

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. 51.

CHICAGO, ILL., FEBRUARY 24, 1900.

PRICE TWO CENTS.

AN OPEN LETTER

To Samuel M. Jones, Mayor of Toledo, Ohio.

DEFINITION OF A SOCIALIST.

Cannot Represent the Interests of "All the People," While Such Interests Remain Antagonistic.

Mr. S. M. Jones, Esq., Mayor of Toledo, Ohio.

Dear Sir:—

After reading your letter addressed to The Workers' Call, correcting the impression that you were an "advocate of Utopia," and at the same time noticing other statements whose correctness I challenge—I beg leave to submit the following:

What you say in regard to Professor Herron and his estimate of what is socialism, it being only your idea of what Professor Herron says or understands about socialism I cannot criticize, because it is mere a relation of what you believe to be Professor Herron's idea.

We leave this question then, and go to the paragraph in your letter where you express yourself in two sentences, which alone of the whole letter give full expression to your ideas on this subject so vitally important to me, as follows: "I am a socialist who believes in all the people," and (2) "believes in liberty and EQUALITY for the last and lowest man and woman;" (3) "I claim no privilege for myself that I am not doing my utmost to secure for all others on equal terms."

No. 1. "I am a socialist," you say. Well, let us see if you are. What is a socialist? Mr. Jones, a socialist is one who believes that under certain economic conditions society has become split up into two great and distinct classes, whose interests are absolutely opposed to one another, between which there can be and will be no compromise, no quarter; victory for one class means the annihilation or assimilation of the other class.

These two great classes are struggling for political power, and as a result of political power, economic power; both see the necessity of capturing both these powers, knowing full well that with political power, economic mastery is gained.

These two great classes that today face each other in society are the capitalist class and the working class. This same socialist believes, and science teaches him, that anything in nature, plant, animal or human, that fails to perform some useful function in society must pass away; this capitalist class does nothing to add to the wealth of society, the only function they perform is to collect, rent, interest and profit.

This same socialist knows that the labor, by brain and hand, of the working class produces all wealth, and that the working class as a class must take possession of the land and instruments of production and distribution and then operate them for the benefit of their class, the working class. This belief constitutes a socialist. However, Mr. Jones, I notice that you are another brand of socialist, one "who believes in all the people." Mr. Jones, the economic condition called the capitalist system made possible the class from which the socialists are drawn, thus proving that the socialist is the result of a class society, and must, as a member of a class, believe in a class struggle for the possession of the land and tools of production. Thus the socialist as a result of the condition of his existence cannot be a believer but in one class, cannot represent but one class. So you see, sir, he, the socialist, is a product of a class society.

Does this socialist, Mr. Jones, contrast with you as a socialist?

Further, you say, sir, "who believes in all the people." "All the people," you underline.

How can a product of a class society, a man made by a certain economic condition, believe in "all the people?" Who are all the people? A whole human race made up of different classes, different economic conditions, different political and social conditions.

What kind of straddling must a man do to be a representative of the "cook's son, the 'lord's son,' the 'son of a millionaire?'" How can a single human being represent all these classes, with such absolutely different interests? Can one man do it? Let us see if he can:

This statement "all the people" is funny, to say the least. Let us take a look at "all the people."

1st. The capitalist class, owners of the machinery of production, land, etc., who believe that it is their interest to secure the greatest profits out of the amounts they invest; to buy labor in the cheapest market; to sell labor's product in the dearest; who believe that society exists only to give them fat dividends; who believe in a gigantic system of production, in trusts, combines, monopolies. They are in the minority.

To continue the present system of so-

ciety is satisfactory to them. These gentlemen do not believe in competition; they are doing the best they know how to get rid of it. I agree with them, competition is dog eat dog, and I am one of the dogs. Do you represent this class, Mr. Jones?

2nd. The disappearing middle class, the small shop-keepers who believe in small industry, and competition, who believe in rent, interest and profit, so long as they are collecting them from the working class. They only object to the larger capitalist because he says that with very large industry, with great department stores "we believe in large sales and small profits;" this is death to the little shop-keepers; they can't get any more of the worker's hide; uncertain work for the laborer, he can't run a book at the little grocery store; decreased wages, he has to buy where he can buy cheapest, viz. at the department store; thus the little shop-keeper is deprived of his share of the worker's hide, so sweet with profits. They see their end, and like drowning rats, they struggle for life—which for them is conditional only upon securing profit—the surplus product of the workers. They want laws passed to hold down the "big fellows"—only don't destroy the profit system—we like it, and we want some, too. Reform, anything, everything; only don't ask us to get off the workers' backs.

They are anti-trust, anti-department store, anti-anything, anti-everything EXCEPT ANTI-PROFIT. They believe in the continuation of the present system so long as it is possible to exploit the working classes with their little capital.

Do you represent them, Mr. Jones?

3rd. The great working class, the product of a capitalist society, stripped of every economic power. The modern system of machine production has and is fast doing away with their skill, leaving them helpless as babes. Freedom of contract is to them a mockery, social equality a lie; stripped of every right, paupers amongst the wealth they have produced; beggars in a land of plenty.

Pictured a giant, the worker, under present conditions is in reality a dwarf; called a sovereign though in truth a slave; living by the permission of his economic masters, a mendicant when a week out of work, and finally the recurring ground for tramps.

This great class, sir, produces all wealth, makes possible all civilization; yet stands in abject helplessness and fear before a minority of nothings, whose labor consists in clipping coupons and drawing rent, interest and profits, through the stupidity of these same workers.

This class, to save itself from destruction, will find that its only interest lies in taking possession, through political action, of the land and all the instruments of production and distribution for the benefit of its own members, the producers of all wealth, the modern working class.

This involves the overthrow, not the continuation, of present capitalist society, and the establishment of the socialist industrial society, in place of the present order—or rather disorder. It is from this class that the vast majority of socialists are recruited. (Those few who do not belong to that class, and are still socialists, must look only from this standpoint, must sink their apparent interests, in the material interests of the great working class.)

Do you represent this class, Mr. Jones?

To recapitulate:

The first class, the capitalist class, believe in trusts, monopolies, combines, and the private ownership of them for the benefit of their class; the continuation of the present system.

The second class, the small capitalist, little business man and little store-keeper, are anti-trust—believe in profits and the continuation of the present system, and only cry out that the big fellow shall be muzzled.

The third class say that the trusts are good things for a great society; that they are an up-to-date method of producing the necessities of life, but that their private ownership stands in the way of a proper distribution of those necessities.

Let them be larger; so large that each worker, man or woman, shall be a stockholder and dividend-drawer, not in proportion to the amount of money they invest, but in proportion with the labor power expended in production.

See these three classes, Mr. Jones? Can you straddle all three of them? These three classes with opposed interests. Which do you really represent and belong to, Mr. Jones?

To close:

Mr. Jones you are opposed to the idea of parties—political parties. Well, tell us why you organized the Non-partisan political party of Ohio and became its candidate for governor. Was it to demonstrate the futility of political parties? If so, so far as you are concerned it was a failure.

You close, sir, with the following: "I claim no privilege for myself or for my children that I am not doing my utmost to secure for all others on equal terms."

You "claim" "You are doing!" Pray, tell me, Mr. Jones, what can you do? Of what importance is your personality in the great social movement of today?

(Continued on page 4.)

O SAY WHAT MAY IT BE

"Grouped Consciousness" the Latest Economic Arrival.

NEW "SOCIALIST" SCARECROW

Strange Phrases and Empty Sounds Multiply, as the Passing of Capitalism Draws Near.

It has been observed in history that at those periods of transition when an old and decaying order of society commenced to show signs of dissolution, many strange caricatures of the tendencies which foreshadowed the coming social change, came into being. In these latter days, as the Scripture says, there shall be "miracles, signs and by-lying wonders," and the period we are now living in is no exception. Even socialism is being travestied in new and strange forms and phrases, whose only value consist in the fact that they are an omen of the approaching end of old society, a clear proof that the minds of men are in a state of unrest and uncertainty, dimly perceiving the drift of the new social tendencies, which are not yet fully comprehended.

That the coming form of society, in the minds of most men in some manner connected with socialism, is at present recognized by a majority of the public, who having no definite conception of the nature of the movement, proceed to construct a "socialism" of their own, a "socialism as I understand it," different "socialisms" whose stock in trade consists of the confused reasonings of individuals, who give them expression in fantastic and obscure phrases, designed to create a "confusion worse confounded" in the minds of their hearers.

The latest of these definitions comes before us under the label of "grouped consciousness" and parades itself as "Social Democracy." Socialists have so long used the phrase "class-consciousness," and so strongly insisted upon its importance, that the new arrival in the field, who substitutes "group" or "grouped" for "class," may hope to attract some attention from the fact that it sounds somewhat like the other familiar expression.

Just what meaning the individual who originated the phrase, may read into it, or out of it, is a matter of little concern to socialists. Those who understand the common interests of the working class are not likely to waste much time in forming "groups," each with a "consciousness" of its own, and "advocating loyalty to the teachings of such groups." That is a state of affairs which flourishes at present quite as vigorously as any capitalist or misleader of the working class could possibly desire. Class-consciousness is a definite conception of the common interests of one class as against those of another, while "grouped consciousness" if it has any possible meaning or object, is merely a definition of what at present exists, each "group" blind to their common interests, working with what strength the "group" may possess against all outside society, for the benefit of the individuals composing such "group."

The "group" system and the "consciousness" involved in such grouping, is one of the most powerful reasons for the continuation of the robbery of the product of the working class. Our modern trades unions carry the "group" idea to the utmost, and just for this reason are they unable in the end to achieve anything of permanent value for the CLASS to which they belong. On the other hand their opponents, the capitalists, when engaged in a conflict with organized labor, discard the "group" idea and act as a CLASS, a proceeding which ensures their continued supremacy.

Such freakish expressions and phrases, may be expected to multiply rapidly as old society nears the dissolution point. They are not new discoveries of any value, and have no more significance in themselves than the cracking of thorns under a pot. They are merely will-o'-the-wisps, which may temporarily deceive those who are liable to be attracted by glaring sights and empty sounds. The fact that these phenomena come on the stage under the guise of "socialism," is to the class-conscious socialist a decisive proof that the reality of the movement has reached that stage where its importance is recognized by the issue of counterfeits. Their harmlessness and bogus character is, however so apparent, that it is hardly necessary to caution socialists in the words of the modern advertisement to "beware of spurious imitations."

Comrade Harriman's lecture tour: Patterson, N. J., Feb. 25. Newark, N. J., Feb. 26. Elizabeth, N. J., Feb. 27. Trenton, N. J., March 1. Camden, N. J., March 2.

Comrade G. B. Benham's lecture tour: Syracuse, Feb. 24-25. Buffalo, Feb. 26. Cleveland, Feb. 27. Detroit, Feb. 28. Saginaw, March 1. Chicago, March 2-3.

FROM A UNION MAN

An Able Exposition of the Working Class Movement.

CLASS INTERESTS EXPRESSED.

Recognition of the Class Struggle by the Workers, Must Precede Economic Freedom.

St. Louis, Mo., Jan. 3, 1900.

With the kindest feeling and most cheerful greeting I address you. I have been meditating upon the comments on my letter, and have allowed a reasonable time to pass before answering the same. Judging from the editorial tone of the Journal, I take it for granted that this letter is welcome. My former letter was not thoroughly understood. I have since then joined Violet Lodge, No. 24, and am doing the best I can for it, with the means at my command.

My former letter needs a little further elucidation, as it has not been understood as it should be. The following, I believe, is more explicit and shows the principle for which I contend—namely, the cause of labor. Labor's cause is the cause of humanity; Capitalism is the cause of greed; commercialism—the cause of misery, war and want.

You ask me to read the September Journal over carefully and then "examine a higher authority than my own in regard to the definition of politics." I did not say a single word in regard to the definition of the word. What I did say was this: "The essence of politics is nothing more or less than class interests." Essence is defined as follows: formal existence; that which makes anything to be what it is; peculiar nature of anything. The formal existence (essence) of politics is nothing more or less than class interests. Wipe classes out of existence and politics will no longer exist. It is not necessary to battle for new class privileges and rights, but it is necessary to abolish class government and even classes. The class struggle for supremacy is not of the worker's seeking, but it is here and we cannot ignore it. All of our laws, or most of them, are class laws, made by private interests for private interests, to the detriment of all other classes.

Our government is in the possession of a favored class, and it follows that the laws are made for that class. The Republican party is truly representative of the upper capitalist class. The Democratic party is composed mainly of middle-class interests. Nearly all democratic states have passed anti-trust laws, because the trust is harmful to that class.

All thinkers can see that competition is being superseded by co-operation. Competition is war, it is wasting human energy; yet capitalism needs competition in the labor market and the capitalist government is lending its generous hand to crush combinations of labor, to wit: In Bourbon county, Kansas, John P. Reese was forbidden to hold a miners' union meeting, and after he violated "that injunction" by speaking to the miners, he was arrested and fined for contempt of court. E. V. Debs, "that peerless young leader of the A. R. U.," and all of the officers of that union, were looked up (or contempt of court. In Idaho, Coeur d'Alene is the sore spot of capitalist brutality; United States officers openly boast of breaking up the labor unions. (a la Merriam.) Labor should profit by capitalist examples shown in their class solidarity; Labor must educate itself and intelligently demand the restitution of its rights, it must retrieve its loss by voting for a complete overthrow of capitalism; vote for a nobler, grander and higher civilization, than the world has yet seen; that is, the means of production and distribution must belong to the people collectively; the form of government must be altered from a representative government to a people's government, viz. it must be according to the initiative and referendum and the Imperative Mandate, defined as follows: The people themselves to propose the laws, and all laws passed by legislature or congress or senate to be referred back to the people, and the people themselves to reject or approve the same, and not delegate the power of legislation to any individual. The system of private profit must cease and in its stead a system of public use.

Answering the comments: What have we to fear of foreign control, or conquest or of foreign invasion? Do you think Germany or France would do worse than Idaho? Not much, the workers there have achieved their recognition. Did the slave of the South fear a foreign invasion? Why should he? Slave he was, under a cruel master and he could not change his condition for anything worse. So with the work slave of today, a change of masters will not benefit him. For why should he check a foreign invasion? He owns no property, no home; liberty exists only in the imagination. While the worker is at the front fighting, the capitalist is growing rich in the shape of government contracts, dividends, bonds and stocks.

"The difference of class need not make

us enemies," you say. Some men only become enemies when interests clash. The capitalists' interests are diametrically opposed to the workers', the one wants a high price for labor performed, and the other buys labor in the cheapest market—and I will guarantee there isn't a carman in Madison that loves that company. The Missouri Pacific cars built here command a higher price today than one year ago; yet wages are lower all around, with the possible exception of one or two departments. Whence comes all this fraud, deceit, murder, chicanery, robbery, vice and crime? Simply because we are creatures of circumstances, children of our environments, the result of our baneful and senseless system of production for private profit under a capitalist competitive system; change this system to co-operative system; that is the people own, operate and control all the factories, mines, railroads, steamships and all public utilities, collectively; this is the change for the better. We would then shorten the hours of labor in proportion to the demand. Our earning capacity would increase, for then we would not divide our earnings with useless non-producers as we do at present. Labor today gets about 19 per cent of what we produce. Capital about 81 per cent. We are robbed of what we produce, and then pretend to be friends with the robber. Men only get rich through rent, interest or profit. Brothers, I invite a discussion on this subject. This is the way to remedy the evil of being slaves.

I remain, very truly yours,
Thos. A. Krouse.

—In Railway Carmen's Journal.

WONDER AND CONFUSION.

Orator Talks of Remarkable Development of Classes, and Then Denies Their Reality.

Below we reprint part of an address delivered by a "prominent citizen" at the Chicago Woman's Club in this city on February 7th. This is how the speaker regards the economic development as it is today, and it is interesting to note the apparent astonishment and surprise which he exhibits in regard to phases which are inseparable from each other in the present social evolution. "Magical," "sudden," "remarkable," are the words used to describe phenomena which are merely a logical sequence of cause and effect:

The explanation of the new attitude of the public mind toward great wealth lies, I think, first, in the spectacular growth of individual family fortunes, due to the enormous and a most irregular development of America on the economic side since the war; in the second place, in the equally sudden and remarkable development of the laboring classes, like that of organized capital, and, thirdly, in the remarkable development in the American interest in sociology.

When all this is boiled down and condensed it simply means a recognition of the struggle between the classes, though the words used are well calculated to deceive the average reader, and reduce him to a state of open-mouthed wonder regarding these "sudden," "remarkable" and "magical" appearances.

The concentration of wealth first spoken of has its complement in the expropriation of millions of laborers, and this in turn produces the organization of the "laboring classes" as a matter of defence, which in itself is neither "sudden" nor "remarkable." The "American interest in sociology" is merely from the speaker's standpoint, the effort on the part of the ruling classes to secure their position as ruling class, they understanding well that the development spoken of as "magical" and "sudden," carries with it a menace to their supremacy. Hence the "interest" in sociology. It is not difficult to see the recognition of a class struggle in this production.

A system which carries with it so many inherent contradictions as capitalism can hardly be defended logically. It is almost impossible for a capitalist speaker or writer on things economic, to avoid bringing into his speech or writing, statements which thoroughly destroy others previously made, and this speech at the Woman's Club forms no exception. A little further on we are informed that "Neither wealth nor poverty, neither labor nor idleness, will or can create classes in any real or important sense in this nation."

Well, how is the "sudden" and "remarkable" development of the "laboring classes" referred to by the speaker to be accounted for? How can anything be "sudden" and "remarkable" and yet have neither reality nor importance? This latter statement absolutely contradicts the speaker's former remarks. The "new attitude of the public mind towards great wealth" is explained by references to "spectacular growth," "magical" and "sudden" appearances due altogether to wealth production and then we are coolly told that wealth cannot create classes in any real or important sense in this nation. Blessed are they who expect no logic from the defenders of capitalism, for assuredly they shall not be disappointed. It is safe to say, however, that the "remarkable development of the laboring classes" gives a certain guarantee that the "American interest in sociology" will not be allowed to die out.

"SOCIETY" ALARMED

Message to Congressmen From Class-conscious Women.

ASKED NOT TO AID SOCIALISM.

Good Reasons Given for the Existence of the New "Anti-Suffrage Women's League."

"A straw best shows how the wind blows." An "Anti-suffrage Women's League" may seem a harmless enough matter, but we would ask our working class readers to look over the following document, given out as the reason for the existence of this "League" and see if it has any significance to them and the class they belong to:

"We wish to call attention to the fact that, while every woman suffragist is not a socialist, every socialist is a woman suffragist. The home is the great bulwark of civilization against revolutionary socialism and woman suffrage, or, differently stated, the industrial and political equality of woman is the agency relied upon by the socialists to undermine it.

"The republic cannot afford to put a premium upon celibacy, although this is precisely what the socialist state proposes to do. What is needed, therefore, is not the employment for women outside the home and greater inducements for her to continue to be the competitor of man, but more homes to organize this excess of celibacy and make it productive to the state, not only in the way of citizens but of those moral and spiritual influences which flow from the home and sustain the character and progress of civilization."

"The demand upon the part of women for industrial and political equality with men throws the labor unions into a sad dilemma. The workman's best blessing is his home, and his instincts are keenly alive to the fact that these new demands upon the part of women militate against not only his own status in the labor field but against the best interests of the home relation. Just as in many women's clubs, while the great majority of the membership is opposed to woman suffrage, the management of the club and the disposition of its funds are in the hands of suffragists, who are determined and indefatigable propagandists, so in the labor unions there is a large and strong though often silent element which is dominated by the same class-consciousness. It needs only patriotic and enlightened leadership to discriminate between the true and the false in progress and to yield allegiance to all that is best and most sacred in morals and government.

"But where shall this leadership be found?—that is the question of the hour. It is the question upon which it may be that the stability of the republic depends. In no country is destructive socialism more active than here. IN NO OTHER COUNTRY IS THE ROAD TO SOCIALISM MORE STRAIGHT AND EASY THAN HERE. WHERE THE BALLOT IS THE SOLE ARBITER OF POLITICAL DESTINIES.

"We look confidently to your honorable body at least to give socialism no encouragement by any favorable action upon the question of woman suffrage. Caroline F. Corbin.

"President Illinois Association Opposed to the Extension of Suffrage to Women."—Chicago Tribune.

This address, which it is said, the members of the "Anti-suffrage Women's League" have mailed to every congressman, is a document from which socialists may derive valuable instruction regarding the manner in which the women of the ruling classes look upon the progress of the socialist movement, and how while only very partially understanding its nature and scope, they are quick to see the menace which it implies towards their position as members of the ruling class.

The extension of suffrage to women is opposed on the grounds, that "while every woman suffragist is not a socialist, yet every socialist is in favor of woman suffrage," therefore woman suffrage if carried through, would necessarily give an impetus to socialism.

Passing by the idiotic statement, that "socialism desires to put a premium upon celibacy," these philanthropic ladies, true to the hypocritical nature of apologists of capitalism, trot out the old cant about the sacredness of the "home." They pretend to believe that if woman were given the suffrage, her first act would be to deprive herself of a home, passing by the very obvious fact that the necessities of the capitalist system, make even the semblance of a home impossible for millions of human beings of both sexes. The system which breaks up the homes of the working classes by destroying all home relations between the workers, the system which builds up the "he towns" and "she towns" in different industrial districts, the system which is directly responsible for the "excess of celibacy," which is dishonestly laid to the charge of the socialist movement, this system they wish to perpetuate, and the most outrageous and ridiculous falsehoods are pressed into service to attain that end.

Those whose supremacy as a class, rests upon a system of production which makes the possession and enjoyment of a home impossible for an ever increasing number of workers, posing as champions of the "home," and insisting that the maintenance of the present system is the only warrant of its security, is a worthy example of the

(Continued on page 4.)

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

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

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

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capitalism, whose significance and ultimate tendencies have been overlooked in the pursuit of individual interests, by those whose material conditions are now threatened by its growth.

What must be brought to the attention of workingmen is that the oppressive character of the trust is embodied in the fact that it is privately owned, and that the advantages resulting from a higher form of industrial organization are privately appropriated.

San Francisco, Cal., Feb. 13.—Eleven insane soldiers will today be sent from this city to the government hospital at Washington, and it is probable that about thirty more will go east during the week.

PRINCIPAL TRUSTS OF 1899. (New York Journal.) Name. Capital. Amalgamated Copper.....\$75,000,000 American Car and Foundry.....58,000,000 American Ice Company.....35,000,000

PROGRESS OF TRUSTS IN 1899. New trusts organized.....300 Capital of the trusts.....\$3,500,000,000 Capital of new trusts.....\$3,500,000,000

Did you order and pay for the paper you hold before you? No! Then it was paid for by some friend who seeing the light, desires you also to see it.

A law has been passed in England compelling storekeepers to provide seats for their employees, and like law-abiding citizens the former have obeyed.

SNAP SHOTS BY THE WAYSIDE.

The New York Anti-Trust bill meets with the approval of all "reformers." "Publicity" is going to do the trick.

But suppose the divvy were only 10 or 5 per cent, how would that affect the condition of the working class, whose conditions are governed by the competition between themselves?

What must be brought to the attention of workingmen is that the oppressive character of the trust is embodied in the fact that it is privately owned, and that the advantages resulting from a higher form of industrial organization are privately appropriated.

Here is one result of the folly of fighting the battles of the capitalist class, and it is by no means confined alone to those whose mistaken "patriotism" causes them to yield up life and reason in the endeavor to open up new markets for their masters, by physical force:

San Francisco, Cal., Feb. 13.—Eleven insane soldiers will today be sent from this city to the government hospital at Washington, and it is probable that about thirty more will go east during the week.

In nearly all cases the men are violent insane, and the reputed cause of their trouble is the ceaseless vigilance required by outpost duty in the Philippines.—Daily News.

The reason given as to the cause of the insanity of these men is no doubt correct, and this reason holds good also in the economic world at present. The worker must necessarily exercise "ceaseless vigilance" in the beastly struggle for bread which is imposed upon him by the present capitalist system, and this same "ceaseless vigilance" causes a similar effect, as the increase of insanity plainly shows.

This is the sort of thing that anti-trust conferences run up against in their efforts to bring back the good old days of small industries and small manufacturers.

PRINCIPAL TRUSTS OF 1899. (New York Journal.) Name. Capital. Amalgamated Copper.....\$75,000,000 American Car and Foundry.....58,000,000 American Ice Company.....35,000,000

PROGRESS OF TRUSTS IN 1899. New trusts organized.....300 Capital of the trusts.....\$3,500,000,000 Capital of new trusts.....\$3,500,000,000

Did you order and pay for the paper you hold before you? No! Then it was paid for by some friend who seeing the light, desires you also to see it.

A law has been passed in England compelling storekeepers to provide seats for their employees, and like law-abiding citizens the former have obeyed.

weakness is disclosed in the different remedies proposed at the last anti-trust convention, not one of which they have power to enforce.

Nine thousand million dollars of capital, of means of production, and almost doubling each year! Where will the would-be purchaser find the commodity that if not already trustified, will remain so in the near future?

The obstacles which stand in the way of the social revolution are fast disappearing. The middle class will soon cease to exist as a class, and the individuals composing it will re-appear in the ranks of the proletariat.

There has been much denunciation of the greed of British capitalists in regard to the origin of the war in South Africa, but what about the unutterable folly of a working class who seem to value the privilege of being allowed to perish in the interests of these alleged greedy ones, so highly, that they actually assault those who would prevent this foolish sacrifice on their part.

The socialists tried to hold a peace meeting at Mile End, London, last evening. A hostile crowd invaded the hall shouting "Down with the Boers" and singing the national anthem.

The possession of such an unselfish, unthinking, patriotic and idiotic proletariat as this, is the security of capitalism in England as elsewhere. The capitalist is not to be denounced for using their carcasses to carry on the war; on the contrary there is no reason why he should not avail himself of the opportunity offered by turning to his own profit the "patriotism" of his dupes.

The unpleasantness at present existing between the saint-like Carnegie and his partner Frick, promises to furnish a striking comment upon the "blessings of poverty" sermon so eloquently preached by the former a few weeks ago.

Mr. Frick says that his honest partner is trying to bunco him out of his legitimate share of the profits. He estimates his interest in the firm at the amount of something over sixteen million dollars and charges Carnegie with attempting to get control of this interest for six millions.

This year the company estimates a profit of \$40,000,000. Last year the profit amounted to \$21,000,000. What produced this enormous mass of value? The surplus product of the labor of many thousands of workmen.

There is an old saying which runs thus: "When rogues fall out, honest men get their own." But this has only a limited application, and in this case it doesn't cut any figure whatever.

There will be a general meeting of all party members Sunday, March 4th, at 7 p. m. in Luederbach's hall, 55 N. Clark street, at which the delegates from the Rochester convention will report.

By order of Central Committee. A. Klenke, Org.

BOOK REVIEWS.

SOCIALISM, UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC. By Frederick Engels. Translated by Edward Aveling.

This little volume is an exact reproduction of the standard English translation of one of the most noteworthy books of the nineteenth century.

The obstacles which stand in the way of the social revolution are fast disappearing. The middle class will soon cease to exist as a class, and the individuals composing it will re-appear in the ranks of the proletariat.

LETTER BOX.

NOTICE!—Correspondents who send in matter for publication are requested to sign their full name and address as otherwise their matter cannot appear.

News reached here from Springfield, Ill., that an individual named Fritz Body from Peoria arrived in Springfield in order to turn Section Springfield over to De Leonites, but failed in his attempt.

First, at the 11th November Anarchist memorial the Chicago De Leonites were represented by Peter Damm, who spoke at Os. Neebe's hall, and this incident was heralded by the capitalist press as showing that the S. L. P. had joined with the anarchists in the memorial to the men who were hanged in 1887.

From Kansas City.

The municipal campaign now occupies the attention of the section here. Candidates will be nominated Thursday the 22nd, and every effort will be made to get the ticket on the official ballot.

The principal of one of the high schools declares himself a "socialist" and thinks we will have socialism when all will observe the Golden Rule. The Journal (Republican) re-echoes an editorial "Socialism Will Doubtless Be Possible in the Ages to Come," but in the meantime the workingmen should vote for "something practical" for the Republican ticket of course.

Minneapolis Reorganizes.

Please publish the following, so that the readers of the Call may know that the socialists of Minneapolis cannot be controlled by a few of the tools of De Leon.

The comrades throughout the country are no doubt aware of the struggle in Minneapolis between the so-called "Kangaroos" and De Leonites. At one meeting the section would recognize the provisional Executive Committee, and then the De Leonites would make a day and day to get their dupes in line, and at the next meeting the deposed committee would secure recognition, so that the section appeared to be pretty evenly divided.

PARTY MEMBERS, NOTICE!

There will be a general meeting of all party members Sunday, March 4th, at 7 p. m. in Luederbach's hall, 55 N. Clark street, at which the delegates from the Rochester convention will report.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

H. E. WRIGHT—Your suggestion has been acted upon, as you will see by looking over our columns.

M. WEISE—The idea which you send in the matter of increasing the circulation of this paper cannot be put in operation at present for various reasons, but we receive further consideration in the near future.

From 31st Ward Branch.

Whereas, A heavy affliction has been laid upon our Comrade B. Berlin, by the death of his son, the Thirty-first Ward Branch, Section Chicago, S. L. P., recognizing the earnest and untiring efforts of our old comrade in the cause of socialism, has ordered the following resolution to be entered on the minute book of the branch, on a separate page:

Resolved, That we request express our deep sympathy and condolence with our Comrade Berlin and his family in the loss they have sustained by the death of their son George, and hope that the lapse of time will gradually efface the keen sorrow of the afflicted family; and be it further:

Resolved, That we request space in the columns of The Worker's Call for the publication of this resolution.

Organized Labor and Trusts.

One of the perplexing questions is: What will the trusts do to labor? There is one thing that should be clear to the minds of all, and that is that the trust will not look after the interest of labor any more than does the single manufacturer who is naturally not looking for the work of an organizer with labor. It is the imperative duty of labor to unite in trade unions in any event.

Why are the trusts able to more successfully combat labor? Because the weapons they use are more perfect—more powerful. Not only are these combinations more powerful because of the enormous mass of capital in their possession, but also because, unlike the trades unionists, they have also in their possession the governmental powers of this country.

It will become the "imperative duty" of the workers to organize for the possession of this power, and this can only be secured by political organization. Time itself will teach the workers the necessity of this action on their part.

We, of the so-called "educated" classes, who take it upon us to be the better and upper part of the world, cannot possibly understand our relations to the rest better than we may where actual life may be seen in front of its Shakespearean image, from the stalls of a theater.

Don't subscribe to help out the editor. Subscribe to help out yourself.

Governor Lee on Trusts.

Address Delivered at the Anti-Trust Conference by the Governor of South Dakota

The trust problem is first and last a problem of dealing with full grown capital. It is a problem of dealing with big money and men fully aware of the power of the big money over men without money. It appears serious to us now, because, for the first time in our history, the awful power of capital is fully disclosed.

The trust is not a new thing in its elemental make-up. It is not the growth of a day. It is the product of a century's growth of money. Its sudden consolidation into immense masses leads many to think that it is a new creation, come suddenly into life to enslave the people. It is, on the contrary, the simple organization into solid form of the capital which our workers have been creating for a hundred years. In its old form, unorganized and at war with itself, it appeared in a more harmless guise; indeed it was welcomed as a blessing; it was sought with brass bands and courted with banquets and fawning. Now it looms into view as a devourer of the people and a robber of their substance as well as their political liberties. Its changed form has been wrought by organizing capital and capitalists.

Big men and big money have got together. They have quit fighting each other and gone to co-operating to rob the unorganized people, who are still fighting.

But this new force, old in its constituent parts and modern in its aspect and purposes, makes a vast problem which is new. We are confronted with forces and facts, which become clear as we see the true nature of capital. We are fact to face with conditions, not theories. Time spent in talking of "trust" evils is valuable only to awaken the people and teach them the historic growth of capital and the historic outcome of a system which disclosed itself, first in the rich man, then in the corporation composed of rich men, then in combinations of incorporated companies, finally in single monopolies joining the forces of all the rest in one concern.

It must be understood that the so-called "trust" of today which is to be feared is not a mere combination of companies; it is a giant corporation monopoly, the product of multiplication and then addition of the several capitals of many companies. It is the concentrated cream of the country's labor, of which labor has been robbed! It is the piled-up surplus of the hard work of millions of toilers which small capitalists and corporations, being unable to waste in riotous living and commercial strife as fast as it was created, have finally massed in the hands of a few men for the further robbery of labor.

The trust now embraces every line of industry, controlling everything in its own line and reaching out to many others. For instance, the Standard Oil company is the leading power in steel and iron, coal, whisky, and numerous other industries aside from oil. It dictates the operations on the Wall Street stock market and draws on the United States treasury for that purpose.

We cannot look back over the last twelve months, the most remarkable in the history of trust-making, without realizing that these great monopolies are to be fewer in number, and that the "trust" of the future is to be a single monopoly, the Trust of Trusts, owning and operating every line of production and distribution and dominating, absolutely, the entire commercial and political life of the republic. We are fact to face, then, with a state of universal ownership of wealth and the sources and tools of wealth production, by monopoly, supplemented with the universal slavery of wealth producers. In this view of the case, unexplained, need I argue that our future is the most hopeless since the dawn of civilization? Need I remind you that, viewed simply as a prospect whose scientific reason is not generally understood, and whose logical and I may say inevitable outcome is not yet seen, there is reason for the fear which is instinctively felt by the people.

The groping after remedies and the discussion of purely surface facts which characterized most of the record of the former session of this conference, and which has been seen in all the newspaper and platform talk since this question became of sudden and paramount importance, shows that most of the disputants are either wholly lost or satisfied with the present aspect of the trust. Fear and frenzy on the part of the majority and cunning sophistry by trust owners and retainers has been the rule. But it is clear to me, after a calm view of the facts, that, having grown into this situation through the natural accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few men under legislative and commercial policy which has sacrificed everything to the cause of money-making and capital creation, we should be able to find a simple, logical and orderly means of turning all these conditions to the advantage of the whole people without disarrangement or destruction of wealth or methods of wealth-making. It is plain to me that having permitted a few men to take all but an existence from our farmers and laborers in exchange for the use of capital, until the few find themselves overloaded with money and the means of money making and the many find themselves with no money and no means of making a living, there is but one way out of the difficulty, and that lies in transferring the ownership and control of mines, machines and means of transportation

and distribution from the few to the many. Of one thing I am certain! We shall never go back over the past to get out. Monopoly's forts can never be taken by flank movements. They can never be reduced by compromise. They must be taken by a forward movement based on common sense and justice.

Some argue that our future lies in a retreat to the days which preceded private monopoly. Various clumsy and impractical devices are put forward to modify our burdens and make them easier. Some men are continually looking backward, demanding the re-establishment of the little rich man, and the small corporation. They cry out for the re-establishment of competition, out of which and because of which the present system of combination has come. They seem disposed to demand whatever benefits there may have been or may be to themselves in the competition of other men, but they are unwilling to accept the fruits of that competition, seen in the organization and combination of those who refuse longer to waste money by a perpetual business war. All this pattering is waste of time and brain power. We shall not return to the stage coach, nor to the little rich man, nor to the stub railroad, nor to any of the institutions of thirty years ago. We shall go ahead. We could not go backward if we would, and we would not if we could. Once the people understand the promise of plenty and liberty involved in a proper use of the knowledge which they possess.

The workmen of England once smashed the machines in their frenzy to be rid of an invention which displaced the most arduous hand labor. It is only within recent years that labor has given up hope of escaping the results of invention in its application to the production of goods. We should be considered insane if we proposed to destroy the labor-saving machines of the country and return to the hand-craft method of producing goods. Nobody would listen to such nonsense yet the trust is no less a labor-displacing machine, because a flesh and blood organization. You would not knock down the machines! Why would you discriminate the scientific methods by which machines have been mobilized to save time, muscle and waste? You would not rob the race of its knowledge of mechanics? You would not contend against the saving of time and energy. Why should you contend for the breaking up of our improved methods for directing and administering human energy? What is meant by the wild cry: "smash the trusts?" Is it the voice of reason, or is it a destructive wall having origin in the wounded man who knows that he has been hit but don't know who hit him or how to escape being hit again?

We agree that the private monopoly is a robber of labor, a breeder of want and a killer of conscience, and that, run to its full conclusion it will wipe out the middle classes and create a mass of dependent people. We do not oppose the trust because it saves time and toil. That ought to be the chief purpose of industrial progress. There is no sense in wasting wealth or human life and energy. Life is hard enough and short enough as it is; it will be hard enough and short enough in its best and highest development. WE OBJECT TO THE TRUST BECAUSE THERE ARE TOO FEW IN IT. We should find no fault with a trust which included all men and showered its blessings upon everybody as it now surfeits a constantly diminishing number of people. What is the remedy? We cannot hope to successfully "control" capital, because capital, in private hands, will control us. It is bound to be supreme, as it now is, under any system which admits its existence in that form. There can be no gain in tormenting it; and to try to "regulate" by legal restrictions simply countenances its evils under conditions which would not wipe out the system's wrongs. It is the fundamental wrong of the system, not its surface aspect, which makes it imperative to do something more than compromise with the people's oppressors. Licensing monopoly would be like licensing train robbery. You would not get rid of the robber, nor secure relief from his continued plundering; you would simply recognize the robber system and admit your inability to conquer him. You cannot get rid of him by refusing to recognize him in social intercourse. He has created a society for himself into which YOU cannot get, unless you are as prosperous a robber as himself; and he looks down upon you from the pinnacle of the "Four Hundred" and visits his scorn upon you while he buys your public servants and despises your laws. He fears nothing but an attack upon the system by which he maintains his tyranny over the people. If you would reach him, you must exterminate the whole system of robbery. When that is done, he must go to work or become a social exile.

We may legislate against private monopoly till doomsday, but so long as we do not deprive these institutions of their ownership of the means of production and distribution, we need entertain no hope that they will cease to torment us, for experience has shown that they thrive under hostile legislation. The remedy will be found in an attack upon the system of which these monopolies are the fruit. Revolutionize the control of production and distribution. Make it democratic. It is now an imperial system. Substitute public for private ownership. Throw off

private for public monopoly. Crush the rule of money and establish the rule of men. Do not destroy the machines, nor blot out the details for swift and perfect handling of commodities, but make things for people to use, not to fight over, and maybe die later for the want of. Produce and distribute wealth for the enrichment of the race; for the gratification of needs and the satisfaction of worthy aspirations; not for private profit and plunder. Such a policy can be squared with the Declaration of Independence and the Golden Rule. Such a policy will destroy public and private rascality and give birth to a new social life of which the people are capable when they are delivered from the dread of starvation and death.

How are the details to be arranged? I do not propose to go into that. No system ever had a fixed line of unchangeable details. Few details will be supplied as the requirements of the system dictate. Details will come fast enough when the principle has been agreed to. The details of the present system are good enough, if the engines of capital were reversed, and put to work for the whole people. Details are a matter of experience. No man could have predicted fifty years ago the details of the present business system; no man can foretell now the details of any system fifty years hence. Details change every day, but one thing is settled: a set of details which enriches 5 per cent of the population at the expense of 50 per cent ought to be put to work in behalf of the great masses as speedily as possible. There is only one question involved: "Shall the blessings of God and the ingenuity of man be monopolized for the benefit of a constantly narrowing column of plutocrats, or shall those blessings be appropriated to the use of the whole people?" When that question is answered in the interest of the majority—the details of our new life will adjust themselves to harmonize with the principle of equity upon which the system is built.

These propositions are met with the rejoinder that "this is socialism." Granted. That does not disprove, but rather confirms its truth! The trust is socialistic. It is private socialism. It is unregulated socialism—run for the few at the expense of the many. Our purpose is to change the scope of socialism, broaden it out; destroy socialized piracy and erect a system of fraternal co-operation in its place. But dissenters do not go further than to declare that "this is socialism," as though that were sufficient to forever put it aside. "You are a Christian" was once considered a sufficient answer to the claims of Jesus' followers. It did not disprove the teachings of Christ. "You are an abolitionist" was once a powerful argument against the abolition of chattel slavery. The sail boat twitted the steam boat; the ox cart ridiculed the stage coach; the stage coach made fun of the locomotive, but the facts were not changed. The best will survive, as it has survived. Socialism must succeed capitalism in the natural order of progress, and if you will not recognize it now I shall not quarrel with you. Time will furnish the argument.

These changes are not within the limit of an ordinary day's work. The conversion of production for private profit to production for the general welfare cannot be brought about till the Trust of Trusts—the all-absorbing, all-dominating, all-owning monopolist has taken possession of the country and forced the people, in self-defense, to expel, as this monopolist has in turn expelled from commercial existence all with whom he has been at war. The people are slow to move and patient in bearing burdens, but there is evidence that they are commencing to see the hopelessness of any attempt to regenerate the middle classes of society. Public ownership, already a well-defined political issue, must soon give birth to a political party organized to put it into force.

The process of political and economic evolution through which the country must go before the crisis really comes, will be marked by brutal exhibitions of trust practices. It will be marked by the smashing of laws, the mixing of endless anti-trust nostrums swiftly followed by their judicial overthrow. The period will be red with a continued policy of foreign conquest and an attempt to substitute a political empire, with its army and unelected institutions of force, for the Republic of Jefferson and Lincoln.

This is the logical outcome of the concentration of wealth and the diffusion of want. An empire of money must have an empire in government to sustain its power over the people. The history of this period will be famous for the degradation of the American working people to the level of our newly acquired Asiatic brethren, and for a waste of wealth by the triumphant plutocracy such as history does not equal. But in good time, when they have reached the forks of the road, where one route leads to the death of freedom and the other to liberation, the American people will rise to the call as they have risen to meet every past crisis. They will exterminate the empire of capital, expel the capital lords and erect on this continent a system of life at once natural in its growth and in perfect harmony with the teachings of Christ.

Here is typical capitalist reason given by a mine owner, as to why the wages of the anthracite coal miners have not been raised, with the increased price of coal. He tells us glibly that their wages were not reduced when coal was low, adroitly concealing the fact that wages had already reached the limit of a bare existence, and that in consequence, further reduction was impossible.

Are you still hustling for subscribers?

FOREIGN NEWS.

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

BELGIUM.

At Wareme, an agricultural constituency, the socialists polled 7,306 votes, the Liberal 5,867, and the Catholic candidate 5,882; but there will be a second ballot, as no candidate had more than half the total votes polled. The Socialists are in hopes of winning the seat, but, in any case, they have greatly increased their strength, as in 1894 their candidate only obtained 1,582 votes.

A congress of women socialists has been held at Brussels, where they are indistinguishable. The women discussed trade unionism, divorce and education. It is a hopeful sign to see that more attention is being paid to the woman question on the Continent. Formerly men have strangely neglected this question, though it is all important, because no real progress will ever be made if women are not emancipated as well as men. If the old paths as at present are thought good enough for women they should also serve for men, and there is more hope of training children in the right way if the mothers think as the fathers do.—Ex.

FRANCE.

The Chamber has been discussing the Budget of the Education Department. Carnaud, the Socialist Deputy, has been calling attention to the low salaries paid to schoolmasters in country villages, though they have to work very hard. He succeeded in getting the Chamber to vote an increase in their salaries. It will be found good policy to pay these men well as they do good work, and are useful as propagandists of Republican and secular principles.

Full results of the elections to the Senate are known, and in spite of the election of Merrier the result is satisfactory. Nothing has happened to diminish the number of Republicans; in fact it has increased. It is satisfactory, too, that no less than eight military men and one admiral were successful, and that Jules Lemaitre and Cluseret—the ex-Communist general who is now a reactionary—were also defeated.

GERMANY.

The German Reichstag has been discussing the Estimates. When the Post Office vote came up for discussion the Socialists called attention to the way in which the Minister, Count von Podbielski, had made the postmen and telegraphists act as canvassers for petitions in favor of an increase of the German navy.

RUSSIA.

The General Union of Jewish Workmen of Russia and Poland has held its third annual congress at Warsaw. This is really a branch of the Russian Social-Democratic party. More than 20 delegates took part in the meeting, the chief industrial Polish towns being represented. The congress was a secret one, but reports of its proceedings have appeared, though no names are given, as this would mean its members being sent to Siberia. It appears that several strikes have taken place and that the Poles have succeeded in reducing the hours of labor in factories.

SPAIN.

A new weekly paper has appeared at Valencia, the "Republica Social." It aims at strengthening the Socialist party in that town, and a socialist club has also been opened. The leaders intend to carry on an active propaganda.

LABOR ITEMS.

Notes From Trades Union Journals and Exchanges, Throughout the United States.

Here is a sidelight on the troubles of the corporations. Several Illinois miners were tried on the charge of conspiring to murder, and acquitted, which caused an operator (employer and mine owner) to publish a card in a coal trade journal denouncing the verdict. The miners were defended by the union, and this "love of liberty, law and order" protests against operators allowing their employes to contribute a portion of their wages for such an unholy purpose. The money expended in attorney's fees for the defense—for he does not allege any was expended for other purposes—is dominated a corruption fund. But what hurts this "captain of industry" most is that he will probably not be treated to any salutary hanging, because so long as the present jury system prevails, and jurors are selected from among small farmers and laboring men, who are easily prejudiced—he means unpurchasable by, probably—against corporations. He does not advocate the abolition of trial by jury, but he desires it. And why should he not have his desire gratified? Does he not represent that most sacred of all things in this mammon-worshipping age—wealth? If imprisonment by injunction be good, why not have a few hangings by the same process.—Typographical Journal.

Industry has in fact been socialized. It requires 100 men to make a shoe and 1,000 men to make a watch. The individual in production has practically been displaced by co-operative methods. The machine has taken the place of hand production, and the worst of all is that the profits go into the hands of the few who own the machines.—Ex.

We know from observation that when a man becomes a little old and gray, he finds it difficult to retain or secure a job. But a new menace confronts us. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company has decreed, so 'tis said, that all

employees weighing over 150 pounds are to be discharged. Ye editor has no fears of a personal nature, but if this fat spreads, he trembles for the future of many officers of labor organizations when the inevitable ax falls. Embroidery and the aldermanic pose will become unfashionable in certain circles.—Ex.

Strange as it may appear to some, the central labor union of the city of Trenton, N. J., is a young institution. However, it enjoys that pleasing constant of youth—vigor—and is conducting an educational campaign which is attracting the attention of staid old New Jersey papers. At a recent meeting Secretary McGuire, of the Carpenters' Brotherhood, was the principal speaker, and let fall these thought-suggesting sentences:

As the heathen rulers of old sought to grind out the very life of the poor, so are the capitalists of today working in the same direction. The plans of the latter are more subtle, but none the less depressing. In this great republic are thousands of men and women who will turn like the worm when the heel of oppression becomes too heavy, and then will follow scenes that will rival the Paris commune.

Yearning for a fast and furious rate, and there is needed a bulwark of conservative labor organizations to counteract the revolutionary forces of a dissatisfied populace which will prove sullen, relentless and dangerous.

Look at the incoming tide of South Europe immigration, hot blooded, passionate and hard to control. See the neglect of industrial and mechanical training. Many of the old trades are dying out. In Lynn, Mass., twenty years ago one man completed a pair of shoes; today he is one of sixty-two others who do parts of the job; he is one-sixty-second of a shoemaker. Organization is needed to remedy these lowering evils growing out of this condition.

Men who one year ago were howling on the street corners for work and better times, are now satisfied with the improvement that has come, and are taking more interest in dog fights and prize fights than in the great fight for the interests of their wives and children. Fifty cents seems a good bit for dues, but it soon goes for ten before, and then you are worse off than before.—Typographical Journal.

Upholders of the courts—those who use that on the bench will be found men of great intellect and wide sympathies, whose opinions are questioned only by the unpatriotic—who point to them as a means of a relief from evils imposed by corporate greed, are misleading the people. The education and environment of those who occupy the bench give them an undoubted—though perhaps unconscious—bias in favor of corporations, those who employed them before they went on the bench, and from whom they expect retainers after they doff the ermine. Some decisions preclude any other conclusion; those that are not subservive of the doctrines of civil liberty are inhuman in sentiment, and here are two sample expressions of the latter kind:

If a railroad company kills a child its parents should be satisfied with damages of \$1. Children are a source of expense to their parents and of no pecuniary benefit.—Supreme Court Justice W. S. Gummere, of New Jersey.

Provided the railroad killed the man painlessly, \$10 is sufficient damages for his relatives. The relatives must prove that the dead man suffered pain to get more. The fact that the body is mutilated does not prove it.—Justice Robinson, of the Supreme Court of Connecticut.—Ex.

At this writing it begins to look as though the Social Democratic party convention at Indianapolis, beginning March 6, will be an immense affair. Reports are coming in from all sides of the selection of delegates by branches, and we even hear that some labor organizations will seek admission. That there will be amalgamation between the S. D. P. and the S. L. P. which repudiated the odious De Leonism there is little doubt. Nearly every newspaper in both parties is now committed to union, and we are in receipt of many letters from prominent party workers giving the assurance that they will bend all their energies toward securing harmonious results.

There is every reason why progressive men and women should rejoice at this turn of affairs. The country is at last to have a truly representative Socialist party—a party that will stand for pure, rational and attractive, but nevertheless uncompromising and aggressive, tactics. It will be officered and directed by broad-minded, tolerant and statesmanlike men, who understand the labor movement in all its phases, and who can be trusted in the future as they have been in the past.

We are positive that the Indianapolis convention will not only gladden the heart of every true man and woman as regards harmony, but that it will also strike a blow against capitalism—as exemplified by Republican plutocracy, Democratic reaction and "reform" confusion—that will be heard from one end of the country to the other, and that will only have been equaled at Rochester.

Speed the happy day when all socialists, progressive trade unionists and those who honestly sympathize with labor can march shoulder to shoulder under the banner of International Socialism to conquer the governing powers, overthrow capitalism, and introduce the Co-operative Commonwealth.—Cleveland Citizen.

(For further Labor Items see 'Foreign News.')

BUNDLES OF THE WORKERS' CALL.

100 copies 50 cents.
50 copies 35 cents.
25 copies 20 cents.

This offer is for bundles mailed to one address.

It is lonesome being the only socialist at your shop or in your block. If you want company spend a dollar for ten three months subscriptions to 'The Workers' Call' and you will soon find that everybody is talking socialism.

MARX AND DARWIN.

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

(Continued from last week.)

The march of evolution in nature is characterized by the fact, that none of the later evolutionary phases destroys everything that made up the preceding one; but removes only the objectionable, pathological phenomena. Such is also the evolution and social development of mankind. No one desires to remove the good sides of the present socio-economic structure, but it should be kept in mind, that this structure, though, on the whole, more perfect than the older ones, though it represents a higher stage of civilization, it is still, in some respects, inferior to them. The workingman of today stands physically and mentally, higher than the ancient slave or the subject peasant of the middle ages; he enjoys personal liberties and greater rights, but this is offset by the fact that he is forced to carry on a perpetual struggle for his daily bread, while the others had an assured material existence without fear of starvation, because this was necessary to the interests of their masters.

Therefore, socialism, acknowledging the good qualities of the present bourgeois society, acknowledging its merits and gains for the development of civilization, desires to remove just these bad and injurious sides of the present structure, and wants to add to the personal liberties, and political rights, the certainty of material existence, and this, through the conveyance of capital and means of production to society.

There are some people who fear, that such a reconstruction of the socio-economical organization, will carry with it, the destruction of personal liberty. This is a natural result of another law of evolution, which Spencer formulated in the following thesis: "Each, already attained stage of development, becomes an obstruction to further progress."

After having conquered one of our ideals, after having struggled for it in the course of social evolution, and at last attained it, then again, after we have grown to love, and to recognize certain institutions, it is only natural to fear, that through new reforms we might lose some of our attainments. Socialism, however, does not aim at the removal of the already gained political and social rights, or freedom of thought or action; it desires only to add to them the economic freedom, which may be attained only by the introduction of collective ownership of capital and means of production. Without the economical freedom, all other liberties and rights are but illusions instead of realities. There is no thought of removing all property, because property is all the things necessary either for food, or clothing and home utensils for single individuals and whole families will always remain; only capital, in all its forms, as land, machines, tools of production, etc., must be owned collectively by the people. Quite futile, however, are the objections, that, when men will no longer be able to collect values, and to pile up fortunes for themselves, or for their families, and when they will have a free use of collective property and institutions, they will lose all the desire for work, or will work negligently. Already today we see collective property, like communal fields and pastures, which are managed in a way not less perfect than the private ones, and also institutions, the access to which is free to all, and we do not notice, that they lessen anyone's desire for work. It is only necessary to extend this, already existing institution of collective property to the means of communication, land, machines, and all the means of production. There need, however, be no fear that all will use railroads or vehicles to such an extent, that there will not be enough of them to accommodate all. This would happen only where the change would be suddenly introduced, and even then only at the beginning of the new arrangement. Although many of the public functionaries have today the right of free usage of railroads, still they do not use them excessively. Just such would be the case, if these means would be made accessible to all. The desire of using it would be counterbalanced by some other egoistical motives: want of exercise or the pleasures of a promenade for instance. On the whole, in the socialist society, all the egoistical motives and impulses would accommodate themselves to the changed conditions. Above all, however, where everyone will have an ascertained existence and an economical freedom, egoism will not develop so markedly, and will make place for the sense of the solidarity and unity of all.

Socialism aspiring to such an organization, does not at all deny the liberty and autonomy of the individual; on the contrary, from the present exaggerated individualism, it wants to retain all that is healthy in it, while the pathological phenomena are to be rejected. In the chapter XI (Evolution, Revolution and Overthrow, Socialism and Anarchism) Professor Ferri deals with the last argument which is commonly brought against socialism, to show its disagreement with the theory of evolution. Socialism, they say, hopes to change the aspect of the world suddenly by means of artificially introducing arrangements, while evolution progresses slowly, step by step, using means given by nature itself. Professor Ferri most energetically repudiates this insinuation and says that scientific socialism never had any desire of introducing sudden and artificial changes into society. This reproach may have had some bearing when made against the older Utopian socialists, who believed, as some of the most radical liberals, believe yet,

that society is a dough which may be formed and reformed at will, by a few paragraphs of the statute. Such samples of a future state were given us by the Utopians, but this was exceeded, according to Professor Ferri, by the political legislation of the present society, which proclaiming the liberty of all men, entangles them in a net of paragraphs, court decisions and ordinances. . . . The scientific socialism, basing upon the latest results of science, knows that the evolution of society progresses along the road of natural development, slowly and gradually, and until the transformation has ripened, no artificial and forcible efforts to bring about sudden changes in the social structure, will be successful. Besides, like a biologist, who having but a germ, cannot, with any certainty draw the picture and qualities of the individual that is to come out of it, so in like manner socialism is not able to draw in detail the picture of the future social structure, to which it aspires; it may only show the road along which its development will march and does not consider it worth while to answer the same unscientific and foolishly repeated objections of its enemies, as to the details of the future society.

The usual processes of social evolution are, however, evolution and revolution. By evolution Professor Ferri understands not a violent overthrow, but the last act of social transformations, which for a long time have been preparing.

Today, according to his opinion, we are just in the epoch of such a crisis. Everywhere it may be seen and felt, that the present bourgeois society is shaken and burst, from the splits that are showing themselves on its body, vapors of blood, and the groans of the miserable press through, thus showing, that inner subversions have undermined the basis of its existence. The scientific socialism does not incite to violent actions, on the contrary, it condemns them, because it knows that the hour of an open rupture has not struck, the transformation has not matured yet and therefore, at present, it endeavors only to spread its ideas over the masses of society, and to inoculate them with the necessity of social change. The words: "Proletarians of all countries, unite," do not mean anything more than this: As soon as the masses of the proletariat become conscious of this idea, as soon as they come to understand the necessity of the transfer of all capital to society, the transformation will be an easy one, and perhaps even without any bloodshed like in the English revolution of the seventeenth century, or that in Brazil achieved by the overthrowing of Don Pedro's throne. It may be necessary to use force—but for today, we can hardly foresee.

It is evident, Professor Ferri concludes, that scientific socialism has no thought of changing the social structure suddenly, and that it has nothing in common with anarchism, which is through and through individualistic, and hopes, by means of violence against individuals or a sudden revolt to attain a social reform. For the support of this assertion, he cites the open letter of the Italian Socialist Labor party, written after the assassination of Carnot, in which the party strongly condemns that insane action.

(To be continued.)

An Open Letter

(Continued from page 1.)

I had thought that, that peculiar idea of the goodness, badness or indifference of individuals having any perceptible effect upon the movement of the world, was an exploded notion.

Individuals have come and gone and the world has gone on without them. This you cannot doubt.

Mr. Jones, let me be plain with you: You or no other single individual can move the society of today. Not until the great majority of society are ready, will they move, and then, men, good ones, bad ones, indifferent ones, all together, consciously and unconsciously, will furnish the motive power necessary to move society to the next stage, whose economic basis must be that of socialism.

One point here I nearly forgot—your "party idea." You forget that no class can act effectively for its own benefit except as a political organization; this is too plain and needs no argument to back it.

This definition of socialism; this mission of the socialists, based upon the class struggle, is one that has rallied to its support millions of the working class, all the world over. Today the thrones of Europe tremble at its growth and menace, which no repression could check. At Paris, capitalist society is panic-stricken because of a funeral parade of 6,000 socialists, and you, Mr. Jones, if you wish to get a correct idea of socialists and socialism, read the works of the militant socialist writers of the world.

Respectfully,
R. A. Morris.

Society Alarmed

(Continued from page 1.)

absurd and contemptible statements, which are in common use among a class who feel that their economic supremacy is threatened.

Having commended the "home" to the tender mercies of capitalism, the anti-suffragists then deliver themselves of a semi-religious and "moral" tirade, pointing out the dangers which threaten the "republic," a word which is used to represent the class to which they belong, and the interests of that class. The "moral and spiritual influences" which flow from the home and sustain

the character and progress of civilization," "discrimination between the true and false in progress," "yielding allegiance to all that is best and most sacred in morals and government."

What is the meaning of these hackneyed phrases? Only this: They are the clouds of dust with which the capitalist classes hope to blind the eyes of the workers; to awe them into submission by torrents of solemn and stupid words. Stripped of their "moral" garb, they say to the working class, "If you dare attempt to secure to yourselves the full product of your labor, you will bring on a catastrophe which will destroy the best, the most sacred, all those things most worthy of preservation, that at present exists. We and the class which we represent are those things."

Not only are the anti-suffragist women opposed to the franchise for their own sex, but they also see the danger which lies in its intelligent use by the other sex.

What is the meaning of this sentence: "IN NO OTHER COUNTRY IS THE ROAD TO POWER MORE STRAIGHT AND EASY THAN HERE, WHERE THE BALLOT IS THE SOLE ARBITER OF POLITICAL DESTINIES?"

This is a truth which socialists incessantly preach to those workmen whose folly at the ballot box, is the security of the exploiting class. The possible fear that the ballot may be used against them leads to the discussion of the feasibility of depriving the workers of its use. And in perceiving this the women of the ruling classes display a consciousness of their interests which should put workmen to shame. If intelligence were the qualification for the franchise, these anti-suffragists are clearly entitled to its use, far more so than the workers, whose indifference to their class interests leaves them an easy prey to the exploiting capitalist. But these women know well enough that while the security of "property rights" is guaranteed by the stupidity of the working class, there is no necessity for them to trouble about the franchise for themselves. They see that the only possible danger to their interests lies in socialism, and therefore every prevention of the extension of the franchise, and every enticement of the voting power which now exists, are matters of importance to them. They understand that the "road to power is easy and direct," that the use of the ballot can place the power in the hands of a class whose interests are hostile to theirs, and naturally enough, they want this road blocked.

The "Anti-Suffrage Woman's League" is founded entirely upon the recognition of the class struggle, from the capitalist point of view.

Who Are Our Rulers?

A member of the London chamber of commerce writing on the "open door" policy in China after showing the American capitalist class that their interests coincide with England's in this matter, in the conclusion of his argument clearly and concisely states the end and aim for which modern government is instituted, what the ruling interests of the present day consist of, and the dominant factors in guiding and controlling that interest. He says:

I will say this, that inviting expressions of opinions and discussions on subjects like this will be of inestimable value, for it will attract the attention of leading COMMERCIAL MEN and enable them to bring A PRESSURE ON THE POLITICIANS WHO, AFTER ALL, ARE SIMPLY THOSE TO EXECUTE THE POLICY OF THE NATION, and the GREAT COMMERCIAL POLICY OF THE NATION MUST BE GUIDED BY COMMERCIAL MEN. The politicians—and when I use the word I am not referring to ward politicians—I am using the word as referring to one who wants to be first the country and the government. THE LEADING COMMERCIAL MEN CAN BRING PRESSURE TO BEAR ON OUR POLITICIANS and then the INTERESTS OF THE COUNTRY will be served—they will adequately and positively be protected, and they can only be so protected when we have that expression from those most interested.

Marx has observed that "the executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole capitalist class." Read the above extract again and see if it is not in every aspect a complete corroboration of the statement of Marx as given here. The socialist bases his ideas upon the observed structure of modern society, and the assertions of members of the capitalist class often confirm his statements to the very letter, as they do in this case.

A DOUBTFUL BAIT.

French Statesman Attempts to Divert the Attention of the Workers by Indefinite Promises.

Waldeck-Rousseau has written the preface to Boncour's book, "Economic Federalism," in which he says: "The law has placed in workingmen's hands an instrument of social evolution by the pacific accession of wage-earners to industrial and commercial property. This evolution may be brought about by the syndicated federation of labor."—Chicago Tribune.

M. Waldeck-Rousseau is a trifle obscure in this matter, but the French working class have a definite conception of what they want, which will not be disturbed by any effort on the part of Waldeck-Rousseau or any other capitalist statesman. Whatever laws can be used in the process of transforming individual property in the means of production, into collective property, will be so used; and whatever laws stand in the way of this consummation will be overturned. Capitalist laws were not created with the intention of placing in the workingman's hands a weapon for the abolition of the capitalist system. The law is the expression of the will of the ruling class, and naturally upholds the interests of

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 pulpit, the schools, and the public press, thereby making them the arbiters of the fate of the working class, while it, in 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 exploiters 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 under 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 warring 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.

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

Attention! Attention!

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that class. The workingman's vote was also never intended by those who granted its exercise, to be used as a weapon against their interests. But social evolution cannot be stopped or stayed. All signs now point to the fact that the present ruling class in France are gradually being shorn of political power, by the rising intelligence of the producers of all wealth. It is too late now to attempt to side-track the class-conscious movement of the French workers, by holding out the bait of "acquisition of property" on the part of the wage earner, under the present system of production. If such acquisition were possible there would be no reason for the socialist movement, and the French workers are intelligent enough to know this. M. Waldeck-Rousseau and his class are evidently looking for a soft spot to fall on. It is the beginning of the end for them.

The guilty thieves of Europe, the real sources of all deadly war in it, are the capitalists—that is to say people who live by percentages or the labor of others; instead of by fair wages of their own. . . . All social evils and religious errors arise out of the pillage of the laborer by the idler; the idler leaving him only enough to live on (and even that miserably), and taking all the rest of the produce of his work to spend in his own luxury, or on the toys with which he beguiles his idleness.—John Ruskin.

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