contrast between the sentimental mouthings which are accepted as "morality" today, and the terrible realities which the material interests of capitalist class rule bring forth. And it is upon the class with which these men's interests are identified, that the task is imposed of overthrowing the structure of a society where the most glaring, infamous and ridiculous falsehoods are able to pass as commonplace truths. Socialism is a living protest against the frauds and falsehoods of our present society, and only in its triumph can these contradictions disappear, when the economic basis which produces them gives way to that era of collective ownership of the means of production and distribution, which the process of evolution unerringly points out as the next stage in human progress.

A "Deplorable" Sight.

Taylor of Kentucky has ignored the order of court regarding the election dispute in which he is engaged, and in consequence the Chicago Federation of Labor have seen fit to "denounce" him. Just what is gained by this proceeding is hard to see, but the resolution which contains the denunciation is a most striking proof of the economic ignorance of its framers. It is a confession of helplessness and blindness summed up in the words "We deplore." This is its text in full, leaving out the preliminary "whereas:"

Resolved, That the Chicago Federation of Labor deplores the system which permits an individual to hold the courts of a state at defiance because he is a member of the preferred classes and at the same time sends to jail a poor workman who is striving for wages enough to feed his wife and little ones, and thus give him a glimpse of the right to life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness, which has been guaranteed him by the constitution,

but which he is unable to secure except by eternal vigilance.

What is the system which permits, etc.? Will "deploring" a system help the matter any? If the system permits things which are objectionable to workmen, why do workmen permit the system which permits, etc.? Has the Federation of Labor ever inquired what this system is, has it ever directed the attention of the workers whom it influences, to the necessity of removing this system, has it, in short, done anything except pass resolutions "deploring" it? Who are the "preferred classes," who prefers them, and why are they preferred? Have these preferred classes any interest in supporting the system which permits, etc.? If not, how comes the system which these preferred classes benefit by, and which at the same time injures the workers? Doesn't the "poor workman" vote for the maintenance of that system, and does the Federation of Labor ever attempt to show him the folly of such action? Isn't there more "poor workman" than members of the preferred class, and doesn't the system rest upon the votes of the workmen, and can't the votes of the workmen remove the system? If a workman votes for a system which sends him to jail, for striving for more wages for his wife and children, does he do this because he likes to go to jail? Does he do it because he is wise, or does he do it because he is stupid? Will "deploring the system" open the jail doors to the poor workman, or close them on Taylor?

What is the use of a guarantee that can't guarantee anything; a constitution which won't work? How can a constitution which guarantees, etc., etc., be linked with a system which won't permit the realization of the, etc., etc.? If the things desired can be secured by "eternal vigilance," isn't it nonsense to put the blame on a system? Doesn't the first and last words of the resolution contradict each other? Why not call upon the workers to exercise more "eternal vigilance" and let the system slide? Or to let "eternal vigilance" go to the dogs, and knock out the system? What, in the name of common sense, is "eternal vigilance," anyhow; is it anything more than a "blessed word?" Isn't it a catch phrase which has been used millions of times, because it has a good sound?

Have the Federation of Labor got any brains in their skulls? If so, has the "deploring" faculty been developed at the expense of the thinking? What is the aim, object, end, sense or use of such resolutions as this? What is accomplished by it? Where would society be and what changes would occur on account of such resolutions; say ten thousand years from now? None what, ever. The poor workman would still be going to jail, the Taylors would be still outside the jail, and the Federation of Labor as it is now, stuck in the mud, passing resolutions beginning with "We deplore."

Trades Union Items.

The Cleveland C. L. U. is no longer the only city central organization that points the way out of the chaos of capitalism. For some time the St. Louis Trades Assembly has worked in harmony with the Social-Democrats, and a couple of weeks ago the S. D.'s captured the Milwaukee central body, while about the same time the socialists carried the day in the Philadelphia United Labor League's election, and the socialists and progressists of Omaha were triumphant in the C. L. U. contest. It is probable too, now that the De Leon meddler has been repudiated, that the New York Central Federated Union will make a forward move. It has already adopted a socialist preamble and platform, more progressive unionists are taking part in the work, and the weekly debates are steadily becoming more instructive and helpful. For instance, at last Sunday's meeting the Rev. Dr. Rainford, a well-known New York pulpit orator, addressed the central union, and during the course of his remarks declared that "in socialism is found the truth, and you cannot get away from that fact. Collective ownership must come." It is in the central bodies that the best thinkers and workers are found, because there the unionists come in contact with the stern, cold facts of labor-saving machinery and centralized capital, strikes and boycott—in other words, the class struggle. Hence, all the delegates who are conscientious and masters of themselves cannot help but become socialists. We are sure that the delegates of the Cleveland C. L. U. are more than pleased to know that the central bodies in other cities are moving; that all their time is not taken up with "shop talk," begging or "labor legislation" or endorsing some "good man" for office. The year 1900 is full of promise for those who hope for the speedy downfall of the wage-system.—Cleveland Citizen.

The decision of Judge Kohlsaat, of the United States Circuit Court at Chicago, that the Illinois anti-trust law is unconstitutional, came like a thunder-clap from a clear sky. The reactionists of that state are completely dazed. They hardly know whether to talk about a "new law" or throw up the sponge in despair. The smashed law was enacted seven years ago, and was considered flawless. Indeed, some of the larger trusts—probably to gain public sympathy—gave notice that they would move their plants from the state. The anti-department store law was thereupon quickly knocked out by the Supreme Court, and thus the way was cleared for the Circuit Court decision. The events of the last few months in Illinois will be poor comfort to the trust smashers who will gather in Chicago next week for another powwow. It is to be hoped that they will spread before a waiting public some reasonable, tan-

Socialist Labor Party of the United States.

PLATFORM.

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 power of government. We affirm 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 public press, the schools, and the public services, 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 annihilation 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, set 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 labor and also for the securing of its progressive demands.

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

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