

THE WORKERS' CALL.

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

SECOND YEAR.—WHOLE NO. 62.

CHICAGO, ILL., MAY 12, 1900.

PRICE TWO CENTS

BOSSSES DON'T CARE

Strike at Quincy Stove Foundries Just Suits Them.

MEN PRODUCED TOO MUCH.

Masters Will Go to the Paris Exposition While Workers Starve Until Stock Is Reduced.

The cleaners and grinders of the stove foundries of Quincy have been existing for some time on from a \$1 to \$1.50 a day. During the past week they decided that they wished to come a little nearer living and struck for a 20 per cent increase. The bosses at once welcomed the strike declaring that there was an overproduction in those lines and that the proposed strike gave them just the opportunity of closing the mills they needed and that it was particularly opportune as it came just at the time when all the stove manufacturers were to have a meeting of their association in New York. All the employers accordingly started for New York leaving their employes to meekly wait or serve while they had a vacation. One employer announced his intention of going to the Paris exposition while the strike was on.

Meanwhile they have taken the old attitude toward the men in that they refuse to treat with the union but express their willingness to meet individuals, well understanding that in treating with the men one by one the laborer nearest starvation sets the standard for all the others, and that once the union is destroyed all hope of resistance on the part of the workers is gone. Hence whatever else happens the men must maintain their union organization if they ever hope to gain anything.

But does it not strike the laborers as a rather strange situation in which they find themselves? The foundries, the tools and the buildings are still in Quincy. They were made by the laborers of Quincy and can only be used by them. The employers could never produce a stove and will never attempt it. Why then must the workers of Quincy starve while those who never built a foundry or cast a stove are on a pleasure trip to New York or Paris? Is it not simply because the employers have united with the other employers to fool the laborers into helping make laws which declare that the tools, machinery, foundries, etc., shall be the property of the capitalist class and that the laborers can only live by selling themselves piece-meal to those owners? Why should not the stove workers of Quincy imitate their employers' and uniting with the laboring class of the world declare that what the laboring class creates it shall own and that the mines, factories, including the Quincy stove works shall be the property of those who work in them? When this is done the capitalists can extend their vacation indefinitely, save that their source of supply will be cut off. The laborers will retain all their product and produce until their wants are satisfied and then stop and take a vacation of their own while they consume what they have produced.

PROOFS OF "PROSPERITY."

Laborers Kick, and Their Masters Shield Themselves Behind the Powers of Government.

How is this for a list of strikes of sufficient importance to be mentioned in the daily press of the last week: Milwaukee moulders in E. P. Allis' works have struck against working with a scab.

The Great Northern is largely tied up through Montana waiting for the arrival of the Chicago scabs referred to in another item in this issue.

The Little Rock, Ark., motormen are out for an increased share of the wealth they are creating.

Six hundred employes of the Oxford Copper Smelting company of Constable Hook, N. J., are being clubbed by the police, because they asked for a nine-hour day.

The Pere Marquette railroad from Ludington, Mich., is being operated by imported scabs under police protection.

The Boston brewery engineers are trying to improve their condition through a strike.

Work on the Buffalo Pan American exposition is being delayed because the laborers dislike the condition of their slavery.

The Philadelphia building trades are rebelling against the conditions under which they are creating wealth for others.

The St. Paul plumbers and Minneapolis woodworkers are engaged in a struggle for higher wages and shorter hours.

Kansas City plumbers, tinners, slaters, and carpenters have joined the general strike which seems to be prevailing over the country in the building trades.

Akron, O., boltersmen and moulders are asking an increase of 15 per cent and refusing to work until it is received.

This is little more than the beginning of the list of rebellious wage slaves who are discontented with the conditions of "prosperity." In almost every case their employers have at once placed themselves behind the political powers of government and left the strikers to fight with the police, the army or the courts. When will the laborers learn the lesson that it is time for their class to control the political power?

LAYING ON THE LASH.

Capitalism Brings Up Its Reserves to Force the Unions Into Line.

It is now announced that the Chicago banks refused to further honor municipal warrants unless the labor men were discharged from the city hall. This is simply one more proof of the fact that relying on capitalist politics always falls when most needed, as in the last analysis the capitalist politician belongs bag and baggage to the capitalist class. Still another whip has been brought to bear upon the trade unionists of Chicago by the employers. Having brought the executive, Carter Harrison and the police into line, they swing the judicial club. The present grand jury, chosen from the boulevards and the "respectable" classes and including a few contractors, is busy indicting the more active union men for various offenses against capitalist law. Still another capitalist battery was trained on the trade union position from behind the judicial bulwarks this week. Judge Tutill has just declared the provision in the contracts for Cook county work that none but union labor be employed, to be unconstitutional.

The whole Chicago strike situation may be summed up by saying that the employers have said to Carter Harrison and the democratic politicians, "It is time you stopped fooling with labor and tended to the business for which we keep you." Meanwhile the laborers are making a magnificent fight, and are worthy of all support and we hope that the comrades of other cities who are members of unions will respond liberally when the call for assistance comes to their local unions.

THE ST. LOUIS STRIKE.

How the Capitalists Expect to Use the Street Car Mail Service.

The employes of the St. Louis Transit company have all left work in order to secure their right to organize. It appears that some time ago the general manager set out to "bust the union." He organized a "scab union" to break the regular organization, discharged those who are striving to build up their union and gave special privileges to those who were trying to wreck it.

At last when it became evident that in a short time their only weapon of united defense would be taken from them the men struck. Although no disorder was attempted by the men or even alleged to exist by the employers, 500 "private watchmen" with full police powers were sworn in.

The union men propose to run various lines of vehicles to accommodate all passengers who are in sympathy with them. The men are standing solidly together, and are making preparations for a hard struggle.

One remark by Edward Wittaker, president of the Transit company, is significant in view of the fact that the situation to which he refers exists on nearly every great street railway system in the United States. He said:

"The power houses will hardly be bothered in case of a strike, for in case that should be done, the United States government would immediately step in. Shutting off the power would obstruct the United States mail. We have contracts on every line of the road."

This is what the socialists have often pointed out—that the carrying of the mails by the street car lines was simply in order to make the calling in of the United States troops easier in case the workers were not sufficiently submissive.

This Means You.

Have you filled up the blank for campaign subscriptions that was in your paper last week? If not, why not? There is not a single one of the subscribers of the Call that cannot either afford the time to fill that blank by collecting the fifteen cents of each subscriber or afford the money to fill it in with prospective converts and contribute the dollar and a half. If not working he can do the first—if employed, the second. In either case there is nothing he can do that will bring him in equally good returns.

Social Ostracism.

These people were connected with a trust and were therefore socially ostracized.

It is true sumptuous carriages were frequently to be seen drawing up under their porte cochere, but these brought only snobs.

The loeman delivered their ice without saying a word, and the policeman was hardly civil to their cook.

Pack peddlers passed their house by. Agents left no samples of soap whatever.

There was a gloomy life. Anybody could see that their gayety was affected.—Detroit Journal.

Are you still hustling for subscribers?

"MEN WHO COUNT" A "FAIR DAY'S WORK"

London Press Accurately Sizes Up As Capitalists and Workingmen Define It.

RECOGNITION OF CLASS RULE. AGREEMENT IS IMPOSSIBLE.

The "Chronicle" Points Out Who the Boer Envoys to the U. S. Will Have to Do "Business" With.

The press dispatches from Europe last week contained an item which should make the "reformer who believes in all the people," do some hard thinking, that is, of course assuming that the individual in question is competent to do so. Here is a slap in the face for that very indefinite abstraction which, frothy and empty-headed word jugglers deftly under the name of "the people," and it is only necessary to wait and see what they will do about it. The press dispatch in question says as follows:

The departure of the Boer delegates from Holland to the United States and what they have said of their purposes and hopes draw British attention to American views of the war.

Today's Chronicle says: "The men who count in the United States are not likely to accept the views which Messrs. Fischer and Wessels intend to place before them."

What is the meaning of this? Isn't this a "government of, for and by the people." And yet here is a matter which the bearers intend to lay before the whole people of the United States, and long before it arrives, a foreign capitalist organ prophesies its fate, not at the hands of the whole people, but at those of the "men who count."

Surely the intelligent gentlemen who run the London "Chronicle" must have heard many times that in this land of the free, where pure democracy reigns triumphant, all men count equally? How comes it then that they conclude that this matter will be settled by a fraction of the population, and that the views of the rest are of no consequence?

There is one answer and one only. Those who own and control the means of production and distribution, are the masters of the rest, and can enforce their opinions through the medium of their political tools. Being economically supreme, they are the "men who count," and they will settle this question as they think best, and the enormous mass of those that "don't" count will have to grin and bear it.

The "Chronicle" has in all probability correctly forecasted their action. This organ of British capitalism assumes that the material interests of the "men who count" in the United States, will not be furthered by entertaining and acting upon the views which will be presented to them by the Boer delegates, and from this assumption draws the logical conclusion that the latter will fail in their mission.

The "Chronicle" lays no stress upon the supposed predilection for republican forms of government which is said to influence the action of the United States, shows no alarm about the desire which the average American is popularly supposed to possess in helping a "struggling sister republic" to maintain its "independence," doesn't imagine that the old vaporings about the "rights of free peoples" is going to cut any figure in this question. While it does not altogether leave them out of account, the "Chronicle" understands perfectly what it is that always determines the actions of the "men who count," and it deliberately places this rag-bag full of sentimental trash in one scale, and the MATERIAL INTERESTS of the "men who count," in the other, and sees that the latter kicks the beam while the former springs into the air.

The "Chronicle" knows well that if the Boer delegates cannot show the "men who count" in the United States, that the interests of American capitalism will be better served by taking up their cause than by leaving it alone, their mission will be a failure.

Incidentally the "Chronicle" puts a value upon those who have tried to avenge what they were pleased to call "public sentiment" on behalf of the Boers, those statesmen who attempted to pass "resolutions of sympathy" with our "sister republic" the Transvaal, those cheats and dupes who congregated in mass meetings and filled the air with impotent denunciations, windy resolutions, useless oratory, and frothy sentiment. They are elphers. They don't count.

All the declarations of independence, all the most eloquent and beautiful apostrophes to "liberty" ever written, must give way when brought into antagonism with the interests of the ruling class. They can only become real and effective with the triumph of socialism, the economic and political supremacy of the vast masses of producers, who at present "don't count."

If you can't attend the Paris Exposition, what's the matter with attending to an exposition of socialism in the columns of this paper?

that of the capitalist and that of the workman, and their judgment is consequently different—every time. The same observation holds good regarding the "fair day's wage."

Any apparent agreement is but the result of compulsion on one side or the other.

This condition will cease only with the abolition of the capitalist system of production. When that occurs there will be no wage, but the "fair day's work" will become a reality.

It will be judged from one standpoint only—that of the man who performs it. Big or little, great or small, fair or unfair, the social value of that day's labor shall be his. No less and no more.

A MODERN DEATH TRAP.

How the Slaughter of Laborers in the Illinois Steel Mills is Carefully Suppressed.

The Illinois Steel company added another to the host of industrial murders for which it is responsible last week. A car containing twelve tons of molten metal was capsized over a pit full of workmen. Fortunately there was time for a moment's warning that saved most of them from a horrible death. As it was two workmen were fatally burned and a number more received injuries that will make them valueless to their owners, the Illinois Steel company, and hence leave them that most pitiful sight of our modern wage system—slaves without masters and hence with no right to live.

It is not generally known how great a slaughter house of workers this immense industrial concern really is. It will be remembered that it is one of those benevolent institutions in which our friend Rockefeller collects the contributions of the workers for the support of foreign missions and theological seminaries. Under the laws of the state of Illinois, framed in the interest of the owning class, there is nothing to compel the employers to in any way safeguard their machinery. The result is that at the present time this enormous industrial plant is simply open to the most dangerous machinery of all kinds around and there is scarcely a day when the life of some poor wage slave is not offered up on the altar of this modern Moloch, while accidents involving the loss of an eye, a hand or a limb are so frequent as to scarcely attract attention and are carefully kept from the public press.

The corporation maintains a "Company Hospital" within the walls of the plant, to which all who are injured within the works MUST be taken and where they are subjected to the mercies of a "Company surgeon," whose first business it is to protect the firm against damage suits and after that to incidentally practice his knowledge of surgery upon the helpless victim. It is no uncommon thing for the relatives of those injured to be denied access to their husbands, fathers or brothers who are incarcerated in this combination of the inquisition and a butcher shop, but they affect the decision of the victim before the corporation attorney has had time to "adjust" the claim.

Every year a majority of these employes go to the polls and cast their vote for the democratic or the republican candidates and hence for the system of private property in this great plant that their labors have created and which today they can alone operate, and in thus voting voice their approval of these conditions. But already there are signs that they are beginning to realize their mistake and two strong S. L. P. branches, one among the Polish and the other composed of the English speaking comrades is a promise of the day that is near at hand when these conditions will be no more.

The Carter who was defeated by Haney, must not be confounded with the gentleman of the same name who was lately whipped by the "business men" and Contractors' Council of Chicago.

Bishop Hartzell declared that there was "as much independence" under the British flag as under the American," a statement which doesn't throw much light on the amount and quality of the said "independence." Bishops, however, as a rule don't inquire too closely into such matters. If they did, they would get themselves disliked, and they know it.

John W. Gates is to be "examined" in the courts. John has warned his "examiners" that he wants to go to Europe at once, and that they would do well to rush their "examination" through as speedily as possible, a warning which they were quick to comply with, recognizing at once that John wasn't a union picket.

Comrades of the Fourteenth ward will please take notice that a meeting of the branch will be held Sunday, May 13th, 2 p. m. sharp, at Schoenhofen's hall, corner of Milwaukee and Ashland avenues. Matters of the utmost importance are to be discussed and the attendance of all comrades of the branch is earnestly requested.

The "fair day's work" is judged from two totally different standpoints, viz.,

SOCIALIST POINTERS

The Judiciary is entirely nonpartisan in the matter of injunctions.

Even with a union of forces socialism will not come if we all sit down and fold our hands.

John W. Gates is not afraid the courts will do anything to him; he has too much money.

The lawyers will not have all of the snags just as soon as the workmen get "onto" the combination.

Socialism means that the negro's vote will also be counted even though he should be in the majority.

The socialist state will have no need for the fellow who can bring in a solid delegation from his ward.

Possibly Mr. Bryan has never heard of the bull pen. Mr. McKinley has and he is thoroughly tired of it.

Nowhere is there the suspicion of a hint that Bryan does not believe in the doctrine of private property.

Carnegie has given away several million dollars in the past year and he did not earn a dollar of it either.

A vote for McKinley sanctions the policy of shooting down Filipinos who have never done us any wrong.

We are not exclusive enough to want an American movement. International socialism is good enough for us.

Alleged socialists who are afraid Debs will beat Bryan should vote for him that he may beat McKinley also.

It is getting so that it is considered a great victory in Europe if all other parties combined can beat the socialists.

Mark Hanna does not mind kicking on 34 days in the year just so the people wake up and take his medicine on election day.

Socialism in our day may be accomplished if we can just get the good word to all the people. Help circulate the party papers.

One step at a time we will take it to capture a city here and there and to elect a few members of the different state legislatures.

The workingman's family is entitled to as many good things as the family of the banker and they can have them, too, if he only votes right.

Great quantities of gold are being shipped to Paris but the people who produced the wealth it represents are not going along to spend it.

Laboring men have the numbers. Have they the intelligence? Does the number of lawyers and bankers in one national body answer the question?

Lack of time we are told is the only thing that prevented the grand jury from indicting material men, but the same body found ample time to indict strikers.

The fellows who are now appropriating the products of other men's labor are very anxious to know if socialists intend to confiscate all of the property in the world.

The preacher has to go because he does not expound the gospel in a way that pleases Rockefeller. Still they wonder why the church is losing hold on the people.

The brunt of the Chicago strike is being borne by the middle men, the fellows with little groceries and butcher shops. They are good people to reach at present with socialistic literature.

The same generous mother, nature, which furnishes the air, also put the coal into the ground and corporations or individuals have no more right to claim ownership of one than the other.

To Chicago Comrades.

How many out-door meetings have you arranged for as yet? There is not a branch in the city that cannot have at least one a week. They are the most fruitful form of agitation that is carried on and should be pushed as hard as possible.

Send in an order for a bundle of The Workers' Call and some copies of the Pocket Library and manage for at least one meeting during the coming week. See to it that all the comrades are present at the beginning of the meeting—have someone appointed to sell papers and literature and keep everything going. There never was a better time to talk to the laborers of Chicago than now when they are learning the terrible lesson of the power of capitalism at the stern school of experience.

Voting the capitalist scab ticket on election day means hard scratching the rest of the year.

A. Ogus, Sec.

THE WORKERS' CALL.

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

Editorial Announcements: To secure the return of unused manuscripts postage should be enclosed. Communications must reach the office by Monday evening preceding the issue in which they are to appear.

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



STILL IN THE FIELD.

The response to the request for help in our last issue was prompt and generous. From every quarter of the country came letters containing money, words of encouragement and promise of future effort.

THE GENERAL STRIKE.

One of the tendencies towards the ultimate union of the whole working class can be always observed during the persistence of such labor troubles as those now rampant in this city.

fore this event, the idea of a general strike was realized by the workmen of Belgium, who to the number of over 250,000 quit work at a preconcerted signal, and wrenched from their masters the right of franchise which was the object of their strike.

MY COUNTRY.

[From the Russian of Michael Lermontov.] Land of my love, another thy blood-bought glory. Nor the proud self-reliance of thy rest.

FORESTALLING A STRIKE.

The following clipped from the columns of the Chicago Chronicle would seem to indicate that preparations are being made in advance for any attempt on the part of the laborers on the railroads of the northwest to object to the conditions under which they may at present be employed.

SNAP SHOTS BY THE WAYSIDE.

Roosevelt, it is said, will accept a "hurrah" nomination for the vice-presidency on the ground that "no man can withstand such a call to duty."

The Carnegie Co. claim that the process of making Krupp steel is a secret, and therefore they want \$45 per ton for armor plate of that make supplied to the government.

LadySmith and Mafeking are not going to get ahead of Milwaukee, even though the latter has never stood a siege.

The London Chronicle says that "the men who count in the United States" will not pay much attention to the Boer peace envoys who are coming to this country.

All the book paper mills in the West were to close down on the 7th inst. and all those in the East one month later.

By the derailing of a car in the Illinois Steel works, two workmen were instantly killed, and six others severely injured.

The first preliminary in the coming political campaign in the state of Illinois has just closed.

An enormous amount of money was spent in these preliminaries. The bills for printing, hall rent, postage, newspapers, payments to ward leaders and political fine workers, etc., etc., would foot up an aggregate which would astonish the uninitiated.

In the discussion between the contractors and the locked out building trades workers some light is shed upon what the capitalist idea of "prosperity" stands for.

The unions may make a defensive fight against this condition, but while they fail to understand that the citadel of power always lies with those who control the means of production, the character of the struggle cannot change.

It is said that both capitalist parties are eagerly searching for candidates for the vice-presidency, no available

"timber" as the political phrase goes, being in sight. To help them out of this difficulty why not link McKinley and John W. Gates together as running mates?

"Pitchfork" Tillman of South Carolina recently addressed a body of students at Ann Arbor university, on the race problem.

They rather like the "nigger." They give him work. Of course, and (the senator forgot to add), they take possession of the product of his labor, and stand ready to shoot or hang any "agitator" who might urge the negroes to organize in unions for the purpose of securing a larger share of that product for their own maintenance.

"Prosperity" is signally illustrated by the fact that while in 1896, diamonds of the value of \$2,000,000 were imported into the United States, in 1899 the value of imported diamonds increased to over \$12,000,000.

Two Capitalist "Sensations." A daily paper states that Senator Pettigrew "created a sensation" in the senate by declaring that the volunteers brought back to the United States from the Philippines were "packed like swine in dark, dirty, filthy, rotten and antiquated vessels."

"Skin for skin, yea all that he hath, a man will give for his life." Edward Bryant, who had lost his position as a conductor in the employ of the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Co., jumped from the Brooklyn Bridge for a money consideration from a newspaper which wished to publish a sensational story of the "feat."

Members are requested to attend their respective branches and vote on the unity question. Secretaries will please fill out the return blanks and mail same to Jas. S. Smith, 245 W. Monroe street, not later than May 26th.

A socialist ballot, though not so heavy, is infinitely more effective than brass knuckles. Republican and Democratic clubs are at present very much in evidence—in the hands of the police.

LETTER BOX.

Stands for Union. Resolution adopted by the socialists of Fresno, County, California: To the Socialists of the United States:

Resolved, That we declare ourselves unqualifiedly in favor of union. 2nd. That we condemn the disposition of certain party leaders to selfishly hold their personal views of such importance, that the welfare of the great cause of humanity is endangered, and that such men should be disbarred from party management.

Editor Workers' Call:—Pending the result of vote on "Manifesto" forced by our S. D. P. National Executive Board, I want to say something in relation to article III of Party Press, of constitution submitted by the joint conference committee in their report.

Agents, the most plausible and persuasive that can be secured are constantly sent round to urge upon the parents the necessity of making provision for fatalities to which their children are exposed.

The truth is that capitalism murders the children of the workers and its upholders then charge the luckless parents with the crime.

Dear Comrades and Brothers:—In discussing a suitable and proper name for the socialist movement in America or anywhere else in this wide world there is no name so applicable, expressive and unobjectionable as Socialist Party, without any qualifying terms attached whatever.

Now that the capitalist grand jury is sending out true bills against the strikers, the latter will have an excellent chance to return the compliment next November by sending in true bills against capitalism in the form of socialist ballots.

When the "little peesness man" gets through damning the strikers he will be at liberty to return to his old pastime—the abolition of the BIG DEPARTMENT STORE.

What will the trusts do when they go up against those batteries of "pop" guns planted in the middle of the road? Profit sharing is a good thing. It has prevailed for many years in the Chicago Stock Yards, on the principle that the owners get the dollars and the employees get the cents.

The man who owns the machine owns the man that works with the machine. This is a political as well as an economic truth.

SHIFTING THE BURDEN.

Capitalism After Robbing Its Victims Charges Them with Murder. It is by no means a new device capitalist society to charge the fortunate victims of the wage system with crimes which in it involves the easily be traced to the necessities of profit-making, as the following extract from a New York paper will illustrate:

Of the children who passed through the Gerry society's hands last winter, 1,708 were insured, said Superintendent Jenkins today. "Many of these children, I am confident, were insured to be killed by neglect or otherwise so that those who insured them might pocket the money."

"In child life insurance," continued Mr. Jenkins, "a parent or guardian or other person—for it does not matter to the insurance company who takes the policy—bets the insurance company that certain child will die within a certain time, for all of these policies are made for a certain time, at the end of which they may be renewed. The company bets that the child will not die within the specified time."

What sort of people are they who hold stock in such companies? They are the same crowd who support Gerry societies, the same hypocritical gang who constantly inveigh against gambling, the same type of people who get up "crusades" against pool rooms, and form themselves into societies for the suppression of crap shooting.

These wolves in sheep's clothing who the sight of a stack of poker chips fills with holy horror, have scruples whatever in taking a hand in a game where the stakes are laid against the lives of the unfortunate offspring of the plundered victims of capitalist robbery.

This talk of insuring the lives of children for the sole purpose of obtaining the premium has been rife for many years, and it most frequently crops out when the dividends due the stockholders show signs of diminution. If it could be substantiated, there would be no trouble in revoking the charters of such insurance companies.

The great mortality amongst the children of the working class, whether insured or not, is one of the most striking evidences of the murderous character of the capitalist system. If an analysis were made it would most probably be found that where the mortality is excessive the workers are too poor to make even an attempt to insure.

The truth is that capitalism murders the children of the workers and its upholders then charge the luckless parents with the crime. The "company" is a convenient scape-goat upon which the sanctimonious capitalist stockholder can lay his portion of the guilt involved in the charges.

The company bets—the godly stockholder doesn't approve of betting—but the taste of profits is too sweet for him to forego—therefore all will be well if only the cloak of "legality" can be thrown over the whole proceeding, and a more suitable name found for this commercial gamble in which the lives of children are used as counters in the game.

It has been noticed that when Standard Oil raises the standard of education in Chicago, it invariably raises its own price at the same time. That's how the "law of compensation" gets its work in.

The numerous evictions for non-payment of rent which are occurring amongst the striking union men is only the capitalist method of illustrating the truth that "the streets belong to the people."

Brother McKinley of the Bricklayers' Union evidently has a keen sense of the appropriate, in delaying the construction of the post office until the physical appearance of the bricklayers matches the skeleton frame of the building.

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Functions of a Church.

From a Sermon Preached in Plymouth Church, Rochester, New York, Sunday, November 19, 1899, by Rev. W. T. Brown

What is the condition of things with which the church finds itself face to face today? It is the fact of the conspicuous absence of one large element of our population, namely, the working class. Do not misunderstand me. I do not mean to say that the working class has no representatives in the church. It has a comparatively large representation in the Catholic church, though the ratio of that class in the Catholic church is not increasing. In the Protestant churches the ratio is still smaller. It is so small as to constitute a phenomenon of the most serious consideration. Franklin Smith, in his paper before the Men's Club not long ago, declared that while 60 per cent of the employed class are in the churches, only 4 per cent of the working or employed class is to be found there. It is possible that those figures applied only to New York City, where I have little doubt of their accuracy. They would not be altogether true of Rochester. But whatever be the exact figures, the fact remains that while a fair proportion of the well-to-do find some reason for sustaining the churches, the majority of the working class find nothing in the churches to attract or compel their presence or loyalty. If it be said that this may be due to the ignorance of the working class, it should be answered that the proportion of the thinking members of that class or any class which attends the church is insignificant compared to the number of the unthinking that go. If our churches were dependent upon the thoughtful portion of society for their congregations, more than half the churches would be utterly empty the year round.

You know as well as I do that ministers' clubs, religious journals, books, magazines, and all sorts of societies are discussing this question. That discussion means something. We cannot evade its meaning. The thing which goes by the name of Christianity today is being felt far and wide to be unreal and inadequate to the demands of life.

Now, if this tendency had to do simply with church attendance, it would hardly be worth while for us to talk about it. But it goes far deeper. The real object of the world's skepticism is that for which the church claims to stand. Great quantities of men are feeling today that the church is not fulfilling a function at all commensurate with the claims it has made for itself. Its purposes are either ludicrously insignificant, or else they are contradictory of all that science has disclosed of reality to our minds. We have any quantity of talk in our pulpits on petty and meaningless and worthless things. We have very little from them that strikes a high note. We have almost nothing from them that draws blood. Their message is not a searching one. It does not go home. It does not carry any impression of power. It lacks conviction. It lacks the inspiration of a splendid ideal. It is trivial, paltry, flippant, inane. I dare to say that there is not in the souls of the great mass of our so-called Christian ministers a suspicion of the tremendous realities which made the prophets of old men of might with whom kingdoms and empires had to make terms. That is all gone. And why is it all gone? Why have we no one today to take the place of those men of the older time, who cast whole nations into a higher mold? Do you say the newspaper and the magazine and all the literature of the day have taken his place? There is no truth whatever in this. For you will find in all this literature the same lack of vitality and power that you will find in the pulpit. That is not the secret of it. It lies in the fact that the average church today represents nothing that calls to the depths in the human soul. There is nothing in either our ecclesiastical or our clerical ideals which is great, which is large and pulsant and vast and appealing. They do not deal with reality. They are attempting the task of an age that is, in every sense of the word, new, with the tools and ideas of three centuries since. That is a useless task. Until they shall have eyes to see the facts of the world we are living in today, their whole life is a harmless pantomime.

The truth of the matter is, the church of today is a class institution. You cannot blink that fact. It is written large over the whole face and in all the actions of the church and its ministry. It is a class institution. It represents not all the people, but a class. If that were not true, our statisticians would tell a far different story. It has been so from almost the beginning. Whenever any movement hardens into a fixed institution, it must always embody the dominant spirit of the age. It always does. There are no exceptions to the rule. Our civilization today is a class civilization, as really so as is that of India or China. I do not say it is not far higher than that of India or China, higher than that of any past century. But it is still a class affair. It is saturated with caste. And the church reflects it absolutely.

Your know how it was in France before the revolution. Where was the church then, and what did it represent? There is but one answer to that question. It represented the class that was dominant. It in no sense whatever represented the peasants. It was as really their enemy as an institution, as was the nobility. The clergy and the nobility were on exactly the same level. What message had the church of France for peasants? None whatever.

France was as religious as any nation of Europe, but her religion was entirely the religion of the nobility. And so the revolution became necessarily an irregular affair.

But we are not so much concerned, I hope, with France before the revolution as we are with the conditions in our own country and our own time. And these conditions are quite similar to those which prevailed in France. Let it be freely admitted that the peasants of France were reduced to a much lower material condition than are their corresponding class in this country today. That is entirely beside the question. Men's needs are far greater today than then. Their enlightenment is higher. But society was not divided into classes any more distinctly then than it is now. That man whose labor is a commodity with a price in the market determined exactly as the price of coal or wheat or any product, belongs to a class which is separated by the widest kind of gulf from that class which controls the market. Our churches today are just as much saturated by class feeling, they as really represent but one of the two great economic classes into which society is divided, as was true in France. It is bound to be so in the very nature of things. Who are the men from whom the church is to get its support? The question answers itself. It must depend for its support upon the men who have the money. With the present trend toward concentration, it must be evident that soon the churches must be dependent upon a very few men for their support. And who are these? They are always and everywhere the men whose material interests are bound up in the existing system. Human nature being what it is, the ideals which those men represent who have the money, without which the church cannot be maintained, will dominate and do dominate in the whole life of the church. It follows, therefore, that the church must be the last institution of society to advocate a change in economic bases, however needful that change may be.

But someone will ask what economic questions have to do with the church, or what business the church or the pulpit has with such questions. Why do not the ministers confine themselves to the problems of the individual? I sometimes doubt whether I ought to take a man seriously when he asks such a question as that. I suppose there are men and women who do not see why a minister should ever deal with such questions. But no man or woman who has read the story of the Hebrew prophets, or the story of the men who have exercised the greatest influence in the ministry of the church these past nineteen hundred years, will raise any such question. The claims of the prophets of every age and race to the reverence and love of humanity lies in the fact that without an exception they have seen that there can be no true life for the individual, except as the economic system is just.

What is the real function of a true church today? What service ought it to render to humanity? The real function of a true church is to get the ethics of Jesus established in this world, the ethics of love. The church must embody those ethical ideals and weave them into the warp of society. It is the business of a true church to promote the brotherhood of man. A true church can fulfill its function only as it works for the abolition of caste in the interests of justice and brotherhood. Economic caste can be abolished in but one way, and that is by the triumph of the movement for the socialization of those things which, in private hands, produce classes.

I can easily understand how many people should fall to see why this course is necessary. Let me try to explain. I think I can make it perfectly clear. Suppose a church then were to attempt the solution of the question we are considering. A church then would be saturated with the class feeling. It would represent but one class, the masters. Now, two views would be held. One, that there was no use trying to have a church in which master and slave tried to unite in one service of worship. That view would of course prevail. And that idea is advocated now. Dr. Greer, rector of St. Bartholomew's Church in New York City, told the students of the Yale Divinity School that he had inquiries in his parish, and when working girls applied for admission to his church they were advised to join one of the missions. They would not feel comfortable in the church proper, he affirmed. The same is true of quantities of churches today. But suppose in the condition I have suggested an attempt were made to have a church in which members of both classes, master and slave, were to be associated? Or think what a church would be obliged to do if it proposed to deal radically, and according to eternal principles with that situation? What message would it bear to those slaves? What would its true function be? Would it fulfill its duty by simply recognizing the situation and making no attempt to change it? Would it not find itself under the necessity of abolishing that class injustice before it could do any permanent good? Would not the slaves be justified in saying: "We do not care to hear what you have to say concerning our sins. We have no use for your exhortations. We will not listen to your fruitless words. We want our freedom. Until we have that we are not men at all. We are some-

thing less than men and women. There is no use talking morals or religion to us. Give us freedom." Of course, the slaves would not be intelligent enough as a rule to say that. But those who did have intelligence would say that, and it would be unanswerable.

The members of the working class today, or at least some of them, are more intelligent than those slaves. And this is exactly what they have thought, whether it be what they have said or not. And this is the reason why they have found so little use for our churches. Our message to them has ignored the one problem which comes first. We have assumed very often that the road to their emancipation lies in the direction of personal regeneration. But we ought to know that as in the case of the negro slaves it was well nigh idle to talk of regeneration as long as they were kept in slavery, so it is idle now to talk of such a thing in the case of the corresponding economic class of society today. If the slave had been intelligent, he would have known that he was but forging the chains of his slavery all the stronger, the more faithfully he served the interests of his master. For his master could say to all the world: "See how contented my slaves are. See how faithfully they serve me. They do not want to be free."

There is no way in which the church can take such a long step toward the fulfillment of its real function as by putting itself in the place of the working class. That is the "Golden rule" for the church today. It must see things from the point of view of those whose condition is not just. To say the least, it must put itself in the place of the vast majority of the people. It is no part of the business of the church to assume that conditions as they exist are all right. It is rather its business to know that the probabilities are all on the other side. It must know that this is a world of change, and it must see the real need of the changes that are to be made, and give its aid in their accomplishment.

In conclusion I have just this word to say. We are facing a situation today which men of both classes are aware of. The problems of our time do not require a microscope in order to be discovered. The supreme one now as ever is that of justice. No personal question, no side issue, can hide that question. It is not solved by any or all our little individual attempts. Charity is nothing but a recognition of the problem. It is not a step toward its solution. Our churches for the most part, like the priests and Levites of long ago, pass it by on the other side. I do not say that it can be settled in 48 hours. But it can be solved in much less time than those people think whose material interests do not make them in any particular hurry about it. To the church may the words of Mordecai be most fittingly applied: "Who knoweth whether thou art not come to the kingdom for such a time as this?" To the church, too, are those other words of Mordecai applicable: "If thou altogether holdest thy peace at this time, then shall relief and deliverance arise from another place, but thou and thy Father's house shall perish." The failure of the church to deal with the greatest and most vital question that ever rested upon the souls of men can have but one result. It cannot defeat, though it may delay, the ends of justice. But it will prove the utter destruction of the church that refuses. It will take away from it all that makes it worth while to maintain its existence. Perhaps the church that dares to approach and deal frankly and fearlessly with the industrial question will perish. Perhaps the golden scepter will not be held out to that institution. I am quite confident it will not be. But the man or the institution which sees nothing in behalf of which it is willing to say: "I will go, and if I perish, I perish," has it not in its power to lift this world a hair's breadth nearer to the ends of righteousness. There are some things worse than death. There are a great many things that are far more fatal to all that men have a right to hold dear than failure in a righteous cause. Triumph in a cause which is trivial and worthless is one of them. It was not the financially successful church in the first century which the writer of the book of Revelation considered the most successful. It was the church which was blessed with vision for the demands of its own time and place. It is only the existence and the consciousness of some cause that is noble and beneficent, that has power to make human life rich and sweet and strong.—The Social Forum.

The first of the special campaign clubs to be brought in was by Comrade Jernberg of Chicago. He received the list in his paper Saturday and was at the office with his club on Monday forenoon. It is perfectly easy for every comrade to do the same and a lot of them are doing it. Are you one of them?

Haney whipped Carter by 285 votes. Evidently the "honest" man can't compete against the "machine."

To the little business man, small profits mean a quick return to the ranks of the wage earning class.

That bunch of indictments returned against the workmen by the grand jury is an excellent sample of the capitalist "business man's" administration.

What's in a name? The New York Judge who enjoined the Cigar Makers' Union against distributing relief funds amongst their members, was called "Freeman."

Now that Puglist Tom Sharkey is in town, couldn't our "reformers" utilize him in "smashing the machine"?

FOREIGN NEWS.

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

AUSTRIA.

The 11,000 miners at Klado have gone back to work on the master's terms, after being on strike for nearly three months. It is the old story of a strike being entered into without adequate preparation. Strike is war, and it is no use fighting, however just the cause, if you are not well organized beforehand. It is said that the men are going to form a strong union.

The weavers at Warnsdorf have also gone back to work, and have succeeded in obtaining the ten-hour day.

The new Polish socialist paper published in Lemberg—the "Naprzod" (Forward)—is struggling with the censor. It has already been seized four times, though it is barely a month old. I suppose it is difficult to acquire the wisdom of the serpent in that language, but in German the "Arbeiter Zeitung" manages very skillfully to say all it wants, though it escapes the censor's blows generally. A French journalist under the Empire said that it was the peep who enabled a man to show if he was skilful or not. With a free press anyone could write, but if it was a muzzled press then it required a clever man to write and yet keep within the law.

The socialists of Lemberg have held a great demonstration in favor of universal suffrage.

Efforts are being made in Vienna to establish a women's club.

Bishop Lubos, of Tarnow, is dead. He was interesting as a survival of an old-fashioned ecclesiastic; he never dabbled with socialism, but in his pastorals he used always to refer to socialists as allies of the Devil and as inspired by evil spirits. And yet the poor old man saw socialism increase in his diocese in Galicia.

BELGIUM.

The socialists of Antwerp have determined to run several candidates at the general election; they were going to agree on a joint list with the Liberals, but have decided to act independently.

The Maison du Peuple of Brussels has just published its accounts for the last six months of 1899, the profits come to \$8,699. After allowing for depreciation and for propaganda funds, part of the profits are turned to purchasers. But the institution has done even more good by putting a stop to the credit system and at the same time selling only goods of the best quality.

BULGARIA.

It is reported from Budapest that a socialist movement is developing in Bulgaria and that the peasants are refusing to pay taxes. But it is very doubtful if this is a socialist revolt, as socialism in the Balkan peninsula is a purely academic movement, and it is much more likely that the trouble there is agrarian and anti-dynastic.

FRANCE.

The men and women employed in shops in Paris have at last formed a union. They complain that though nominally they are supposed to leave at 6 in the evening, yet in many cases they have to stay much later. The shopmen and shopwomen have much to complain of; their hours are long, their food bad, and, if they live in the house, their sleeping accommodation is detestable, and the women are subject to other perils which are not exaggerated in Zola's "Le Bonheur des Dames." I am afraid, however, that it will be difficult to form a union as the Paris "Calicot," as he is called, thinks himself a superior person to the workman (the feeling is, perhaps, not unknown nearer home), but everybody will wish them success. The position of the men and women employed in the socialist stores in Belgium seems to be very good, and it would be advisable if similar stores could be started in France.

In French towns a large revenue is raised by taxing various articles of food, etc. These are known as "octroi" duties. It is, like all indirect taxation, a very objectionable way of raising revenue, but in that way very much money can be raised, as people always object to pay direct taxes, while they will pay without a murmur a heavy indirect tax, as for instance, in this country, for tobacco. The Town of Dijon, in Burgundy, has, however, now determined to do away with the octroi duties, and by a bill which has just passed the Chamber, it proposes to raise the money by direct taxation. The experiment will be watched with interest, and it is to be hoped that other towns will follow this good example.

GERMANY.

The annual congress of the German Socialist party will be held in September at Mayence, in Rhenish Prussia. In Easter week there have been several local congresses of socialists, as, for example, the Wurtemberg congress at Stuttgart, the Saxony at Dresden, and the German Poles at Berlin.

It is said that Dr. Arons, the lecturer who was dismissed by the Prussian government for being a socialist, will be the candidate of the party at Magdeburg for the seat which is vacant through Oertel's death. The choice, however, has not been finally made.

On Sunday, May 13th at 4 p. m., at 1965 N. Hermitage avenue, the new Twenty-sixth Ward branch, S. L. P., will hold a meeting at which Comrade Aug. Klenke will speak. All readers of The Workers' Call and their friends are asked to attend; especially those who live in the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth wards. After the speaking new members will be enrolled.

"SOMETHING NOW."

How Class-conscious French Socialist Workmen Enforce Their "Immediate Demands."

There have been a series of articles running through the late numbers of "Le Mouvement Socialiste" concerning the work done by the socialist municipalities of France. These are interesting as showing that the quickest way to advance even in the "reform, step-at-a-time" way is to elect clear-cut socialists to office.

The following is little more than a list of the things done but it is sufficient to show that while the socialists do not believe in using these things as "issues" to deceive the workers they use them for all the practical value they have as soon as opportunity offers.

The municipality of Dijon has established a "Bourse du Travail" or labor office with a great assembly hall for the use of the labor unions with a library and a host of other things of assistance to organized workers. They have created a free employment bureau for both sexes and established free professional and technical schools for the training of workmen.

Perhaps the tenderest spot of capitalism is the unemployed whose existence is absolutely necessary to the continuance of wage slavery. Hence any attempt to relieve them is a direct blow at the system. The socialist administration of Dijon has repeatedly voted their assistance in the form of free bread and a money pension and when this was stopped by the central capitalist government they succeeded in evading the law by making the unions a portion of the bureau of public relief and allowing them to dispense the money among their own members who were out of work. Besides this the municipality has paid the expenses of the delegates of the union and the co-operatives to their congress, and voted them sums for their libraries and sick funds.

A popular university has been founded and assisted by the municipality where it is safe to say no Standard Oil influence is felt. Laborers organized co-operatively perform the public work and the price of food has been lowered and the quality bettered through municipal action. An attempt was made to create municipal kitchens and bakeries, but this was largely thwarted by the general government that is ever on the watch to stop the advance of socialism. Here too the municipality succeeded to some degree in evading the decree of the ministry under the pretext of furnishing the food to the hospitals, jails, school kitchens, etc., and this was the easier as they already feed all the children who are at school. This is of course a long step towards guaranteeing the "right to live."

A municipal laboratory for examination of food and general promotion of health is in operation and the general government has only temporarily blocked the building of cheap sanitary dwellings. Public baths and municipal waterworks with a public theatre are a matter of course. Taxation has been transformed from the octroi which was almost wholly an indirect tax upon food to what practically amounts to a graduated income tax. In spite of the prohibition of the general government again, a beginning has been made in the introduction of the referendum. When the ministry forbids the use of the election machinery for such purposes the municipality asked the trades unions to act in taking the vote.

We would again ask our "step-at-a-time" friends to study the above list and then if they are still of the opinion that these are of primal importance they will see that the quickest way to get them is to unite with the clear-cut socialist movement and they will attain their end much sooner than by clinging to independent "issues," while the actual emancipation of labor will not be delayed.

FALLS FLAT.

Co-operation Scheme Wouldn't Work and Is Abandoned.

As we go to press, the information comes that Siegel Cooper and Company have decided to abandon their co-operative plan, the public not having responded for small lots of stock as was anticipated. This is perhaps the clearest proof of the tremendous development of the capitalist system in this country. The small middle class, to whom co-operative schemes of this nature appeal most strongly, are evidently pumped dry. The developed capitalism of the United States makes it utterly impossible to carry these schemes through, as is done in Great Britain with fair success, where Sir Thomas Lipton's recent co-operative scheme calling for a capitalization of twelve and a half million dollars, was subscribed for nearly twenty times over. The middle class element still possess great financial strength in Great Britain, but it may be clearly seen that a stage has been reached in this country where this brand of "co-operation" becomes impossible. The fact that this stock was not subscribed for, is only an added proof, if that were needed, of the almost bankrupt condition of the middle class, and to the socialist is a clear intimation that little trouble may be expected from them in the future as an obstruction on the path of socialism. Co-operation in production and distribution can only become successful on the basis of collective ownership, which idea ever grows stronger as the weakness and insufficiency and impossibility of capitalist co-operatives schemes are daily being exposed.

The funeral of our old and respected comrade, Adolph Kundt, took place on Saturday, May 5th, at Graceland cemetery. The funeral cortege left LaSalle Street Turner hall about 4:30 after several comrades had given short addresses to those assembled there, and arrived at Graceland about 5 p. m. Two speakers, German and English, respectively, made the final addresses over the remains of our late comrade, who had so long and earnestly fought for the cause of socialism.

LABOR ITEMS.

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

Socialists of Oklahoma will meet in convention on May 23.

The Western Socialist News is a new publication issued at Topeka, Kan.

California delegates to Cincinnati populist convention instructed for Debs.

It is reported that many of the brewery workers' local unions are collecting funds for the purpose of aiding the socialist ticket this year.

Social Democrats chartered branches in Del Mar, Cal.; Van Buren, Ark., and Milwaukee, Wis. The Independent socialist organization at Allegheny, Pa., has joined the anti-DeLeon S. L. P.

Monday's municipal contest in Marion, Ind., resulted in the election of the two Socialist Democratic nominees to the city council. There's great enthusiasm.

In Weatherford, Tex., the socialists came within 28 votes of electing their candidate for mayor. In Cleburne a union ticket was elected. A good foothold was gained in Dallas. The Texas socialists will hold a state convention this month.

So far as heard from, there are twenty-six United States senators who are rated as being worth from one to fifty million dollars each. Of course, these "workingmen's" friends are passing sleepless nights wondering how to enact laws in the interest of labor.

Baron Haller von Hallenstein, a well-known member of the aristocracy of Germany, has created consternation in the ranks of the nobility by announcing himself a socialist and accepting the nomination for member of the Bavarian legislature from Nurnberg. The baron, who is a deep student of social problems, has become disgusted with the hollowness and injustice of capitalist society.

It will do no hurt to occasionally call the attention of the laborers of America to the fact that the organization known as the S. T. and L. A. that is at present furnishing scabs to take the places of the enjoined striking cigarmakers of New York is a purely personal organization of one Daniel DeLeon and has no relation to the socialist movement in America, but on the contrary has been distinctly disavowed by them.

The miners in the employ of the Glendale, Freeburg, Brandenberger and Wilder mines of the Missouri and Illinois coal company, located near Belleville, Ill., have struck to secure an increase of the wages of drivers from \$2.10 to \$2.25 per day. The matter has been left to the arbitration of a joint committee composed of three representatives of the mine workers' union and three of the coal operators' association.

Of the situation in Montana, the Rev. J. H. Butte, has this to say: "The Social Democratic party, with Debs and Harriman as its presidential ticket, is spreading rapidly in this state. The socialists of Great Falls have applied for a charter, and branches have also been organized in Helena and Bonner. The boys in the lumber town evidently believe that socialism is the only remedy. Livingston and Bozeman will also organize in a few days. Whatever way the state goes, it is certain that Debs and Harriman, standing on a working class platform, will poll a vote that will be a paralyser."—Cleveland Citizen.

LOCAL NEWS AND NOTES.

The turner societies of Chicago have decided by a majority of 54 votes to support the socialist nominees, Debs and Harriman, in the pending campaign.

Don't forget that you can make your out-door agitation doubly effective by having a supply of Workers' Call on hand at each meeting. Send in your bundle orders to this office. They will receive prompt attention.

A sum has been contributed to the funds of this paper by which we are enabled to make very low special rates of subscriptions to trade union bodies. If you are a member of a union and wish the spread of socialism, drop us a line for fuller information, and see if you cannot persuade your union to subscribe.

Socialist comrades! Bring your sisters, your cousins and your aunts to the women's meeting to be held at 65 N. Clark street on Sunday, May 13th, 3 p. m. Mrs. Corinne Brown and Mrs. Charles Kerr will address the audience on the question "What Position Should Women Take in the Political World?" Everybody invited. Discussion, ditto.

The out-door meetings for this season were opened up at Pullman on Saturday, May 5th, where Comrade Simons spoke to a fair-sized audience at the corner of 11th street and Michigan avenue. Now that the out-door season is fairly started all comrades are requested to co-operate in their branches so as to make the meetings as large and successful as possible.

A new branch of the S. L. P. was organized in the Twenty-sixth ward in this city on Friday evening, May 4th. The branch started with twelve members. Her second meeting will be held at 1965 N. Hermitage avenue, Sunday, May 13th, at which six new members will be admitted. Comrade Morris addressed the meeting and plans for a strong agitation in this district were adopted.

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A sample copy asks for your subscription.

PRICKING A BUBBLE.

"Profit-sharing" and Its Alleged Benefits for the Employee.

"And so, friend John, you see, you and yours will be able to..."

"Oh! how and nonsense, man! Don't you think I know a good thing when I see it. And I've got it right here. Why should I fool myself with that socialist stuff you propose, when I have only to read and convince myself. Have you seen that prospectus issued by Mr. Wheedle Scooper, or have you not?"

"I have. What about it?"

"Oh, you have. Well don't you think it's a good thing to become a stockholder, a profit-sharer, an interested worker in such a big concern as that?"

"Well, that depends."

"Depends! Depends! What! A stockholder, a profit-sharer, a dividend drawer, and a worker in a business concern with a capital of twenty-five million dollars—think of it—twenty-five millions—Depends! Nonsense! Don't you see what a good thing it is. I can be a partner in this great concern."

"So."

"Yes, sir, that is so."

"Ahem."

"Say, look here! You've talked socialism for years and what has come of it? Nothing—absolutely nothing. You've talked of the terrible condition of the working class, their poverty, misery, etc. You said they were debarred from opportunity, that their case was hopeless, that the day had passed when the poor boy beginning at the bottom of the ladder could work his way up and become a member of the firm. And now Mr. Wheedle Scooper comes forward and demolishes your whole fabric by showing that there are yet plenty of opportunities, thus giving the lie to your assertions."

"He does, does he?"

"Yes, he does."

"Oh!"

"Look here. Is it true I can become a stockholder in this company, or is it untrue?"

"It is true."

"Is it not true that on this stock, I can draw six per cent interest yearly?"

"That is also true."

"And the conditions upon which I can become a stockholder are easy enough. I have only to stay three years in Mr. Scooper's employ to become eligible, and I think that's a good idea, as it acts as an incentive to employes to become steady men. The employes should be taught to be more regular in their habits and give more attention to their employer's business, and this will give them a better chance to work their way up in the firm. I think that Mr. Scooper is perfectly correct in making this condition and it can work no hardship to any faithful employe."

"Yes."

"Another thing which you socialists have always insisted on was that as soon as a man gets old, the firm finds that there is no profit in employing him, and a younger man gets his place. Now my socialist friend, in this case your statement is untrue as the firm actually encourage men and women to stay with them as long as possible. Read their circular which says that the annual dividends will be distributed amongst employes who have been with the firm for a period of three years. As time goes on, men grow old, and isn't this encouragement for the old employes?"

"Well, is that all?"

"Is that all. No, there's more yet. After ten years, this share which we now receive will continue as a kind of life insurance which will keep the wolf from the door, an annuity so to speak that will provide us with food, clothing and shelter when we become unable to work. You see we need not worry over the future, and it is the future that generally causes us most anxiety. But now the future is bright, positive and sure, and I say that this scheme solves the problem. Hurrah for co-operation! Long life and prosperity to Mr. Wheedle Scooper and may all men imitate his example."

"Well, all the fools are not dead yet, I see."

"What do you mean?"

"Just what I say. All the—"

"Sir! I'm no fool."

"Well!"

"Well!"

"Say, look here old man; listen to me for a moment, will you?"

"Go ahead, I'm listening."

"Let's get the sense of Mr. Scooper's circular. He recognizes the tendency of the present age in the direction of co-operation of employers with employes. Do you understand that?"

"Of course."

"Now let us see. In Mr. Scooper's business house, from basement to garret, workmen and women, girls and boys are co-operating together in every department, from the janitors and scrubwomen up and up to the buyers and managers of departments. All these, THESE EMPLOYEES, carry on the business of Mr. Scooper. This is co-operation among the employes. But in what way does Mr. Scooper cooperate with them?"

"I'll tell you, my socialist friend. That's easy. Mr. Scooper comes down to the store almost every day, goes through each department and office, looking here and there, and speaking to the manager of this and that department. What more do you want him to do. Isn't he engineering this co-operative profit-sharing deal, eh?"

"That is true, friend John. He is. But you didn't tell me what department he really works in. Does he scrub floors? No. Does he sell goods? No. Does he buy goods? No. Does he manage any department? No. He looks through the store and speaks to the heads of departments. What for? To find if the heads of the departments

are looking after HIS INTERESTS.

Looks through the store you say. Why not? He wants to see that the employes are attending to HIS INTERESTS. He engineers this concern does he? Well, he gets all there's in it doesn't he? Who, according to the circular, controls most of the stock? Why Mr. Scooper, of course. He has no desire to sell out. Certainly not. He is on the ground floor and intends to stay there. So you see, John, Mr. Scooper's co-operation consists mainly in drawing the usual dividends, on the majority of stock that he holds."

"Yes, but isn't he going to give his employes and the public a chance to share the profits?"

"He is. Now let us see how. Shares are to cost \$50 each, and Mr. Scooper states that he will discourage the selling of more than one share to each person, because he believes that if a large number of persons each hold one share they will, in order to secure their dividend, use their influence to bring as many purchasers as possible to the store, so that each \$50 stock holder becomes an advertiser for the firm. And in return for this each holder of a \$50 share will enjoy an income of \$3 per year, 25 cents per month, or 5 1/2 cents per week, which of course will lift them above all worry for the future and make them practically independent. Won't it?"

"Well, if you look at it in that light"

"What other light is there in which to look at it? Haven't I stated the income correctly? Figure it up yourself and see. You'll be part owner in the business, your share of the profits will be considerably less than one cent per day, and the fact that you are a 'shareholder' will be used as an incentive to make you work still harder to increase the profits of the company. If the efforts of the \$50 stockholders succeed in doubling the dividend why then you will get two cents per day instead of one. But how much will Scooper get? Figure it up and see if he has made a good investment in holding out this bait before you. It won't take much figuring to tell your share. Just take notice also that you \$50-profit sharer will have no voice in the management of the business. Mr. Scooper tells you his policy in engineering this new deal; he expects to be rewarded with more faithful service from his employes—not at all that they shall have any say in how the dividends shall be apportioned. And you can stay and enjoy your income of 5 cents per week as long as your conduct is 'satisfactory' to Mr. Scooper. You must admit that the word will bear a broad interpretation and you must never forget that Mr. Scooper is its interpreter. So enough for your 'steady' situation. These are a few of the strings which are tied to this munificent offer, and if you look into the matter still more closely you will find that it is only another of Mr. Scooper's 'engineering' feats which are all planned to redound mainly to the benefit of Mr. Scooper. Not that he is at all worse than you, friend John, only he can see a trifle further. And you, you the part owner, profit sharer in this twenty-five million dollar concern, you will sooner or later discover that things are not always what they seem, and that this fruit that looks so fair, when closely examined is only a Dead Sea Apple. And as for you, you will remain what you are, a wage slave. You may glory in your annual income of \$3 and imagine that you are on the road to become a millionaire but if you don't toe the mark in a manner satisfactory to Mr. Scooper, out you go, and your \$50 share can't save your job. No, John, there is nothing left for you and the class to which you belong, but socialism alone—and you'll see it bye and bye."

"R. A. M."

CONTRADICTION CHARGES.

The "Radicalism" of the Socialist Proves His "Individuality."

The oft-repeated charge that socialism would destroy individuality, like most other objections, is often contradicted by those who make it, and it is not uncommon to hear a would-be opponent of socialism after making this charge, complain that socialists are "too radical," never harboring the slightest suspicion that the latter accusation destroys the former. According to capitalist ethics, "individuality" can only be preserved by acquiescence in the present form of society, in short by conforming to the ideas of the ruling class. This, to the socialist means nothing short of the destruction of individuality for the immense majority of the human race, and here again we can perceive the absolute contradiction between the fundamental ideas of the growing and decaying forms of society. The very fact that the socialist stands for ideas utterly outside the range of existing society, is the very best proof that he possesses a distinctive individuality which clearly separates him from the unthinking masses who complacently accept things as they are at present.

Such objections never consider that throughout all history the conservative elements of society continually persisted in bringing the charge of excessive "radicalism" against those whom they instinctively felt were displacing them as dominant elements in society, and that the "radicalism" of fifty or a hundred years ago has become the commonplace of today which they still swear by. No doubt the old French seigneur of revolutionary times whom Carlyle speaks of as making foolish complaints that all "rank and birth were destroyed" and the fossil British Tory whose one fixed comment upon every succeeding innovation was contained in the expression "the country

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 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 schools, and the public press, thereby making them the arbiters of the fate of the working class, while it is reducing it to a condition of dependence, economically exploited and oppressed, intellectually and physically crippled and degraded, and 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, continuing to render 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.

It is going to the dogs, sir!" were as sincere in their condemnation of the "radical" changes which the growth of capitalism was making necessary, as any adherent of present economic conditions could possibly be; yet the evolution which carries with it the change of social forms was not hindered or deterred in its course by their feeble and foolish complaints.

Seen from the capitalist standpoint "individuality" can only be maintained by the continued domination of the capitalist class, which means in other words the destruction of all individuality amongst those who do not belong to that class, those who not being in possession of the means of production, are forced into a position of submission and dependence upon the possessors of the tools and material upon which labor power must be exerted, if the life of the laborer is to be preserved. Like every ruling class that has preceded him the capitalist regards his class as the social whole and in the disappearance of capitalism naturally enough sees the disappearance of all society. The individuality which he thinks will vanish with socialism, is that of his class, and in this he is perfectly correct.

It is only one of the many contradictions of our present economic society that capitalism, in the process of destroying individuality amongst those who suffer from, but acquiesce in its duration, also generates the individuality which will ultimately destroy the conditions which gave it birth.

The most significant product of capitalist society today is not the multimillionaire, the trust, or the gigantic machinery of production, but the revolutionary working class, the men whose individuality passes the limits of capitalist society; the socialists who are denounced by reactionaries and blockheads, with being "too radical."

If it be radical to insist that the full product of labor shall go to the producers, and that the accomplishment of this involves the overthrow of the capitalist system of production, then the socialist may plead guilty, while holding the charge as a matter of little moment. He has only to work steadily and persistently in harmony with the economic tendencies of the present, and watch the increasing numbers of the socialist army, recruited mainly from those who were shocked by the extreme radicalism, and pronounced individuality, which formerly they were unable to comprehend.

John D. and Frank Rockefeller had a row over the possession of a "pastor" employed in one of the Standard Oil churches. Providence was on the side of the heaviest battalions and victory remained with John D. Render unto Caesar, etc.

When the union and non-union men get through carving each other, the capitalist press is always on hand to say grace after meat.

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Speakers: Mrs. Corinne Brown and Mrs. Charles Kerr. Subject: "What Position Should the Woman Take in the Political World?"

SOCIALIST BOOKS Directory of Section Chicago.

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CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF SECTION CHICAGO 56 N. Clark St., 1st and 2nd Tuesday, Sec. Jas. Smith, 245 W. Monroe St.

BRANCHES. FOURTH WARD, 3038 Armour Ave., 1st Thursday each month; Sec. N. Krogh, 3850 La Salle St.

FIFTH WARD, 2399 Wentworth Ave.; business meeting every Monday night; public meetings every Sunday at 8 p. m.; Sec. Joseph Trezza, 324 24th St.

SIXTH WARD meets at 3 p. m., Sunday, May 6th, May 20th and June 3rd at 1:30, 3 1/2 St. C. E. Lowery, Sec., 1704 30th St.

SIXTH WARD NO. II meets at corner 33rd and Morgan Sts. every 1st Thursday and 3rd Sunday of each month; Sec. Joseph Rodie, 806 32d St.

SEVENTH WARD, Workman's Hall, cor. 10th and Whaller; 1st and 3rd Monday each month; Sec. Jos. Stone, 235 Foraker St.

THIRTEENTH WARD meets every Wednesday at 8 p. m. at Mieh's hall, 876 Grand Ave.; Sec. P. Schubert, 1012 Washington Blvd.

FOURTEENTH WARD, holds meetings in Schoenhofen Hall, corner Milwaukee and Ashland Ave. the 2nd Sunday in each month at 10 a. m.

FOURTEENTH WARD (Danish), meets at 770 W. North Ave. at 8 p. m. every 3rd and 4th Wednesday of each month; Sec. A. P. Nielsen, 884 Maplewood Ave.

FIFTEENTH WARD, 962 N. Tolman Ave.; 2nd and 4th Friday evening each month; Sec. Adam Harvey, 992 N. Tolman Ave.

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TWENTY SECOND WARD, 380 Larabee St. 1st and 3rd Mondays; Sec. O. Gritchen, 94 Leese St.

TWENTY-THIRD WARD (Scandinavian), 105 E. Chicago Ave.; public meetings every Sunday at 8 p. m.; business meetings 2nd and 4th Sundays each month at 2 p. m.; Sec. A. B. Gribner, 135 Oak St.

TWENTY-FOURTH WARD, 65 N. Clark St.; every 1st and 3rd Thursday, 8 p. m.; lecture meetings; Sunday, 3 p. m.

TWENTY-SIXTH WARD, corner Southport and Belmont Aves., every Mon. evening Sec. Theo. Carr, 618 Ogwood St.

TWENTY-EIGHTH WARD, Bretz's Hall, cor. 48th Ave. and Lake St.; 2nd and 4th Thursday evenings each month; Sec. Carl Peterson, 2494 Lake St.

THIRTIETH WARD No. 1 (German), meets 2nd and 4th Monday each month at 487 N. Ashland Ave.; Sec. H. Steiner, 240 W. 46th Pl.

THIRTIETH WARD, Scandinavian, 1148 63d St. 2nd and 4th Thursday; Sec. A. Rasmussen, 6545 Center Ave.

THIRTY-FIRST WARD, 6901 Sangamon St. 1st and 3rd Thursdays each month; Sec. J. Wanhope, 6620 Aberdeen St.

THIRTY-THIRD WARD meets every Saturday at 8 p. m. at 194 93d St., Nelson Morris Hall; Sec. M. H. Tatt, 7019 Edwards Ave.

THIRTY-FOURTH WARD, 113th St. and Michigan Ave., every 3rd and 4th Wednesday at 8 p. m.; Sec. G. F. Denne, 11437 Perry Ave.

THIRTY-FIFTH WARD NO. 2; Sec. M. L. Klaber, 677 60th St.

POLISH BRANCHES. POLISH CENTRAL COMMITTEE—meets every Monday at 484-486 Noble St., 8 p. m.; Sec. A. J. Burkowski, 700 W. 21st Pl.

SIXTH WARD (Lithuanian), meets 1st Thursday of each month at s. e. corner 33rd and Morgan Sts.

NINTH WARD meets every Saturday at 800 S. Ashland Ave. (Pulaski's Hall), 8 p. m.

FIFTEENTH WARD, meets 1st and 3rd Saturdays each month, at Cor. Levitt and Hamburg Sts. (Sobieski's Hall).

SIXTEENTH WARD, meets 1st and 3rd Fridays each month; public meeting every Wednesday, 8 p. m. at 484-486 Noble St.

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