

THE WORKERS' CALL.

SPECIAL EDUCATIONAL NUMBER.

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

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"GOOD INTENTIONS"

The Employer "Means Well" but is Bound by the System.

THE FOLLY OF DENUNCIATION.

Sentimentalists Attack the Individual and Ignore the Economic Causes Which Dictate His Action.

Many sentimental socialists and others of similar temperament labor under the impression, that people who do things that seem wrong in their eyes, can be weaned from their evil practices by denunciation of the actions in question, actions which in reality often are but the expression of "good intentions" upon the part of those who perform them. Base and vile motives are often declared to be the basis of such actions by this type of reformer, who is seemingly unable to comprehend that like most other acts of a similar nature, they are but reflexes of material conditions by which these performing them are governed.

In connection with the labor question and the antagonistic interests which it expresses, we are often compelled to listen to senseless denunciations of individual actions, which, when explained from the standpoint of the de-nounced one, are found to have a different aspect altogether.

To cite some examples: A capitalist, say, is charged with willfully and maliciously oppressing his employes by closing up his factory, thereby entailing much want and misery upon hundreds or thousands of working people. To the latter this is an operation which will eventually force them to recognize where the power lies which enables their master to subject them to this treatment, and to take measures to secure this power to themselves, or rather their class. In other words this action is a lesson in socialism for them which sooner or later they must learn.

But the sentimentalist simply denounces the individual capitalist involved, and pours out the vials of his wrath upon, say a Pullman, a Gould or a Carnegie, as the case may be.

But let these people speak for themselves, and the condemnation of the denouncer falls flat. A large manufacturer reduces wages. Does he do this merely to oppress his workmen? Does he take pleasure in the fact that the reduction may mean hunger and nakedness to them? By no means. Let him give his reasons; hear him speak for himself.

He will say, and with truth in most cases, that he can find no market at current prices for the commodities produced in his plant; he has the most kindly feelings for his employes, does not want to discharge them, so he thinks it over, and comes to the conclusion that if he could sell cheaper, that is, could place his commodities upon the market at a lower price than his competitors, he would then be able to continue "giving work" to "his" employes. But this would cut into his profit, and no business man will invest capital without profit, therefore if he gives notice of a reduction of wages, and his employes have sense enough to accept the inevitable (as he sees it), he will be able to keep them employed and incidentally have still some profit left.

Then in the "kindness of his heart," he makes this reduction in wages, and the employes are not a bit appreciative. What honestly seems to their employer a "kindly action," seen from their standpoint appears as the work of a greedy "oppressor of the poor."

They go home sullenly, they work doggedly, their wives find fault with the small wages, making them still more sullen, resentful and dissatisfied.

To follow this somewhat farther: The reduction of wages, the underselling of competitors has succeeded. It has the effect of closing up factories in other places, but this does not make those workers content. The smoldering fires burst into a blaze, a strike breaks out, and then the sentimentalist appears on the scene, and in righteous indignation (as it appears to him), denounces the capitalist who has striven to keep his men at work.

That individual, who after all, has only been following his material interests, feels a much-abused man, and protests vigorously and rightly against the accusations leveled at him.

The sentimentalist is long on feelings and short on judgment. A little reflection would show him that the root of the matter, and all the miseries which spring therefrom do not lie in the individual capitalist, but in the system of capitalist production which makes such actions inevitable.

Again the individual capitalist is often held responsible for the fact that large numbers of men are unemployed. This is in itself exactly as foolish as the charge we have examined. It would be difficult to find a capitalist who does

not regret his inability to "give work" to every unemployed worker, and in this he is as a rule perfectly sincere, for does not every man that works for him yield a profit, and what does a capitalist live for, or on, if not profit, the surplus value which his ownership of the means of production enables him to extract from the worker?

But the condition of capitalist class supremacy demands an ever increasing number of unemployed. The desire of the individual capitalist is to extract profit from them all if possible, that is, "give them work," so that he can get more surplus value for himself. He cannot do it, but "he means well."

"Two souls, alas, do dwell within his breast: The one is ever parting from the other."

The worker must not be misled either by the "good intentions" of the individual capitalist, or the silly denunciation of that personage by the emotional sentimentalist. He must understand that the inherent antagonism between the material interests of the capitalist class and the class to which he belongs, is the determining factor in the evolution of society, and that in this conflict "sentiment," "good intentions" and "kind feelings" are of no effect whatever. Knowing that the class which individual capitalist, or the silly denunciation controls the public powers is the only class which can and will protect its own interests, he must unite with his fellow workers to gain control of these powers and use them for the interests of the producing class alone, or in other words, strive for the establishment of socialism.

A DAMNING COMPARISON.

Effect of the Class Struggle Upon the Physical Structure of Public School Children.

The Chicago Record of May 26 contains an interview with Dr. Macdonald of Washington, on the subject of Child Study. It seems that Dr. Macdonald has examined 20,000 public school children in the city of Washington, in order to discover their sensitiveness to pain and heat, and color and light, and sound their quickness of hearing, their accuracy of touch and understanding—their strength of body and mind generally. Some of the results of this inquiry are uncertain, but others are clearly determined.

"For example," Dr. Macdonald says, "it has been clearly demonstrated that the children of the laboring classes—that is, of parents who are engaged in manual labor—are not so strong, either mentally or physically, as the children of the professional, mercantile and clerical classes which are not engaged in manual labor. This may be due in a measure to their food, their habits and their manner of living."

You know that we are fond of talking of our "democratic public school," but it seems that even here the children of the working classes are marked off from the children of the "privileged" classes, not merely in the quality of their clothing and the manner of their speech, but in the very height and strength of their bodies, and the clearness of their mental powers. This is a part of the punishment dealt out to their fathers and mothers for doing the manual work of the world.

One used to hear some pleasant phrases about the "lornly handed son of toil." This was in the days when Fourth of July orators talked of the "dignity of labor." And the aforesaid "sons of toil" were wont to console themselves with the idea that if they had less time for study and for fun than the sons of other occupations, they at least were stronger physically—could lift more and breathe more deeply and live more years than the rest. But now it appears that these same sturdy toilers are weak-backed and hollow-cheeked and shorter of body and of life than even those very people of leisure, whose idleness was thought to be its own sufficient punishment. And their little sons and daughters enter the public school tiny, worn-out creatures when five or six years old.

A few years ago a board school in one of the East End London districts became somewhat distinguished for the stupidity of its children and the difficulty they found in passing the tests. Finally someone suggested that a single meal of soup and bread be furnished the children, each day at the public expense. After much and serious discussion, the consent of the authorities was obtained. Within a few days, the intellectual difficulties had vanished as by magic. The school was no longer noted for its dullness.

When a similar remedy is suggested in America one is met by the horrified exclamation that that would be "socialistic." But a much more sweeping form of socialism is in store for the boys and girls in American schools and with consequences more far reaching. May it overtake them before the lungs of some of them shall be quite consumed by the bad air of their father's houses, or their little backs broken by the burdens put upon them out of school, or their brains wholly stunted by the lack of sufficient food furnished to their father's households by capitalist masters.

Laura Willard Taft.

IT JUST "HAPPENED"

Opportune Arrival of the Famous Chinese "Boxers."

APPEAR JUST WHEN NEEDED.

Some Marvellous "Coincidences" Which Supply Excuses for Further Capitalist Exploitation.

The press has recently been filled with accounts of the atrocities being committed by a certain Chinese secret society known to English readers as the "Boxers." It is claimed that they are engaging in the persecution and murder of American and European residents in China, and there has been much talk of the necessity of sending a military force to China to right these alleged abuses.

Now it might not occur to the casual reader that the happening of these "outrages" is one of those fortunate "coincidences" of which we have had a great number in international politics within the last few years. To begin with, just at the time when the American frontier was gone and there were more "home markets" for capitalist exploitation, it so "happened" that public attention was called to the sufferings of Cuba. To be sure Cuba had been enduring equal suffering for years but no one ever thought of them before. Then how lucky it was that Dewey with his fleet just "happened" to be stationed at the only port in the whole world when the Maine "happened" to be blown up, from which he could not escape without taking Manila.

Then how lucky it was that someone "happened" to think of those Turkish claims just at the time when it was very necessary for someone to divert Russia's attention from India until England was free from her little trouble in South Africa.

Now what a streak of luck it is that just as soon as England is relieved from her anxiety about her plundering exhibition in the Transvaal and America has about finished "pacifying" the Philippines, so that both are in need of more worlds to conquer, that these Boxers should "happen" to give an excuse for going after China.

Is there anyone so blind as not to begin to see what the socialists pointed out over three years ago—that the struggle for markets has now entered the international field, with the governments of capitalist nations as the instruments of battle? At the time of the Maine explosion the great German socialist, Liebknecht, wrote an editorial for the Berlin "Vorwaerts" showing how the struggle for markets between nations, like the similar struggle between firms had narrowed down to a few giants who were now engaged in the final cannibalistic contest. He even went further and showed that the march of capitalism had placed America, England, and Japan in a class by themselves where they must combine into a sort of international trust that would crush out the more backward nations.

Today this process is reaching its climax. The workers with the wonderful reproductive powers of the present are able to produce a mass of wealth far beyond what their meager wages enable them to buy back. Their masters, surfeited with their plunder ransacked the world for purchasers of their stolen goods. They have overrun Africa, exhausted Australia, and the islands of the sea, and now like vultures, hover above the already decaying corpse of China. Capitalism must grow or die. It cannot stand still. So it gathers a portion of its slaves into armies and navies and sends them forth to find markets for the goods taken from the toiling workers at home.

Had the Boxers not furnished the excuse for entering China something else would have done so. China is in the way of capitalism and must be crushed. Unless the workers of the world decide to keep their own products, this war of conquest, like the earlier war of competition between nations, must go on until concentration supplants it or until the workers refuse to longer be its puppets.

It is not necessary to "save your money and buy a gun" if you wish to participate in the sport of shooting strikers. That part of the equipment will be supplied free, gratis, for nothing.

Rockefeller says that all he has is simply "held in trust," but still the little business man is not satisfied.

The "dangerous classes" are those who appropriate legally or otherwise, the product of the labor of others, without giving a just equivalent in return.

The hold up man is merely an unorthodox capitalist.

TO SELL HIS BLOOD

Starving Laborer Seeks to Make a "Voluntary Contract."

CAPITALISM AS A VAMPIRE.

"Free Man" Tries to Sell His "Commodity" on the Market to Procure the "Necessaries of Life."

"The vampire will not lose its hold on him so long as there is a muscle, a nerve, a drop of blood to be exploited." For "protection" against the "serpent" of their agonies the laborers must put their heads together, and, as a class, compel the passing of a law, an all-powerful social barrier that shall prevent the very workers from selling, by voluntary contract with capital, themselves and their families into slavery and death.—Karl Marx.

The above ghastly word-picture must not be mistaken for a description of the practices of that ancient society in which men literally consumed the flesh of their fellow creatures as a staple article of diet. On the contrary it refers to the conditions of the British proletariat in the manufacturing districts of that country, little more than fifty years ago, before the well-known "Factory Acts" were passed, and the language that Marx uses is figuratively descriptive of the modern cannibalism then prevalent, which consisted in tearing away the life-force of the victim, in extracting from his physical frame all the vitality, the labor-power contained therein, in the shortest possible time, and at the highest possible rate of speed, and leaving the worn-out carcasses to drag out a few miserable years in that refuge provided by law for industrial wrecks, known as the work-house.

Since that period laws enough have been passed, but none could be truthfully described as an "all-powerful barrier" to prevent the repetition of these hideous scenes, although it may be admitted that some progress has been made in that direction. And it must be added that the passing of such laws was "perhaps not so much the result of the laborers' putting their heads together," as it was that of the action of their masters, who recognized that the human raw material that they used up in profit-making, could not be produced at the same ratio with which it was being consumed, and that a very positive danger existed that threatened to cut off the supply.

But the vampire has not lost its hold. Even at the end of the nineteenth century it is yet possible to find men driven desperate by the same fiendish conditions, who stand ready to make a literal truth what Marx used as a figure of speech. Men who have still a "drop of blood to be exploited" and who offer the same by "voluntary contract" in order to provide the "necessaries of life."

The following item from New York, which appeared in the Chicago Inter Ocean of June 3rd, will illustrate:

New York, June 2.—Superintendent W. B. O'Rourke of Bellevue hospital received a letter yesterday which he voted the queerest of many queer communications he had received. It was from a young married man in need of money with which to provide some of the necessaries of life, who wanted "to ascertain whether you have in your paying wards some anemic, aged, or feeble person in condition that he or she would pay from \$15 to \$20 for a suitable amount of fresh blood by which they could be invigorated."

He was sure his blood was in good condition. Superintendent O'Rourke told the applicant that he did not deal in blood, as they generally had a sufficient supply on hand at Bellevue.

The man was named Reynolds, and to a reporter who saw the man tonight it did not seem that he had exaggerated his financial condition. He had pawned nearly everything. Reynolds said that he was 23 years old and had been over half the world. He served for two years in the British army, and later enlisted in the Seventh United States Cavalry. He was injured in the service and retired "a pension. When the war with Spain broke out he enlisted in the Third United States Cavalry and served in Cuba, where he was an orderly on General Shafter's staff. He was wounded at San Juan and was honorably discharged. Since then he has had a hard time to make a living, but expects to go to work on the rapid transit tunnel next Tuesday.

The owner of the commodity seeks a purchaser—and falls. Like all would-be sellers he is careful to advertise the good qualities of his commodity in the market where he expects to secure its exchange value, and he therefore assures those whom he thinks most likely to purchase, that what he has for sale is in "good condition." He wishes to change his commodity into the money form in order to secure other commodities—the necessaries of life. He wishes to complete the circuit, C-M-C, as Marx might put it. But the process can not be completed for lack of a purchaser.

He is told that an overproduction of his commodity exists and that there is a sufficient stock already on hand. He

cannot make a sale—and therefore the "necessaries of life," which he desires, cannot be purchased. But one glorious privilege is still left him, the inalienable, inalienable right of "freedom of contract." Therefore all that is necessary is that he find a purchaser. He can stand face to face as a free man in the open market, over against the owner of money, and our glorious civilization doesn't restrict him in putting his own price on the commodity he holds for sale. When the sale is completed he can go his way rejoicing—that is, provided he has enough strength left to do so.

It seems though, that previously he had sold his strength, his body, his blood, for a term of years to the capitalist communities that use such as he for the further extension of their system, for the opening of new markets. His commodity, that is, himself, was seriously damaged during the process of this transaction and he now finds that what is left is unsalable.

Wherein does this man's case differ from that of millions of others who have only one commodity to sell? In no particular essential. The sellers of labor-power, in reality sell themselves, their bodies, their blood, their vital energy, to the owners of money—of the means of production. And like him they do so in order to procure the necessaries of life, and like him again they often fail to find a purchaser, because of "over-production," because the market is glutted with human commodities of the same type, all ready to sell themselves by "voluntary contract," in order to procure the "necessaries of life."

All of which considerations go to show that the vampire hasn't yet lost its hold to any great extent; that there are yet millions who by "voluntary contract" sell themselves into slavery and death, and consider themselves fortunate that they can find a purchaser; that cannibalism yet exists, also "freedom of contract," and above all that it seems highly necessary that the "laborers must put their heads together" unless these conditions are to exist permanently.

WANTED TO SELL--BRAINS.

Institutions of Learning to Turn Out an Army of Educated Laborers on the Market.

Within the next few weeks there will go out from the schools and colleges of this country a great army of intelligent young men and women. They are willing and anxious to do their share of the world's work. They stand ready to apply the powers of brain and hand that they possess to the creation of wealth. But unless they are so fortunate as to be in some way connected with a portion of the capitalistic class they can find no opportunity to exercise their powers. They will find that all the things which they need in order to produce wealth or to make themselves useful to society or to even secure an existence, are the property of a class to whom they must sell themselves if they would live. More than that, they will find that the opportunities for such self-enslavement are yearly growing fewer and the conditions of slavery more onerous. There was a time when the possession of a college education was a guarantee of a good position, but every year the number of those possessing such an education grows greater while the number of places to be filled grows smaller. With the contraction of industry but few educated workers are needed. Then the stern law of wages comes into operation and the reward for skilled labor is reduced. In Germany this has gone on until the graduates of the best chemical laboratories of the world are willing to work in the great factories for \$1.25 a day. America is pressing toward the same point. What do you propose to do about it?

Down in the Dirt.

Again the Chicago Federation of Labor prostituted itself by endorsing the candidate of the very party that today is pounding them back into renewed slavery. Crawling in the slime of capitalist politics and licking the hand that strikes them they endorsed a candidate in the Eleventh assembly district for the legislature. The men who voted to do this are as much below the level of the ordinary scab who would betray his union in time of strike as the whole working class is of more importance than a single trade. If there is any trace of manhood left in the membership of the trade unions of Chicago they will drive every man who dared to vote for such an endorsement out of their ranks and into the oblivion he deserves.

There are a billion and a half of people in this world that must be fed, clad, housed, entertained and educated in some way, and why not do these things in as good a way as can be thought of? That is what socialism will do.

Remember that you get The Workers' Call and the International Socialist Review, both one year, for one dollar.

Are you still hustling for subscribers?

SOCIALIST POINTERS

Com Paul is not as bad a man as he was. He did not destroy the gold mines.

The grand jury knows there are classes in this country if the workingmen don't.

Crocker and several other politicians have vested rights that socialism would seriously interfere with.

Help to scatter socialist literature abroad and there will be no trouble about reaping the harvest.

The constitution is so busy protecting trusts that it does not have time to look after the people without money.

It has been discovered that Mark Hanna can make a speech, but his money continues to do the most talking.

Wonder what the people who are howling about the Cuban frauds think the politicians were sent down there for?

Bryan is afraid that if he should drop free silver he would drop the populist vote also. There is method in his madness.

Why will labor organizations endorse their "friends" for office when they could as well elect men from their own ranks?

The orators who talk about the dignity of labor do not make any great efforts to have their children become laborers.

It is a foregone conclusion that any anti-trust legislation that will interfere with the trusts in any way is unconstitutional.

The capitalist can do no wrong and if he does happen to do something that you think is wrong what are you going to do about it?

If international law had been down to as fine a point one hundred years ago the American republic never would have been born.

If the workingmen who are in the majority controlled the city government of St. Louis their strike would have been won long ago.

England calls it charity, not justice, to give back to the starving people of India a small portion of the value that has been stolen from them.

The grand jury always finds time to indict a few laboring men. The offenses of the contractor, it will be observed, are turned over to the next grand jury.

The Boers are behind the times. They are fighting for their homes. Smart people go away from home and fight to extend trade and to plant the old flag on new shores.

The manager of a steel mill has too much power. He can cause hundreds to suffer for the necessities of life, but his living expenses are not curtailed when the mills shut down.

No use denying any longer that prosperity is here. Three Kansas farmers are going to the Paris exposition. Reading the capitalist papers one would think that proves us all rich.

St. Louis rich men are indignant that they should be called out to defend their property. It is so much pleasanter to hire someone at \$1.50 a day to stand up and be shot at.

It means something to be a socialist in Italy. There the comrades are called on to sacrifice more than a few cents each month for the party. We get off cheap in this country, perhaps too cheap.

A lone highwayman held up and robbed the passengers of a stage coach in California on the same day that a trust president in the East closed his mills and robbed hundreds of laborers of their daily bread. The highwayman will be punished if captured.

The great civil war is dropped as a political issue by both parties by mutual consent. Considering that the negroes are practically disfranchised when we were taught that the war was for the purpose of setting them free, it is about time to drop it.

Richard Crocker, the New York politician, recently purchased a bull-dog for which he paid the sum of \$4,000. A New York judge some time ago rendered a judicial decision that a baby was worth one dollar—in other words one bull-dog on the market is worth 4,000 babies. What is your baby worth?—Bates County Critic.

Paul Goehre, formerly a leader of the German National party, has joined the Socialist party.

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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.

That British Alliance: For some time past, controversies regarding an alleged British alliance have raged in political circles throughout this country.

training in necessary falsehood and hypocrisy has placed at their disposal, to create a contrary impression in the minds of their readers. Nevertheless, it is impossible to conceal the truth, and even in the columns of the same paper statements regarding the strike, give the lie to each other.

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A "MORAL" DIVISION.

The harmony which the robber class insist should exist between "labor and capital" has been rudely shattered in St. Louis by the existing street car strike.

The most ingenious attempt to cover up the fact that a partially physical struggle between the classes is now raging in the Missouri city may be found in an editorial of the Chicago Tribune of June 1st, in which after a copious discharge of crocodile tears, "deploring" the situation, we are told that "the worst feature of it all is the division of the town, morally, into two hostile camps."

No other construction can be placed upon this. If the troubles in St. Louis are at bottom a question of "morality" there is not a shadow of a doubt as to which side the Tribune throws its weight.

While it is not claimed that all the actions of the Building Trades council have been absolutely faultless, it is certain that every strike ordered by that body was caused by the fact that the contractors in some "crafts" have persistently tried to violate the agreements made by them, and where in exceptional cases the Building Trades council have ordered strikes for other reasons, it will be found that such actions were suggested by some contracting interests in conflict with others.

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SNAP SHOTS BY THE WAYSIDE.

The National Tube company has closed all its agencies except four, thereby discharging 800 employees and effecting a saving of over \$1,000,000 annually.

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At present the contractors demand that their contracts be made with the unions themselves. On the face of this it seems reasonable enough, and the truth is that it has never been otherwise, in spite of the fact that the contractors wish to create the impression by implication that such is not the case.

So Poor Richard became the inspired apostle of this new religion and Rockefeller the "one altogether lovely" and greatly to be imitated. Whenever were such ideals sought by such methods? When before did a nation seek to become hogs by following the philosophy of asses?

The owners of the combined iron and steel industries have been boasting that they have immense orders on hand, and the officials of the companies state that the present shut down is merely in order to make "repairs," which will most probably resolve itself into the installation of new and improved machinery, judging from the commercial reports which state that the metal industries must meet a declining market in the future.

Besides this the political exigencies of the situation demand that there shall be work for the workers at the latter end of the campaign, so that the latter may be relied upon to support the interests of great capitalism. It is evidently safer to close down in June and July than in September or October, with the presidential campaign drawing to a close.

The starving people of India who are being done to death in hundreds of thousands by a so-called "famine," which is an artificial creation of capitalism, will be overjoyed to hear that there is at last an abundance of food in Mafeking, that the enemies of their masters in South Africa are on the verge of collapse, and that the treasures of the Rand are now accessible to the capitalist vultures, whose hungry eyes have been fastened upon them for years.

That notorious scoundrel, Gallifet, "the murderer of May" is out of the French cabinet at last. Judging from

the character imputed to him in the capitalist journals, since he recently came into prominence as minister of war, it would seem that he fills the role of infamous butcher to a nicety. Like his infamous prototype of the last century, Barrere, he seems to be one of those miserable creatures ever ready to exercise his particular specialty, the art of murder, for whatsoever party might be temporarily in power. It is a good thing that he is out, if only that it clears some who call themselves socialists, of the reproach of having apparently worked in harmony with such an infamous scoundrel.

Johannesburg is taken and the mines are intact. Capitalism breathes more freely and the "civilized" world is spared the "thrill of horror" which was being prepared for launching from the offices of the capitalist journals upon a silly world, who stood ready to "thrill" when so ordered. Kruger hasn't "staggered humanity" by touching the pockets of the capitalists, where that commodity, along with "patriotism" and several other virtues are stored.

In connection with the above it is interesting to observe the action of the capitalist press of Germany in urging Kruger to stay his hand on the plea that there were many "small investors" interested in the Rand mines.

"THRIFT" AS AN IDEAL.

A "Virtue" Cultivated for the Purpose of Still Further Exploiting Those Who Accept It.

America has ever been held up as the land of opportunity. "Every man has a chance to be president," was almost the national watchword. "The land of the poor man," "the place to rise," these were a few of the terms used to describe this country.

Were the forests of Maine, the mines of California, the prairies of Illinois, or the factories of Connecticut so niggard in their returns that the worker could not create enough to feed, and clothe and house himself without miserly economy? A moment's reflection will convince anyone that so far from this being true, each worker created much more wealth than he would need to consume even to live in comparative luxury.

How about the few that did attain the promised reward? Were they the brightest minds, the keenest intellects, the greatest thinkers? To ask the question is to answer it. The pork, soap and oil aristocracy of America are admittedly the most contemptible masters that ever ruled above a race of servile mammon-worshipping idiots.

So much for the uselessness of the philosophy and the lowliness of the ideal. But if the end was despicable and the means vile, what shall we say of the intelligence of those who accepted those means, if it can be shown that they were not even adapted to the end

sought? What would be thought of our intellectual capacity if it could be shown that we who preached the gospel of economy were the most wasteful people in the world, that while we preached economy to one class where it was worthless to help either individual or society, we praised prodigality in another class where its results were socially and individually a curse?

The laborers are told to practice economy that they may "rise above" the class of laborers and become a capitalist. But a capitalist is one who has the power to make others work for him and manifestly if all became capitalists there would be no one left who could be compelled to work and the capitalist must then face the awful alternative of eating up his own capital and thus becoming again "degraded" to the position of a laborer, or worse still, be compelled to do some useful work while yet a capitalist.

But hold on, under wage slavery the return of the slave is measured by the "standard of life," which his class finds necessary to maintain in order to exist and keep up their numbers. If now some means could be found by which he would be encouraged to constantly endeavor to that standard, to learn to live on less and less, it will be possible for the capitalist to take a continually larger share of his product away from him without endangering the continuance of the race of slaves.

So then this much-vaunted saving and thrift among the laborers can have as its only certain effect the gradual reduction of the whole class to the level of those famous savers enumerated above. The only one who profits by stamp saving systems in our public schools are the employers of labor who will in time be thus enabled to get a larger share of what their laborers produce.

But if we have been so anxious to instill thrift among the laborers, where it is individually useless and socially injurious surely we have insisted upon these "virtues" among the ruling capitalist class whose duty and task it is to spend the wealth the workers have created. Reference is not made here to Bradley-Martin balls, Seelye dinners or such like barbarous displays of wealth, which simply go to show the near kinship of our present ruling class to the Fiji Islander with brass candlesticks fastened to his ears and pieces of broken glass around his neck.

But there are places in our social organization where economy might be well practiced. There are certain lines of reckless waste which might well be stopped. We have squandered with criminal lavishness the wealth of the forests to the curse of future generations. We have turned our coal mines over to a mad contest of destruction with no thought of the necessities of our children.

Even these wastes are trifling beside others that we daily practice in this land where we preach economy. When it is necessary to transport goods from one point of the country to another we build three railroads where one would do the work, and then establish a hundred stores in each town to distribute these goods where one would do the task better. We force countless thousands of the producing classes to live under conditions where a multitude of lives with all their possibilities are wasted and destroyed each year. We

create sanitary conditions around the homes of the workers fast "wastes" the lives of one-half the children in a terrible slaughter of the innocents—sweeping one-half of these proletarian infants from the earth before they have reached four years of age.

While we ask these poor starving wretches to save a trifle more from their pittance, in order that the employer may ascertain whether another wage-reduction is possible without abolishing the class of wage slaves, we send a hundred thousand drummers out to waste their energies in trying to deceive prospective buyers. While we are terribly frightened lest some poor laborer may spend a few cents in personal enjoyment instead of saving it for his old age and thus relieving the tax paying class of the burden of old age pensions, we never lose any sleep over the fact that we as a nation are wasting the energy of thousands of workers in maintaining an army of several hundred thousand lawyers, policemen, soldiers, and other parasites (not to mention the whole capitalist class), who might far better be engaged in useful productions.

Let us sum the whole matter up. We are urging economy on those who have nothing to save and in whom further saving would be a social curse, and holding out as a reward for such saving that they may leave the class of producers and join that of parasitic spenders, a prospect as undesirable as it is impossible.

All this is done because we are today living under a class governed society, in a social organization whose whole end and aim is the preservation of private property in the opportunities of life. This private property in the things whereby men live is restricted by the competitive process to a constantly diminishing few, who standing thus between the great body of people and the means of creating wealth are able to force the unpeopled masses to toil for these owning few. This condition they naturally desire to perpetuate. Hence they teach to the laborers the sacredness of the right of private property at the same time that they are robbing those same laborers daily of the only legitimate private property, the property in the creation of one's hands and brain.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Call for State Convention. To the Sections and Branches of the Socialist Labor Party and the Social Democratic Party in New York State:

Comrades:—The outlook for socialism was never so bright as today. The spirit of revolt is permeating the working class, and throughout the country the workers are rising in protest against the infamies of capitalism.

The State Convention of the Socialist Labor Party and Social Democratic Party will be held in New York City for the purpose of uniting the two parties and of nominating presidential electors and a full state ticket. It will open its sessions at 10 o'clock, Saturday, June 16th, 1900, at the Labor Lyceum, 64 E. 4th street.

Every branch of the Socialist Labor Party or Social Democratic Party is entitled to one delegate. We urge upon you the necessity of at once electing delegates to the Convention.

Delegates must be provided with the proper credentials from each branch. Hurrah for International Socialism! Yours fraternally, JOINT STATE COMMITTEE.

- S. L. P. Committee: Louis Roth, F. Schlueter, H. Schlueter, L. Jablonsky, E. Nappel, M. Feldberg. S. D. P. Committee: I. Phillips, Wm. Butscher, M. V. Wien, P. Egerton, G. Finger, T. F. Meade, J. P. Sanger, Wm. Sanger, L. D. Abbott.

Leonard D. Abbott, Sec. Joint Committee, 326 W. 71st St., N. Y.

The Vote On Unity.

In accordance with the action of the Joint Committee on Unity, Secretary Butcher of the S. D. P. committee has sent out a call and voting blanks to the secretaries of the S. D. P. branches throughout the country to vote upon the eighteen propositions to unite the parties.

Voting blanks on unity propositions have been sent out by me to all secretaries and branches I could reach. Not having a complete list of secretaries and addresses (as the same was refused me by the Delta, national secretary), I take this means of reaching as many of the comrades as possible. All branches not having received a quota will please notify me at once when I shall forward a supply by return mail. Yours for socialist unity, Wm. D. P. Unity Committee, 251 Rutledge St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

...AN APPEAL TO THE YOUNG...

BY PETER KROPOTKIN.

It is to the young that I wish to address myself today. Let the old— I mean, of course, the old in heart and mind—lay the pamphlet down, therefore, without tiring their eyes in reading what will tell them nothing.

I assume that you are about eighteen or twenty years of age; that you have finished your apprenticeship or your studies; that you are just entering on life. I take it for granted that you are not one of the fops, and products of a society in decay, who display their well-cut trousers and their monkey faces in the park, and who even at their early age have only an insatiable longing for pleasure at any price. . . . I assume, on the contrary, that you have a warm heart, and for this reason I talk to you.

A first question, I know, occurs to you—you have often asked yourself, "What am I going to be?" In fact, when a man is young he understands that after having studied a trade or a science for several years—at the cost of society, mark—he has not done this in order that he should make use of his acquirements as instruments of plunder for his own gain, and he must be deprived indeed, and utterly clobbered by vice, who has not dreamed that one day he would apply his intelligence, his abilities, his knowledge, to help on the enfranchisement of those who today grovel in misery and in ignorance.

You are one of those who have had such a vision, are you not? Very well, let us see what you must do to make your dream a reality.

I do not know in what rank you were born. Perhaps, favored by fortune, you have turned your attention to the study of science you are to be a doctor, lawyer, a man of letters, or a scientific man; a wide field opens before you; you enter upon life with extensive knowledge, a trained intelligence. Or, on the other hand, you are, perhaps, only an honest artisan, whose knowledge of science is limited by the little you have learned at school; but you have had the advantage of learning first hand what a life of exhausting toil is the lot of the worker of our time.

I stop at the first supposition, to return afterward to the second; I assume, then, that you have received a scientific education. Let us suppose you intend to be a doctor.

Tomorrow, a man in corduroys will come to take you to see a sick woman. He will lead you into one of those alleys where the opposite neighbors can almost shake hands over the heads of the passers-by; you ascend into a foul atmosphere by the flickering light of a little ill-trimmed lamp; you climb two, three, four, five flights of filthy stairs, and in a dark, cold room you find the sick woman, lying on a pallet covered with dirty rags. Pale, livid children, shivering under their scanty garments, gaze at you with their big eyes wide open. The husband has worked all his life twelve or thirteen hours a day at no matter what; now he has been out of work for three months. To be out of employ is not rare in his trade; it happens every year, periodically. But, formerly, when he was out of work his wife went out as a charwoman—perhaps to wash your shirts—at the rate of fifteen pence a day; now she has been bedridden for two months, and misery glazes upon the family in all its squalid hideousness.

What will you prescribe for the sick woman, doctor? You have seen at a glance that the cause of her illness is general anaemia, want of good food, lack of fresh air? Say a good beefsteak every day, a little exercise in the country, a dry and well-ventilated bedroom? What irony! If she could have afforded this it would have been done long since without waiting for your advice!

If you have a good heart, a frank address, an honest face, the family will tell you that the woman on the other side of the partition, who coughs a cough which tears your heart, is a poor ironer; that a flight of stairs lower down, all the children have the fever; that the washerwoman who occupies the ground floor will not live to see the spring; and that in the house next door things are still worse.

What will you say to these sick people? Recommend them generous diet, change of air, less exhausting toil? . . . You only wish you could, but you dare not, and you go out heartbroken with a curse on your lips.

The next day, as you still brood over the fate of the dwellers in this do-hutch, your partner tells you that yesterday a footman came to take him, this time in a carriage. It was for the owner of a fine house, for a lady worn out with sleepless nights, who devotes all her life to dressing, visits, balls and squabbles with a stupid husband. Your friend has prescribed for a less preposterous habit of life, a less heating diet, walks in the fresh air, and even temperance, and in order to make up in some measure for the want of useful work, a little gymnastic exercise in her bedroom.

The one is dying because she has never had enough food, nor rest in her whole life; the other pines because she has never known what work is since she was born.

If you are one of those miserable natures who adapt themselves to anything, who at the sight of the most revolting spectacles console themselves with a gentle sigh and a glass of sherry, then you will gradually become used to these

contracts, and the nature of the beast favoring your endeavors, your sole idea will be to lift yourself into the ranks of the pleasure-seekers, so that you may never again find yourself among the wretched. But if you are a man, if every sentiment is translated in your case into an action of the will; if, in you, the beast has not crushed the intelligent being, then you will return home one day saying to yourself, "No, it is unjust; this must not go on so any longer. It is not enough to cure diseases; we must prevent them. A little good living and intellectual development would score off the lists half the patients and half the diseases. Throw physic to the dogs? Ah, good diet, less crushing toil—that is how we must begin. Without this the whole profession of a doctor is nothing but trickery and humbug."

That very day you will understand socialism. You will wish to know it thoroughly, and if altruism is not a word devoid of significance to you, if you apply to the study of the social question the rigid induction of the natural philosopher, you will end by finding yourself in our ranks, and you will work, as we work, to bring about the social revolution.

But perhaps you will say, "Mere practical business may go to the devil! I will devote myself to pure science; I will be an astronomer, a physiologist, a chemist. Such work as that always bears fruit, if only for future generations."

Let us first try to understand what you seek in devoting yourself to science. Is it only the pleasure—doubtless immense—which we derive from the study of nature and the exercise of our intellectual faculties? In that case I ask you in what respect does the philosopher, who pursues science in order that he may pass life pleasantly to himself, differ from the drunkard, who only seeks the immediate gratification that gin affords him? The philosopher has, past all question, chosen his enjoyment more wisely, since it affords him a pleasure far deeper and more lasting than that of the toper. But that is all! Both one and the other have the same selfish end in view—personal gratification.

But, no; you have no wish to lead this selfish life. By working at science you mean to work for humanity, and that is the idea which will guide you in your investigations.

A charming illusion! Which of us has not hugged it for a moment when giving himself up for the first time to science?

But, then, you are really thinking about humanity, if you look to the good of mankind in your studies, a formidable question arises before you; for, however little you may have of the critical spirit, you must at once note that in our society of today science is only an appendage to luxury which serves to render life pleasanter for the few, but remains absolutely inaccessible to the bulk of mankind.

More than a century has passed since science laid down sound propositions as to the origin of the universe, but how many have mastered them or possess the really scientific spirit of criticism? A few thousands at the outside, who are lost in the midst of hundreds of millions still steeped in prejudices and superstitions worthy of savages, who are consequently ever ready to serve as puppets for religious impostors.

Or, to go a step further, let us glance at what science has done to establish rational foundations for physical and moral health. Science tells us how to live in order to preserve the health of our own bodies, how to maintain in good conditions of existence the crowded masses of our population. But does not all the vast amount of work done in these two directions remain a dead letter in our books? We know it does. And why? Because science today exists only for a handful of privileged persons; because social inequality, which divided society into two classes—the wage slaves and the grabbers of capital—renders all its teachings as to the conditions of a rational existence only the bitterest irony to nine-tenths of mankind.

I could give plenty more examples, but I stop short; only go outside Faust's closet, whose windows, darkened by dust, scarce let the light of heaven glimmer on its shelves full of books; look round, and at each step you will find fresh proof in support of this view.

It is no longer a question of accumulating scientific truths and discovered. We need above everything to spread the truths already mastered by science, to make them part of our daily life, to render them common property. We have to order things so that all, so that the mass of mankind, may be capable of understanding an applying them; we have to make science no longer a luxury, but the foundation of every man's life. This is what justice demands.

I go further: I say that the interests of science itself lie in the same direction. Science only makes real progress when a new truth finds a soil already prepared to receive it. The theory of the mechanical origin of heat, though enunciated in the last century in the same terms that Elra and Clausius formulate it today, remained for eighty years buried in the *Academical Record* until such time as knowledge of physics had spread widely enough to create a public capable of accepting it.

Three generations had to go by before the ideas of Erasmus Darwin on the variation of species could be favorably received. From his grandson and admitted by academical philosophers, and not without pressure from public opinion even then. The philosopher, like the poet or artist, is always the product of the society in which he moves and teaches.

But, if you are imbued with these ideas, you will understand that it is above all important to bring about a radical change in this state of affairs which today condemns the philosopher to be crammed with scientific truths, and almost the whole of the rest of human beings to remain what they were five or ten centuries ago; that is to say, in the state of slaves and machines, incapable of mastering established truths. And the day when you are imbued with wide, deep, humane, and profoundly scientific truth, that day you will lose your taste for science only. You will set to work to find out the means to effect this transformation, and if you bring to your investigations the impartiality which has guided you in your scientific researches you will of necessity adopt the cause of socialism; you will make an end of sophisms and you will come among us. Weary of working to produce pleasure for the small group which already has a large share of them, you will place your information and devotion at the service of the oppressed.

And be sure that, the feeling of duty accomplished and of a real accord established between your sentiments and your actions, you will then find powers in yourself of whose existence you never even dreamed. When, too, one day—it is not so far distant in any case, saying the presence of our professors—when, one day, I say, the change for which you are working shall have been brought about, then, deriving new forces from collective scientific work, and from the powerful help of armies of laborers who will come to place their energies at its service, science will take a new bound forward, in comparison with which the slow progress of today will appear the simple exercises of tyros.

Then you will enjoy science; that pleasure will be a pleasure for all.

If you have finished reading law and are about to be called to the bar perhaps you, too, have some illusions as to your future activity—I assume that you are one of the nobler spirits, that you know what altruism means. Perhaps you think, "To devote my life to an unceasing and vigorous struggle against all injustice! To apply my whole faculties to bringing about the triumph of law, the public expression of supreme justice—can any career be nobler?" You begin the real work of life confident in yourself and in the profession you have chosen.

Very well; let us turn to any page of the Law Reports and see what actual life will tell you.

Here we have a rich landowner; he demands the eviction of a farm tenant who has not paid his rent. From a legal point of view the case is beyond dispute; since the poor farmer cannot pay, out he must go. But if we look into the facts we shall learn something like this: The landlord has squandered his rents persistently in rollicking pleasure; the tenant has worked hard all day and every day. The landlord has done nothing to improve his estate. Nevertheless its value has trebled in fifty years, owing to a rise in the price of land due to the construction of a railway, to the making of new highroads, to the draining of a marsh, to the enclosure and cultivation of waste lands. But the tenant who has contributed largely toward this increase has ruined himself; he fell into the hands of usurers, and, head over ears in debt, he can no longer pay the landlord. The law, always on the side of property, is quite clear; the landlord is in the right. But you, whose feeling of justice has not yet been stifled by legal fictions, what will you do? Will you contend that the farmer ought to be turned out upon the highroads—for that is what the law ordains—or will you urge that the landlord should pay back to the farmer the whole of the increase or value in his property, which is due to the farmer's labor—that is what equity decrees. Which side will you take? For the law and against justice, or for justice and against law?

Or, when workmen have gone out on strike against a master without notice, which side will you take? The side of the law, that is to say, the part of the master who, taking advantage of a period of crisis, has made outrageous profits, or against the law, but on the side of the workers who received during the whole time only a paltry sum each day as wages, and saw their wives and children fade away before their eyes? Will you stand up for that piece of chicanery which consists in affirming "freedom of contract?" Or will you uphold equity, according to which a contract entered into between a man who has dined well and the man who sells his labor for bare subsistence, between the strong and the weak, is not a contract at all?

Take another case: A man was loitering near a butcher's shop. He stole a beefsteak and ran off with it. Arrested and questioned, it turns out that he is an artisan out of work, and that he and his family have had nothing to eat for four days. The butcher is asked to let

the man off, but he is all for the triumph of justice! He prosecutes, and the man is sentenced to six months' imprisonment. Blind Thomas so wills it! Does not your conscience revolt against law and against society when you hear similar judgments pronounced every day?

Or, again, will you call for the enforcement of the law against this man who, badly brought up, and ill-used from his childhood, has arrived at man's estate without having heard one sympathetic word, and completes his career by murdering his neighbor in order to rob him of twenty-five cents? Will you demand his execution, or worse still—that he should be imprisoned for twenty years, when you know very well that he is rather a madman than a criminal, and, in any case, that his crime is the fault of our entire society?

If you reason instead of repeating what is taught you; if you analyze the law and strip off those cloudy shrouds with which it has been draped in order to conceal its real origin, which is the right of the stronger, and its substance, which has ever been the consecration of all the tyrannies handed down to mankind through its long and bloody history; when you have comprehended this, your contempt for the law will be profound indeed. You will understand that to remain the servant of the written law is to place yourself every day in opposition to the law of science; and, to make a bargain on the wrong side; and, since this struggle cannot go on forever, you will either silence your conscience and become a scoundrel, or you will break with tradition, and you will work with us for the utter destruction of all this injustice, economical, social and political.

But then you will be a socialist, you will be a revolutionist.

And you, young engineer, you who dream of improving the lot of the workers by the application of science to industry—what a sad disappointment, what terrible disillusion await you? You devote the useful energy of your mind to working out the scheme of a railway which, running along the brink of precipices and burrowing into the very heart of mountains of granite, will bind together two countries which nature has separated. But, once at work, you see whole regiments of workers decimated by privations and sickness in this dark tunnel; you see others, of them returning home, carrying with them, may be, a few cents and the undoubted seeds of consumption; you see human corpses—the results of a groveling greed—as landmarks along each yard of your road; and, when the railroad is finished, you see, lastly, that it becomes the highway for the artillery of an invading army. . . .

You have given up the prime of your youth to perfect an invention which will facilitate production, and, after many experiments, many sleepless nights, you are at length master of this valuable discovery. You make use of it, and the result surpasses your expectations. Ten, twenty thousand "hands" are thrown out upon the street! Those who remain, most of them children, will be reduced to mere machines! Three, four, ten masters will make their fortunes and will drink deep on the strength of it. . . . Is this your dream?

Finally, you study recent industrial advances, and you see that the seamstress has gained nothing, absolutely nothing, by the invention of the sewing machine; that the laborer in the St. Gothard tunnel dies of ankylosis, notwithstanding diamond drills; that the mason and the day laborer are out of work just as before at the foot of the Giffard lifts. If you discuss social problems with the same independence of spirit which has guided you in your mechanical investigations, you necessarily come to the conclusion that under the domination of private property and wage slavery, every new invention, far from increasing the well-being of the wage worker, only makes his slavery heavier, his labor more degrading, the periods of slack work more frequent, the crisis more sharper, and the man who already has every conceivable pleasure for himself is the only one who profits by it.

What will you do when you have once come to this conclusion? Either you will begin by silencing your conscience with sophisms; then one fine day you will bid farewell to the honest dreams of your youth and you will try to obtain, for yourself, what commands pleasure and enjoyment—you will then go over to the camp of the exploiters. Or if you have a tender heart you will say to yourself, "No, this is not the time for inventions. Let us work first to transform the domain of production. When private property is put an end to, then each new advance in industry will be made for the benefit of all mankind; and this mass of workers, mere machines as they are today, will then become thinking beings who apply to industry their intelligence, strengthened by study and skilled in manual labor, and thus mechanical progress will take a bound forward which will carry it out in fifty years what now a-days we cannot even dream of."

And what shall I say to the schoolmaster—not to the man who looks upon his profession as a wearisome business, but to him who, when surrounded by a joyous band of children, feels exhilarated by their cheery looks and in the

midst of their happy laughter, to him who tries to plant in their little heads those ideas of humanity which he cherished himself when he was young.

Often I see that you are sad, and I know what it is that makes you knit your brows. This very day, your favorite pupil, who is not very well up in Latin, it is true, but who has none the less an excellent heart, recited the story of William Tell with so much vigor! His eyes sparkled; he seemed to wish to stab all tyrants there and then; he gave with such fire the passionate lines of Schiller:

Before the slave when he breaks his chain,
Before the free man tremble not.

But, when he returned home, his mother, his father, his uncle, sharply rebuked him for want of respect to the minister or the rural policeman; they held forth to him by the hour on "prudence, respect for authority, submission to his betters," till he put Schiller aside in order to read "Self-Help."

And then only yesterday you were told that your best pupils have all turned out badly. One does nothing but dream of becoming an officer; another in league with his master robs the workers of their slender wages; and you, who had such hopes of these young people, you now brood over the sad contrast between your ideal and life as it is.

You still brood over it? Then I foresee that in two years at the outside, after having suffered disappointment after disappointment, you will lay your favorite authors on the shelf, and you will end by saying that, Tell, no doubt, was a very honest fellow, but after all a trifle cracked; that poetry is a first-rate thing for the fireside, especially when a man has been teaching the rules-of-three all day long, but still poets are always in the clouds and their views have nothing to do with the life of today, nor with the next visit with the inspector of schools. . . .

Or, on the other hand, the dreams of your youth will become the firm convictions of your mature age. You will wish to have wide, human education for all, in school and out of school; and, seeing that this impossible in existing conditions, you will attack the very foundations of bourgeois society. Then, discharged as you will be by the education department, you will leave your school and come among us and be of use; you will tell men of riper years but of smaller attainments than yourself how enticing knowledge is, what mankind ought to be, nay, what we could be. You will come and work with socialists for the complete transformation of the existing system; will strive side by side with us to attain true equality, real fraternity, never-ending liberty for the world.

Lastly, you, young artist, sculptor, painter, poet, musician, do you not observe that the sacred fire which inspired your predecessors is wanting in the men of today? That art is commonplace and mediocrity reigns supreme? Could it be otherwise? The delight of having re-discovered the ancient world, of having bathed afresh in the springs of nature which created the masterpieces of the Renaissance no longer exists for the art of our time; the revolutionary ideal has left it cold until now, and, failing an ideal, our art fancies that it has found one in realism when it painfully photographs in colors the dewdrop on the leaf of a plant, imitates the muscle in the leg of a cow, or describes minutely in prose and in verse, the suffocating filth of a sewer, the hoidor of a prostitute of high degree.

"But, if this is so, what is to be done?" you say. If I reply, the sacred fire that you say you possess is nothing better than a smouldering wick, then you will go on doing as you have done, and your art will speedily degenerate into the trade of decorator of tradesmen's shops, of a purveyor of libretti to third-rate operettas and tales of Christmas annuals. Most of you are already running down that grade with a fine head of steam on. . . .

But, if your heart really beats in unison with that of humanity, if like a true poet you have an ear for life, then, gazing upon this sea of sorrow whose tide sweeps up around you, face to face with these people dying of hunger, in the presence of these corpses piled up in the mounds, and these mutilated bodies lying in heaps on the barricades looking on these long lines of exiles who are going to bury themselves in the snows of Siberia and in the marshes of tropical islands, in full view of this desperate battle which is being fought, amid the cries of pain from the conquered and the orgies of the victors, of heroism in conflict with cowardice, of noble determination face to face with contemptible cunning—you cannot remain neutral; you will come and take the side of the oppressed because you know that the beautiful, the sublime, the spirit of life itself are on the side of those who fight for light, for humanity, for justice!

You stop me at last! "What the devil!" you say, "If abstract science is a luxury and practice of medicine mere chicanery; if law spells injustice, and mechanical invention is but a means of robbery; if the school, at variance with the wisdom of the 'practical man,' is sure to be overcome, and art without the revolutionary idea can only degenerate, what remains for me to do?"

Well, I will tell you:
A vast and most enthralling task; a

work in which your actions will be in complete harmony with your conscience, an undertaking capable of rousing the noblest and most vigorous natures.

What work?—I will now tell you.

It rests with you either to pester continually with your conscience, and in the end to say one fine day, "Perish humanity, provided I can have plenty of pleasures and enjoy them to the full, so long as the people are foolish enough to let me." Or, once more the inevitable alternative, to take part with the socialists and work with them for the complete transformation of society. Such is the irrefragable consequence of the analysis we have gone through. That is the logical conclusion, which every intelligent man must perform arrive at, provided that he reasons honestly about what passes around him, and discards the sophisms which his bourgeois education and the interested views of those about him whisper in his ear.

This conclusion once arrived at, the question, "What is to be done?" is naturally put.

The answer is easy. Leave this environment in which you are placed and where it is the fashion to say that the people are nothing but a lot of brutes, come among these people—and the answer will come of itself.

You will see that everywhere, in England as well as in France, in Germany as well as in Italy, in Russia as well as in the United States, everywhere there is a privileged and oppressed class, there is a tremendous work going on in the midst of the working class, whose object is to break down forever the slavery enforced by the capitalist feudality and to lay the foundation of a society established on the basis of justice and equality. It is no longer enough for the man of the people to-day to pour forth his complaints in one of those songs whose melody breaks your heart, such as were sung by the serfs of the eleventh century, and are still sung by the Slav peasant; he labors with his fellow toilers for his enfranchisement, with the knowledge of what he is doing and against every obstacle put in his way.

His thoughts are constantly exercised in considering what should be done in order that life, instead of being a curse for three-fourths of mankind, may be a real enjoyment for all. He takes up the hardest problems of sociology and tries to solve them by his good sense, his spirit of observation, his hard experience. In order to come to an understanding with others as miserable as himself, he seeks to form groups, to organize. He forms societies, maintained with difficulty by small contributions; he tries to make terms with his fellows beyond the frontier; and he prepares far better the days when wars between peoples shall be impossible than do the frothy philanthropists who now posit with the fad of universal peace. In order to know what his brothers are doing, to have a closer connection with them, to elaborate his ideas and pass them around, he maintains—but at the price of what privations, what ceaseless efforts!—his working press.

What an unending series of efforts! What an incessant struggle! What toil perpetually begun afresh; sometimes to fill up the gaps occasioned by desertion—the result of weariness, corruption, persecutions; sometimes to rally the broken forces decimated by fusillades and cold-blooded butchery; at another time to recommence the studies sternly broken off by wholesale slaughter.

The newspapers are set on foot by men who have been obliged to force from society scraps of knowledge by depriving themselves of sleep and food; the agitation is kept up by halpence deducted from the amount needed to get the bare necessities of life; and all this under the constant dread of seeing his family reduced to the most fearful misery, as soon as the master learns that "his workman, his slave, is tainted with socialism."

This is what you will see if you go among the people.

And in this endless struggle how often has not the toiler vainly asked as he stumbled under the weight of his burden:

"Where, then, are these young people who have been taught at our expense? these youths whom we fed and clothed while they studied? Where are those for whom, our backs bent double beneath our burdens and our bellies empty, we have built these houses, these colleges, these lecture rooms, these museums? Where are the men for whose benefit we, with our pale, worn faces, have printed these fine books, most of which we cannot even read? Where are they, these professors who claim to possess the science of mankind, and for whom humanity itself is not worth a rare cat-errillar? Where are the men who are never think to champion our freedom, trampled as it is each day beneath their feet? Where are they, these writers and poets, these painters and sculptors?"

Where, in a word, is the whole gang of hypocrites who speak of the People with tears in their eyes, but who never, by any chance find themselves among us helping us in our laborious work?

Where are they, indeed? Why, some are taking their ease with the most cowardly indifference; others, the majority, despise the "dirty mob," and are ready to pounce upon them if they dare touch one of THEIR privileges.

Now and then, it is true, a young man comes among us who dreams of drums and barricades, and seeks sensational scenes; but he deserts the cause of the people as soon as he perceives that the road to the barricade is long, that the work is heavy, and that the crowns of laurel to be won in this campaign are intermingled with thorns.

Generally these are ambitious schemers out of work, who, having failed in their first efforts, try in this way to cajole people out of their votes, but who a little later will be the first to denounce them when the people wish to apply the principles which they themselves have professed; perhaps will even be ready to turn artillery and gatling guns upon them if they dare to move before THEY, the heads of the movement, give the signal.

Add mean insult, haughty contempt, cowardly calumny from the great majority, and you know what the people may expect now-a-days from most of the youth of the upper and middle classes in the way of help toward the social evolution.

But then you ask, "What shall we do?" When there is everything to be done! When a whole army of young people would find plenty to employ the entire vigor of their youthful energy, the full force of their intelligence and their talents, to help people in the vast enterprise they have undertaken!

What shall we do? Listen: You lovers of pure science, if you are imbued with the principles of socialism, if you have understood the real meaning of the revolution which is even now knocking at the door, do you not see that all science has to be recast in order to place it in harmony with the new principles; that it is your business to accomplish in this field a revolution far greater than that which was accomplished in every branch of science during the eighteenth century?

Do you not understand that history—which today is an old wife's tale about great kings, great statesmen and great parliaments—that history itself has to be written from the point of view of the people, from the point of view of work done by the masses in the long evolution of mankind? That social economy—which today is merely the sanctification of capitalist robbery—has to be worked out afresh in its fundamental principles as well as in its innumerable applications? That anthropology, sociology, ethics, must be completely recast, and that the very natural sciences themselves, regarded from another point of view, must undergo a profound modification, alike in regard to the conception of natural phenomena and with respect to the method of exposition?

Very well, then. Set to work! Place your abilities at the command of the good cause. Especially help us with your clear logic to combat prejudice and to lay by your synthesis the foundations of a better organization; yet more, teach us to apply in our daily arguments the fearlessness of true scientific investigation, and show us, as your predecessors did, how men dare sacrifice even life itself for the triumph of the truth.

You, doctors, who have learned socialism by a bitter experience, never weary of telling us today, tomorrow, in season and out of season, that humanity itself hurries onward to decay if men remain in the present conditions of existence and work; that all your medicaments must be powerless against disease while the majority of mankind vegetate in conditions absolutely contrary to those which science tells us are healthful; convince the people that it is the causes of disease which must be uprooted, and show us all what is necessary to remove them.

Come with your scalpel and dissect for us with an unerring hand this society of ours hastening to putrefaction. Tell us what a rational existence should and might be. Insist, as true surgeons, that a gangrenous limb must be amputated when it will poison the whole body.

You, who have worked at the application of science to industry, come and tell us frankly what has been the outcome of your discoveries. Convince those who dare not march boldly toward the future what new inventions the knowledge we have already acquired carries in its womb, what industry could do under better conditions, what man might easily produce if he produced always with a view to enhance his own production.

You poets, painters, sculptors, musicians, if you understand your true mission and the very interests of art itself, come with us. Place your pen, your pencil, your chisel, your ideas, at the service of the revolution. Figure forth to us, in your eloquent style, or your impressive pictures, the heroic struggles of the people against their oppressors; fire the hearts of our youth with that glorious revolutionary enthusiasm which inflamed the souls of our ancestors; tell women what a noble career is that of a husband who devotes his life to a great cause of social emancipation! Show people how hideous is their actual life, and place your hand on the causes of its ugliness; tell us what a rational life would be if it did not encounter at every step the follies and the ignominies of our present social order.

Lastly, all of you who possess knowledge, talent, capacity, industry, if you have a spark of sympathy in your nature, come, you and your companions, come and place your services at the disposal of those who most need them. And remember, if you do as comrades in the struggle; that you come not to govern but to gain strength for yourselves in a new life which sweeps upward to the conquest of the future; that you come less to teach than to grasp the aspirations of the many; to divine them, to give them shape, and then to work, without rest and without haste, with all the fire of youth and all the judgment of age, to realize them in actual life. Then and then only will you lead a complete, a noble, a rational existence. Then you will see that your every effort on this path bears with it fruit in abundance, and this sublime harmony once established between your actions and the dictates of your conscience will give you powers you never dreamed lay dormant in yourselves.

The never-ceasing struggle for truth, justice and equality among the people, whose gratitude you will earn—what nobler career can the youth of all nations desire than this?

It has taken me long to show you of the well-to-do classes that, in view of the dilemma which life presents to you, you will be forced, if courageous and sincere, to come and work side by side with the socialists, and champion in their ranks the cause of the social revolution. And yet how simple this truth is, after all! But when one is speaking to those who have suffered from the effects of bourgeois surroundings, how many sophisms must be combated, how many prejudices overcome, how many interested objections put aside!

It is easy to be brief today in addressing you, the youth of the people. The very pressure of events impels you to become socialists, however little you may have the courage to entertain and to act.

To rise from the ranks of the working people, and not devote one's self to bringing about the triumph of socialism, is to misconceive the real interests at stake, to give up the cause and the true historic mission.

Do you remember the time, when still a mere lad, you went down one winter's day to play in your dark court? The cold nipped your shoulders through your thin clothes, and the mud worked into your worn-out shoes. Even then, when you saw chubby children richly clad pass in the distance, looking at you with an air of contempt, you knew right well that these extravagantly dressed lumps were not the equals of yourself and your comrades, either in intelligence, common sense or energy.

But, later, when you were forced to shut yourself up in a filthy factory from five to six o'clock in the morning, to remain twelve hours standing close to a whirling machine, and, a machine yourself, were forced to follow, day after day for whole years in succession, its relentless, throbbing movements—during all this time the others were going quietly to be taught at fine schools, at academies, at the universities. And now these same children, less intelligent, but better taught than you, have become your masters, are enjoying all the pleasures of life and all the advantages of civilization. And you? What sort of lot awaits you?

You return to a little dark, damp lodgings, where five or six human beings herd together within a few square feet; where your mother, sick of life, aged by care rather than years, offers you dry bread and potatoes as your only food, washed down by blackish fluid called, in irony, tea; and to distract your thoughts you have ever the same never-ending question, "How shall I be able to pay the baker tomorrow, and the landlord the day after?"

What! must you drag on the same weary existence that your father and mother did for thirty and forty years? Must you toil your life long to procure for others all the pleasures of well-being, of knowledge, of art, and keep for yourself only the eternal anxiety as to whether you can get a bit of bread? Will you forever give up all that makes life so beautiful to devote yourself to providing every luxury for a handful of idlers? Will you wear yourself out with toil and have in return only trouble, if not misery, when hard times—the fearful hard times—come upon you? Is this what you long for in life?

Perhaps you will give up. Seeing no way out of your condition whatever, maybe you say to yourself, "Whole generations have undergone the same lot, and I, who can alter nothing in the matter, I must submit also. Let us work on, then, and endeavor to live as well as we can!"

Very well. In that case life itself will take pains to enlighten you. One day a crisis comes, one of those crises which are no longer mere passing phenomena, as they were a while ago, but a crisis which destroys a whole industry, which plunges thousands of workers into misery, which crushes whole families. You struggle like the rest against the calamity. But you will soon see how your wife, your child, your friend, little by little, succumb to privations, fade away under your very eyes. For sheer want of food, for lack of care and of medical assistance, they and their days on the pauper's stretcher, while the life of the rich sweeps by in joyous crowds through the streets of the great city gleaming in the sunlight—utterly careless and indifferent to the dying cries of those who perish.

THEN you will understand how utterly revolting this society is; you will reflect upon the causes of this crisis, and your examination will go to the very depths of this abomination which puts millions of human beings at the mercy of the brutal greed of a handful of useless triflers: then you will understand that capitalists are right when they say our present society can be

that it must be reorganized from top to bottom. To pass from general crises to your particular case. One day when your master tries by a new reduction of wages to squeeze out of you a few more cents in order to increase his fortune still further you will protest; but he will haughtily answer, "Go and eat grass, if you will not work at the price I offer." Then you will understand that your master not only tries to shear you like a sheep, but that he looks upon you as an inferior kind of animal altogether; that not content with holding you in his relentless grip by means of the wage system, he is further anxious to make you a slave in every respect. Then you will either bow down before him, you will give up the feeling of human dignity, and you will end by suffering every possible humiliation; or the blood will rush to your head, you shudder at the hideous slop on which you are slipping down, you will retort, and, turned out workless on the street, you will understand how right socialists are when they say "Revolt! Rise against this economic slavery!" Then you will come and take your place in the ranks of the socialists, and you will work with them for the complete destruction of all slavery—economic, social and political.

Some day again you will learn the story of that charming young girl whose brisk gait, frank manners, and cheerful conversation you so lovingly admired. After having struggled for years and years against misery, she left her native village for the metropolis. There she knew right well that the struggle for existence must be hard, but she hoped at least to be able to gain her living honestly. Well, now you know what has been her fate. Courted by the son of some capitalist, she allowed herself to be enticed by his fine words, she gave herself up to him with all the passion of youth, only to see herself abandoned with a baby in her arms. Ever courageous, she never ceased to struggle on; but she broke down in this unequal strife against cold and hunger, and she ended her days in one of the hospitals, no one knows which.

What will you do? Once more there are two courses open to you. Either you will push aside the whole unpleasant reminiscence with some stupid phrase: "She was not the first and will not be the last," you will say: perhaps, some evening, you will be heard in a public room, in company with other beasts-like yourself, outraging the young girl's memory by some dirty stories; or, on the other hand, your remembrance of the past will touch your heart: you will try to meet the seducer to denounce him to his face; you will reflect upon the causes of these events that recur every day, and you will comprehend that they will never cease so long as society is divided into two camps: on the one side the wretched and on the other the laxy—the jugglers with fine phrases and bestial lusts. You will understand that it is high time to bridge over this gulf of separation, and you will rush to place yourself among the socialists.

And you, woman of the people, has this left you cold and unmoved? While caressing the pretty head of that child who nestles close to you, do you never think about the lot that awaits him, if the present social conditions are not changed? Do you never reflect on the future awaiting your young sister, and all your own children? Do you wish that your sons should vegetate as your father vegetated, with no care other than how to get his daily bread, with no other pleasure than that of the gin-palace? Do you want your husband, your boys, to be ever at the mercy of the first comer who has inherited from his father a capital to exploit them with? Are you anxious that they should remain slaves for a master, food for powder, mere dung wherewith to manure the pasture lands of the rich exploiter?

Nay, never; a thousand times no! I know right well that your blood has boiled when you have heard that your husbands, after they entered on a strike full of fire and determination, have ended by accepting, cap in hand, the conditions dictated by the bloated bourgeois in a tone of haughty contempt! I know that you have admired those Spanish women who in a popular rising presented their breasts to the bayonets of the soldiery in the front ranks of the insurrectionists. I am certain that you mention with reverence the name of the woman who lodged a bullet in the chest of that ruffianly official who dared to outrage a socialist prisoner in her cell. And I am confident that your heart beats faster when you read how the women of the people in Paris gathered under a rain of shells to encourage "their men" to heroic action.

Every one of you, then, honest young folks, men and women, peasants, laborers, artisans and soldiers, you will understand what are your rights and you will come along with us; you will come in order to work with your brethren in the preparation of that revolution which, sweeping away every vestige of slavery, tearing the fetters asunder, breaking with the old worn-out traditions and opening to all mankind a new and wider scope of joyous existence, shall at length establish true liberty, real equality, ungrading fraternity throughout human society; work with all, work for all—the full enjoyments of the fruits of their labor, the complete development of all their faculties; a rational, human and happy life.

Don't let anyone tell us that we—but a small band—are too weak to attain unto the magnificent end at which we aim. Count and see how many of us there are who suffer this injustice. We peasants who work for others and who mumble the straw while our mas-

ter eats the wheat, we by ourselves are millions of men. We workers who weave silks and velvets in order that we may be clothed in rags, we, too, are a great multitude; and when the clang of the factories permits us a moment's repose, we overflow the streets and squares like the sea in a spring tide. We soldiers who are driven along to the word of command, or by blows: we who receive the bullets for which our officers get crosses and pensions: we, too, poor fools who have hitherto known no better than to shoot our brothers—why, we have only to make a right-about-face toward these plumed and decorated personages who are so good as to command us, to see a ghastly pallor overspread their faces. Ay, all of us together, we who suffer and are insulted daily, we are a multitude whom no man can number, we are the ocean that can embrace and swallow up all else. When we have but the will to do it, that moment will justice be done: for very instant the tyrants of the earth shall bite the dust.

DESTROYING THE FAMILY.

An Abundant Charge Against Socialism Refuted, and Laid Where It Justly Belongs.

"Socialism will destroy the family," shrieks the defender of capitalism and a lot of fool laborers and otherwise intelligent people are frightened from a further examination of the socialist position. It is needless to say that no socialist ever proposed or dreamed of any such thing and one might be at a loss to know how the idea originated if it were not for the fact which has long been recognized that capitalism, always imputes its own sins to its opponents. For it is capitalism, not socialism, that is destroying all family life.

It sends the wife and mother into the New England factories while the father either cares for the children at home or is driven to the "stag towns" of the West, leaving the women to make up the "she villages" of the East. Even where they are still allowed to nominally make up a single "home," the father is not permitted to get acquainted with his family until his children scarcely know him. Worse yet, the factory invades the "home," and makes it that hell of feverish toil called a sweat-shop. At every point capitalism pours its destructive venom out upon this supposedly cherished institution. It reduces the incomes of thousands to the point where marriage is an impossibility on the part of men and prostitution a necessity for the woman. It yearly drives thousands of men to desert their families, upon which, through lack of employment, they have become a burden, not a source of maintenance. It compels a large per cent of the population to live under conditions where children are born only to be killed by their surroundings, and sets a premium on infanticide through child insurance.

Nor is this state of affairs confined to the manual laborers. The clerk in the department store may have the amusement of flattering himself that socially he belongs to the capitalist class, but he is plainly told that he must not act upon that supposition to the extent of marrying and making to himself a home. In all professional lines the same tendency is seen. Wages are calculated upon the basis of what it takes to support a single individual at the standard which the employer thinks is necessary to be profitable to his business, and no arrangements are made for the "home."

With the school teacher this fact is even more brutally stated. The woman teacher is frankly told that while she may have a husband she must not enjoy the luxury of children. Furthermore, the salaries of the male teachers are kept at a point where marriage is impossible, and if he dares to marry a woman teacher her salary stops and the "home" is again attacked. Only a few months ago one teacher was forced to make the awful choice between her child and her means of living and caring for that child. In the end, she was not even allowed the choice, and when she had, as it were, sacrificed the society and care of her child for the power to feed it, the powers that be decided that she might still have some feelings of motherly interest in it and so discharged her that both might suffer together.

CARE FOR MIND AND BODY.
The Feeding of Public School Children in a French City.
Reprinted from The Workers' Call of March 24th, 1900.

Brussels, Feb. 25th, 1900.
In our last letter we promised something more concerning the work of the socialists in the municipality of Roubaix. Here is a phase of the subject that will especially interest those who are looking for "something right off" and from the time we had left America we had looked forward with more or less interest to the time when we could know exactly in what way this municipal work was regarded. We found that it was being done by perhaps the most distinctly revolutionary party in Europe, and it is at least suggestive that while the "reform" socialists have been railing at the "narrow" Marxists because they would not take up every reform that came along, those same "narrow" fellows have gone ahead and done more than all the reformers put together. But when we came to talk with them and asked about the different forms of work that they were carrying on, they were extremely diffident, and declared that these things had no particular relation to socialism.

But there was one peculiarity that differentiated their actions from the ordinary self-styled "municipal socialist." They did not ask to begin by "socializing" the "natural monopolies." They did not dare to go before the workers and tell them that their interests were bound up in municipal railways, telephones and electric lights. What they did do was directed exclusively to the amelioration of the workers. Perhaps the most far-reaching of their actions, is the feeding and clothing of the public school children.

In the city of Lille there are 6,000 children so fed every day of the school year. We had the opportunity of visiting one of the "Cantines," as the dining kitchens are called, at the hour of meal time. There were about three hundred children in the room, all eating and talking at once, and it made a sight not soon to be forgotten. Each child was given a meal consisting of beans, potatoes, bread, one kind of meat or fish and generally one other vegetable. This is varied somewhat according to the age of the children, but this is a fair idea of what is received by the children in the intermediate grades. For those children who are able to pay, a charge is made in some cities of from two to four cents per day according to the age of the children. BUT WHERE THIS IS DONE, THE PAYMENT IS ARRANGED FOR IN SUCH A WAY THAT NONE OF THE CHILDREN KNOW WHO ARE PAID FOR, AND WHO ARE FREE.

This system has been in operation in some places for from six to eight years, and it is said that there is an easily perceptible difference in the size and appearance of those who have been thus fed, and the children of other cities of France, or in the same cities before the system was put into effect. THE SOCIALISTS EMPHASIZE IT, MAINLY BECAUSE THEY SAY THAT AN ILL FED AND PHYSICALLY WEAK PROLETARIAN IS NEVER A REVOLUTIONIST, and that by this system they are enabled to rid themselves of the dead weight of the reactionary "slum proletariat." Besides there is no doubt but that there is here an actual gain to a large portion of the working class, in that they are better fed and educated.

Indeed, as the French socialists have frequently pointed out, free education without free meals is a farce, as a starving child cannot learn, and the mental development must rest upon the physical. To force a weakened, sickly, nervous, rickety child to stay all day within the close walls of a schoolroom, and try to cram learning into him according to rule, as is done every day in the schools of our American cities, is a parody on free education and an insult to common humanity.

But the socialist cities of France do not stop with providing a good meal. They recognize that to stop there would be to perpetuate the anomaly and injustice of which they complain. Each child receives, when needed, sufficient clothing to ensure warmth. THE THING WHICH STRUCK US ABOUT THE CLOTHING, WAS THAT IT HAD NONE OF THE "INSTITUTION" LOOK THAT MARKS THE WORK OF AMERICAN "CHARITY" (?) Indeed, it was so much like that ordinarily worn by the children that our guide, who was one of the teachers, had hard work to determine for us which was furnished by the city and which by the parents of the children. The only thing left to private charity to provide was the shoes, and lest some of our American friends might think that this was worse than all the rest, we hasten to say that a pair of wooden shoes, such as are almost universally worn by the children, vary in cost from four to fifty cents, and are only worn during a small portion of the year.

Nor is this the end. Through the combined action of private associations and municipal assistance, there is a covered playground provided in connection with each school, furnished with a great variety of games and amusements. These latter are in different rooms, arranged according to age, those for the oldest being furnished with billiard tables and other games of a similar grade.

The International Socialist Review

On the first of July we shall issue the first number of the monthly review under the editorship of A. M. Simons, until lately editor of The Workers' Call, who has recently returned from studying social conditions in Europe. The socialist movement has now reached the point where it can claim to offer the only philosophy pointing the way to a positive solution of present-day problems. Its constantly increasing strength at home and abroad makes it a force with which all must reckon. In Europe the best minds of the colleges and universities are devoted to expounding its doctrines and a majority of the leading economic reviews are under the direction of socialist writers and thinkers.

Under these conditions it is felt that there is great need for a publication in America that will bring the works of the best foreign minds in touch with those who are here attacking the same problems and place the results of such discussions before the great body of people who are interested in social questions.

Here is the field of the International Socialist Review. It competes with no existing publication. It will, we trust, prove itself indispensable to every honest student of social problems, whether his sympathies be for socialism or against it.

Editorially the attitude of the Review will be strictly in accord with the recognized principles of international socialism. Signed articles will, however, be welcomed from writers of all schools and parties who accept the socialist ideal, however they may differ as to methods and tactics. We are convinced that a free and full discussion is the shortest and best road to the general acceptance of the methods and tactics of international socialism by all who aim at the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth.

The International Socialist Review will be the first periodical in the English language to bring together to any extent the original contributions of the great socialist thinkers of the different countries of Europe. It will also publish each month letters from foreign correspondents giving the latest news and a review of the situation in each country. Here is a partial list of those who have already promised to write: France—Paul Lafargue, Jean Jaures, Jean Longuet.

Belgium—Emile Vandervelde, Henri Lafontaine, Emile Vinck, Mme. Lalla Kufferath.

England—H. M. Hyndman, Walter Crane, Samuel Hobson, H. Quelch, Keir Hardie, J. R. McDonald.

Italy—Dr. Alessandro Schivo.

Denmark—Dr. Gustav Bang.

Arrangements are now being completed for correspondents and contributors from Germany and Holland, and we hope to announce their names before the first issue.

It will be seen at once that this list of contributors places the International Socialist Review in a class by itself so far as periodicals in English are concerned.

But it must not be supposed that the American situation has been neglected. Already articles have been promised by Job Harriman, Rev. Charles H. Vail, N. L. Stone, Leonard D. Abbott, Rev. Wm. T. Brown, William Mallory, Gov. Andrew E. Lee, Ben Hanford, Marcus Hitch, Jos. Wanhope, W. H. Noyes and others, and no effort will be spared to secure the best work of the best thinkers upon the problems of socialism in America.

The plan of the magazine will be approximately as follows: About forty-eight pages will be given to contributed articles and the remaining sixteen pages will be divided as nearly equally as possible among the following departments: First, Review of the events of the month from the socialist point of view. Second, News of the socialist movement in America during the month just passed. Third, Items concerning the struggle in the economic field, including trade union news and labor troubles. Fourth, Foreign correspondence, giving news of the socialist movement of the world over.

The need of such a periodical as this is apparent to every socialist. We believe that once it is brought to their notice every comrade will be willing to take hold and help. There are two ways in which such help is wanted at once. In the first place further capital is needed for its establishment. A comrade has agreed to give \$250 for this purpose as soon as an equal sum is raised elsewhere. Of this sum \$150 has already been raised leaving one hundred more to get if this offer is not to be allowed to lapse. To raise this one hundred dollars it is proposed to sell ten shares of our capital stock at ten dollars each—their par value. That the money thus invested offers immediate and desirable returns aside from being an aid in the establishment of the magazine is shown by the following special prices on books published by us which are made to stockholders only:

Five cent books in small lots, 2 1/2 cents; 50 assorted copies, \$1.75; 500 assorted copies, \$5.00; post free in the United States outside Chicago.

Ten cent books in small lots, 5 cents; 100 assorted, \$3.00; post free in the United States outside Chicago.

Twenty-five cent books in small lots, 12 1/2 cents; 50 assorted, \$5.00; post free in the United States outside Chicago.

Other books at half list prices; post free on paper books; on cloth books if sent by mail postage will average about 10 per cent of the retail price.

Once the magazine is established it will be run without further expense to the party, and will be distributed, not only through the ordinary socialist channels, but also through regular trade channels to thousands of people entirely inaccessible to the ordinary socialist propaganda. It will be a means of capturing and holding the intellectual proletariat for socialism as well as an organ for the education and training of socialist speakers and writers.

Every section that intends to do any distribution of literature will find the ownership of such a share of stock a good investment, while individuals who wish to assist the socialist propaganda will scarcely find a better opportunity or greater need than this present one.

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, PUBLISHERS.

56 FIFTH AVE., CHICAGO.

Send in a club of ten this week.

THE NEW EDUCATION

How It Coincides With the Economic Movement of the Present.

THE EVOLUTION OF PEDAGOGY

The Ideals of the New Education Can Only be Realized Under the Socialist System.

Teachers today have much to say of the "new education." No matter how much nonsense and cant may be talked about this it is still undeniable that there is a new spirit abroad in the educational world. From the kindergarten to the university the change is making itself felt. Some few pedagogical students have gone far enough to synthesize all these movements and to realize that they are but parts of a common whole and to recognize that the revolt from the fixed classical course at the universities toward the elective studies in the sciences is a part of the same movement that is substituting the kindergarten for the "dames' school" of a generation ago. But so far as I have noticed there has been but one of these who have seen that this whole educational movement was but a very narrow portion of the great Zeitgeist that has arisen from the economic transformation of the last century, and is today revolutionizing every phase of human thought and life.

I refer to Prof. Dewey of the University of Chicago, who in his book, "The School and Society," shows this connection clearly and brings many previously unseen relations into prominence. But even he has been too closely shut in within the walls of his study to see the relation which exists between the educational and social movement which he is tracing, and the great worldwide movement of the workers toward freedom, to which the name socialism has been given. Some of my readers may be inclined at this point to throw this paper aside and declare that the proposition that postulates a connection between the New Education and socialism is too far-fetched to be worthy of further consideration.

But philosophically and historically they spring from the same root and the teacher can only apply his philosophy practically after he has united with the socialist politically to secure the success of the socialist program. Philosophically both spring from a common Hegelian root. Both reached their present development through the relinquishment of the ideological element of Hegelianism while the dialectic was retained. Both arise from the application of that philosophy to the economic conditions of today. The errors in each have arisen from attempts at a separation of the philosophy from those conditions.

Let us look a little closer into this position. The watchword of the new education is freedom—freedom of thought, of development, of growth, of individual initiative. The basis of the Froebelian philosophy is found in the idea of the free "expression of the inner in the outer" or in other words in the expression in material form of the images of the mind. The child is led to create with the hands in material form the ideas that exist in his own consciousness. Then in the primary school the best modern educators are seeking to introduce the same idea.

Domestic science, sloyd, wood-carving, all have this same end. Nature lessons, and excursions to the country and to museums seek simply to add new material to the mental images, that the outward expression may be still more free because embracing a wider range. Manual training and drawing carry the same idea into the intermediate schools; and laboratory methods, with the seminar and experimental science, develop it still further in the university world.

Then when the student is graduated, according to the principles of the "new education," has had his individuality developed, his own peculiar capabilities cultivated, and has been wholly trained with the idea that it is the right and duty of every man to develop his own personality and to the best of his ability mould the material universe according to his own mental conceptions, when he feels justly that he has within himself the capability of stamping his individuality upon his surroundings and contributing his own peculiar gift to the social well-being, he suddenly discovers that he is in the midst of a society in which individuality is a curse, independence an impossibility and liberty an immoderate dream. If he enters a profession or seeks to follow a trade he finds that he must, so far from working out his own ideas, sink all signs of his individuality, stifle all thought of mental originality, and bend his intellect, until it accords with the material interests of the class to whom he must sell himself and his abilities. He quickly finds that if he would live he must be able, not to use his talents for the increase of truth or comfort of mankind, or for the impression of his own inner thoughts on the outer world, but to SELL himself and his products for less than others who are producing the same thing. He soon finds that he can do this best by becoming a mental or physical machine capable of turning out a certain amount

of salable intellectual or mechanical product. In other words the new education is intended to produce MEN and WOMEN while what our present society demands is MACHINES.

The philosophy of socialism also teaches the freedom of the individual and insists upon the right and necessity of every person being able to impress their mental concepts upon the external world. It demands that this shall be made possible for every individual. It insists that there can be no true workmanship until the laborer is master of his own product and of the means with which to work. It would have men produce to use and not to sell. It would make the artisan and the artist identical because both would be creators and originators and not mechanical contrivances for supplying a market. It sees that this was more nearly possible at the time of the Guilds than ever since and points to the fact that this was the time when the handicraftsman wove his own mental images into the material with which he worked, and wrought because what he was making was to contribute to the happiness and comfort of some person or persons and was not designed to be simply sold more cheaply than any other similar article with the same external appearance. This was the message that William Morris, sung in verse, told in romance and lived in the workshop for many years. For, says the socialist, while the Mediaeval workman could not realize the ideal of the New Education because of the limited power of production in his time, with the wealth of productive power that modern machinery and the factory system supplies it is possible, if all were producers and none were idlers, or wasting their energies in useless toil, for all to make of their tasks the enjoyable play of creative work, the following of which has ever been man's greatest source of happiness.

Can you who believe in the New Education realize what this means? Can you conceive what the world would be like if the theories you so glibly repeat in scholastic seclusion were to burst through the pedagogical bonds that confine them and actualize themselves in the home, the workshop, the field, the factory, the social life? If you can you will have a better idea of the socialist state than you will ever get by reading all the Utopias that were ever written from Plato to Bellamy.

I could go still further did time and your patience permit and show you how the new education was a sister science with socialism in that they were both children of the same economic conditions, fathered by the same ideological origin. Pedagogy has not been going through an isolated development. It has been transforming as a part of that greater economic and social transformation, of which the Industrial Revolution in the early years of this century was the beginning, our present capitalism the terrible confusion of the transition stage, and socialism the beautiful climax of the completed evolutionary cycle.

But while the new education is to the majority of teachers but a theory of pedagogics, to be applied in their profession of teaching, socialism is the only hope of a human existence for the great laboring class. To understand this let us again translate it into the terms of the pedagogical world. The New Education makes much of the theory of evolution. It sees in the child the beginnings of social forms. It goes back to the childhood of the race to the better understand the childhood of the individual. The modern teacher studies anthropology and archaeology that he may better know the nature of the child in the modern kindergarten. The socialist likewise goes back to the origins of society that he may the better secure his own freedom. He traces the course of industrial evolution that he may work in accord with it toward better things to come. Let me read you a few lessons from that evolution that bear upon our present problems.

Looking at the history of social development it is seen that society has always been governed and directed by a ruling class and that this class alone were able to stamp their individuality upon social institutions and relations. All others were to this class simply a portion of the external world to be fashioned into such forms as best suited these rulers. In the middle ages this dominant class was the feudal landowners who built a society based upon the ownership of land. They made the remainder of society but appendages to the landed possessions, and arranged all social and governmental forms to suit this fundamental condition of domination by the land lords.

When tools were transformed into machines, and workshops into gigantic factories these means of production became of much more importance than the land. The result was that the capitalist became the only free man. He and his class were able to express their interests and ideas in the social forms and forces. All other members of society became again but parts of an external material universe to be moulded according to the ideas of this ruling capitalist class.

This ruling class are able to enforce their will because they have possession of the only means of producing the things with which men live. The land, the mines, the machines, the factories being made the private property of a few while they require the co-operation of thousands to operate them and give to the few the power of life and death over the many, and enables those few to stamp their desires upon all phases of the social structure as the ancient artisan moulded the wood and stone according to the images within his brain.

They transform the government, the laws, the courts and the administrative machinery into an instrument for the maintenance of the privileges of their class. They mould public opinion

through their control of the press, pulpit and lecture platform, until it justifies and supports the interests of the possessing few against the disinherited many. Finally, they lay their hands upon the system of education and in the name of commercialism demand that education shall be "practical"—that is, shall be of a nature to furnish efficient, obedient, servile slaves for office and factory.

They oppose the apostle of the New Education and thwart him at every turn. Engrossed in the accumulation of money they have neither time nor ability to understand what it is that the progressive teacher would accomplish, but they instinctively feel that their interests are in some way being touched, and they intuitively seek to crush the new movement. Their press derides all innovations as "fads," warns the "tax payers" against them as "extravagances," exercises political influence to prevent the rise of their representatives and in general seeks to maintain things as they are. When this plan of action begins to prove a failure, they adopt a more subtle and more dangerous course. They hail the proposed innovations with joy and seek to mould them as they have all other social institutions, in the interest of their class. They would transform the classes in Domestic Science into training schools for servants; they see in the sloyd and wood-working departments the possibility of cheap carpenters for the future. Everywhere they would thwart the entire purpose of the New Education by substituting "drill" for development, discipline for growth, slavery for freedom.

The socialist has already seen, and the progressive teacher must soon recognize the fact that freedom of any kind, of life, of industry, of hand, of brain, of workshop or school, must be secured by the action of the present enslaved who see the need of that freedom. "They who would be free, themselves must strike the blow." The socialist points to the fact that the modern system of production has reached the point where it must soon break down of its own weight. With its ever-recurring crises, strikes, lockouts and financial panics, it is tottering to its fall. But in this apparent chaos the socialist sees the outlines of a new and better society. In the wondrously intricate forced co-operation of thousands of laborers in present production he sees the plan of the future voluntary production for co-operative distribution. When the capitalist abdicated his position as manager of industry and became a mere stockholder in a corporation or an owner of trust certificates, he destroyed his own social function. When he chose from among the laborers their brightest and ablest members and made them foremen, overseers and superintendents over their fellow workers while he became but a parasite on industry that is organized, directed, operated and controlled from cellar to garret by laborers, he abolished himself from all useful social function. No student of biology need be told what the result must be when an organ is no longer needed. And in this organization of the laborers we see the form of the coming society. It will be a society in which the producers, not the idlers, will rule, where all will be creators, and masters of their own destiny, and none will be parasites or rulers over helpless slaves. Here for the first time the ideals of the New Education will be possible. Here for the first time all will be enabled to work out their full individuality and to mould their surroundings, in co-operation instead of competition with their fellow men, in accord with the images existent in their own brain.

To do this it is necessary that ownership of the tools be once more joined to their operation. The reason that the artisan of the middle ages was able to crystallize his own ideas in the material with which he worked was that the material as well as the tools with which he worked belonged to him. When the machine displaced the tool it was impossible for it to be owned by each worker individually. Hence the capitalist class arose as a purely owning class. For some time they were able to justify their existence because they combined with ownership the function of management and organization, but now that they have abdicated that function to the workers there is no reason why these latter should not also assume the function of ownership and then retain the entire product of their labor. This would be SOCIALISM. Since the only transformation necessary is the legal one of a change of ownership it can only be brought about through the law-making power. Hence the socialists are uniting at the polls to secure that power that they may make this legal change.

A. M. Simons.

A socialist club has been organized in Harvard college and it has been decided to send two delegates to the international conference of socialist students in Paris this year. The club is the outcome of a lecture delivered by James F. Carey recently. The latter was prohibited from speaking in staid old Harvard, but the students smuggled him into a private room despite orders.

The Democrats of the South who are resorting to all sorts of devices to disfranchise the negroes are the same Democrats who are clamoring for independence for the Filipinos.

Do not forget the International Socialist Review. There is not a party member that can afford to be without it. There is not a student of the socialist question that will not find it indispensable. See advertisement in another column.

THE REASONS GIVEN

Why Teachers Should Work for the Triumph of Socialism.

CANNOT TEACH AS THEY WISH

Capitalism Debases Education to the Exigencies and Demands of Profit-Making.

Why Should Teachers care about socialism?

This is a query that often arises, spoken or unspoken, and it is not without some reason.

Socialism is an economic and political question; says the teacher; but I am engaged in a far deeper reform. In the last analysis all our social troubles are due to ignorance. Let me alone to go on with my good work and when the people are educated enough to understand their wrongs they will correct them fast enough. It may it will take years, but let me but educate the children right and the next generation will establish its right to a living, and a good living. Miracles do not happen; the only way to bring about a change is to educate, educate, educate, and the most hopeful candidates for education are children. Therefore let us educate the children in the hope that the greater wisdom of the coming generation will deliver them from the ills which we now suffer.

So speaks the teacher, engrossed in his work, and full of enthusiasm over each advance in his science. He believes that "education is the development of the highest social efficiency in the individual," and therefore until each individual has education we cannot have social efficiency or well-being.

There is no denying that this is a fine ideal and it fathers a noble purpose and endeavor, but let us consider some of the obstacles to its realization.

In the first place—to mention a very practical one—the low salaries that are paid to teachers. None know this better than teachers themselves. While a few, after six, ten, twelve years experience may receive as much as two or three thousand a year, the great mass work and worry away a lifetime on a bare living wage. While all their desires and ideals and ambitions lead to the hope of a constantly fuller life, they are always compelled to deny themselves the opportunities that open before their eyes. With constantly new visions of higher culture before them, they must go without music, art, social intercourse and books for which they long. Partly as a cause, partly as an effect of this fact of low salaries the profession is overrun with persons of mediocre ability. On the whole not many large-minded, energetic, pushing men become teachers. Their chances are better in the money-making world. That the profession is largely made up of women is largely due to the fact that the rewards in it are small. Men with families cannot afford to be teachers. Bachelor women can, and even for them the profession is more than full.

Why is this so? Why are teacher's salaries so low? Push this question back to its ultimate and the answer is simply, because all wages are low, except for a few high-salaried officials. The iron law of wages is iron all the way through. It does not become India rubber in the professions. There is not one law for mechanics and another for lawyers, one for bricklayers and another for teachers. If the so-called productive laborers—I mean materially productive—received the full reward of their labor, teachers and all other professional laborers could demand and could get the full reward of their effort. But the very fact that the laborer only gets a fraction of what he produces, the balance going to enrich the holders of special privileges, creates not only a mass of unemployed and half-employed men, but by lowering wages all along the line, divides men into teaching law or medicine who have no business there whatsoever. And soon every profession and every trade is overcrowded, and there is a great hungry proletariat in the professions as well as "on the road" getting for wages just what will keep them and their children alive. There are plenty of "Wear, Willies" in professor's chairs as well as on park benches.

This is one of the reasons why the teachers cannot teach as they would like to teach, because they are overworked and under-paid, just like the rest of the proletariat. They are proletarians, if they only knew it, and their lot will not improve much except as that of all proletarians does. I'll speak of this again further on.

Let me suggest another reason why teachers cannot teach, and that is that the education of the masses is not what capitalism wants. Step by step our boards of education are coming to the position avowedly taken in Germany: "EDUCATE THE FEW, DRILL THE MANY." Teacher in a city school, do you want to really educate your pupils? How much freedom have you in doing so? Are you not compelled to drill them day in and day out, year in and year out on subjects utterly foreign to their interests and desires, to put them through just so many lessons, to make them study books not things, with the result that at just the age when they should be rapturing the world best, they are only too glad to leave school for the street or the shop? Instead of arousing curiosity, stimulating desire for knowledge, increasing self-activity, what we succeed in doing is fostering stupid contentment, disgust of learning

and submission to tyranny. Who is to blame? Certainly not the teachers. They, far more than parents, are maintaining a constant protest against the limitations under which they work. No, the dominant public opinion is not that of teachers nor of patient submissive parents.

Nor is it even of the politicians, badly as they abuse the school system for the purpose of spoils. Our governments, city and state, are run for the benefit of the real interest and profit reaping classes. The mass of parents are too soddan in the toil and humdrum of daily life to know what is possible in the education of their children, and the honorable property owners care far more for rent, interest and profit than for the education of the children of the propertyless. The real rulers of our cities, the economically privileged class, what do they care for the education of the masses? It only makes the masses discontented with their station in life, and since, as Madame Necker said, the object of education is to fit men for their station in life, let us give these children, most of whom must be wage-workers, just enough drill to make them humble, useful wage-workers.

If the big corporation men of any of our cities wanted the people's children to be educated as much as they want franchises and special privileges, would the boards of education be so cumbersome? It is of no use to blame the boards of education. They are simply agents in the hands of the dominant class, the owners of the means of producing wealth.

Shall we look then to these owners of land and capital to reform our system of education? They simply do not want the people educated; they only want them drilled enough to be submissive and produce further profits.

In Germany, the capitalist class is so conscious of its own interests, that it has taken a large part of the education out of the hands of the minister of education and lodged it in the hands of the minister of finance, the whole magnificent system of trade and technical schools, by means of which Germany has pushed into the front rank of manufacturing nations, so that "made in Germany" is a term of terror to other capitalists the world over.

The plain object of the whole scheme is to increase the profits of German manufacturers. Just as the common schools have drilled German lads so that the French, victorious under Napoleon, were whipped under Von Moltke, who in truth exclaimed, "The school master has done it," so these trade and technical schools are drilling German workmen to whip all Europe in the industrial and commercial field.

And for what purpose? In order that German workmen may have more wealth and leisure and culture and happiness? No! Rather that the Junkers may entrench themselves more firmly than ever in power and privilege. And what capitalism has done in Germany, capitalism is beginning to do in America! Our public schools arose at a time when there were no very rich, when wealth was more evenly distributed. They were established on the theory that ignorance of the masses was a menace to the community, and with the purpose of giving equal advantages to the children of the rich and poor. This tradition has kept the schools up to their present standard, but now on every side, the rich have special schools for their own children. Colleges and high schools are favored at the expense of the grammar schools, for they are becoming class schools, and 60 per cent of the children of Chicago do not go above the fifth grade. "EDUCATE THE FEW, DRILL THE MANY," is fast becoming our practice if not our motto.

This then is another obstacle in your way, my dear teacher, so that you cannot teach as you would.

And here is another like unto it: The school systems of America are practically dominated by the book trust. Whether it be true or not, as is stated on good authority, that every member of the school board in one of our largest cities is in the employ of a book concern, it is unquestionably true that the book trust not only foists its books upon whole communities by bribery and intimidation, that it controls appointments and limits them to those favoring its books, and that it puts upon the rack, and gags teachers and superintendents, and school committees through the length and breadth of this country. Antiquated and valueless books are kept in use, new methods are suppressed, truth is obscured, especially historic and economic truth—all in "the last stronghold of democracy," the common school, for the sake of the profits of this giant trust, and when the facts are exposed, it appeals to a subservient court and gets damages for libel.

And when the book trust is amalgamated in the trust of trusts that is to be, is it likely that you will be better off, brother teacher? Will you have more freedom than you have now? There are a few of the reasons why teachers cannot teach. Hungry and half-clad children, children whose lives are barren of rich experience, sad-eyed, playless children, children having parents but knowing them not, having shelter but not homes, without birds or trees or flowers, living in gangs not in families, suggest other reasons why teachers cannot teach. Teachers are everywhere talking about apperception as the basis of learning. We learn the new by means of the old. What sort of apperceiving ideas does the child in the slums have with which he may grasp the new and beautiful truths you would put before him? Are you quite sure that you can educate him until you feed and clothe and house him properly?

After all what is education? Without attempting a definition, one factor

in it is a knowledge of the facts and relations that enter into the life of society. Now the great stupendous fact that stares us in the face today is that the great mass of the people is being exploited by a few, and that fact underlies and affects every other relation and function.

Are you aware of this fact? "Thou that teachest another teachest thou not thyself!" Whitman has put this fact in these words:

"Many sweating, plowing, threshing, and then the chaff for payment receiving, A few idly owning, and they the wheat continually claiming."

It is this fact, daily becoming plainer, that baffles the teacher so that he cannot teach, just as on account of it, the doctor cannot heal, the preacher cannot preach, the judge cannot judge, the painter cannot paint, the writer cannot write. The joy of work is turned into the gall of toil.

What then can we teachers do? There are just two ways in which teachers can improve their condition: One is at the expense of the people, the other is by espousing the cause of the people.

The first way is to get up some sort of a monopoly in the business. By introducing costly instruments, expensive apparatus, and somehow holding exclusive possession of it, or by drawing a ring about an exclusive set in the profession and outlawing the "scabs," or by some sort of legislative hook or crook getting a special privilege, teachers could become great men. The church once had just such a monopoly of learning, and we think we've got rid of such tyranny, but the spirit of doing everybody else in they'll do you, is not dead yet, even in educational circles.

Only please notice that in case teachers do this they will be no longer proletarians. They will have become exploiters, and reverted from the socially useful industrial class to the predaious class.

But beside this there is another way for teachers to benefit themselves, and that is by recognizing the fact that they belong to the proletariat, and espousing its cause.

Teachers usually think of themselves as belonging to the middle class, and disdain to be called proletarians. This is partly due to pride of intellectual equipment, but more largely to a confusion in the use of the term "middle class." As commonly used it includes those of moderate incomes, whether they be storekeepers, skilled mechanics, farmers or professional men. This use of the term, though handy enough, has no value in economic discussion. Properly speaking the middle class is composed of the small capitalists, as contrasted with the great capitalists on the one hand and with the wage workers on the other hand who have no capital. The confusion is increased by the fact that this middle class of small capitalists, are not pure capitalists. They do a great deal of useful work besides. But that is another story. Teachers are not in this class at all. They are salaried people; they sell their labor for so much per time unit. This is just what wage workers do, and it is of no consequence whether one works by the hour, by the day, by the month or by the year, in determining his economic class. Nor is it a question of brains and muscle. No one works exclusively with his brains or entirely with his muscle. It is only a difference of degree, and properly speaking all who sell their labor for wages or salaries belong to one class, the proletarian class. To be a proletarian is really the highest of honors. It is PAR EXCELLENCE, the useful class. From time immemorial it has been winning its rights from one and another exploiting class, the priests, the governors, the soldiers, the landlords, the gamblers, and the idle owners, until today it stands on the threshold of enjoying what it produces. Its cause is the cause of all useful men and women, and is the same the world over, international socialism.

Economics in Japan.

The following is a description of things economic in Japan, as given by a capitalist paper in that country. It is interesting to observe how the possessing classes of all lands use the same identical arguments against any possible increase in the share of his product which the wage slave may claim:

The standard of living has risen without a compensating advance in wages. The workmen therefore demand higher wages than the increases they already have received. They are not worth what they want to be paid, and if their demands are conceded Japan will not be able to compete in foreign markets by reason of the cheapness with which she can produce goods.

They are not "worth any more," and to accede to their demands would render it impossible for "Japan" to compete. By "Japan" is meant the capitalist class of that country, and they can only compete while their supply of cheap labor remains cheaper than that of other countries. But the workers of Japan don't want to "compete" particularly. They want to secure the product of their labor, and for that purpose they will discover, as the laborers of other lands have discovered, that through socialism alone can their object be effected. Take the wings of the morning and fly to the uttermost ends of the earth, but the class struggle cannot be avoided or mistaken. Capitalism in Japan as elsewhere, is productive of the same conditions and the same struggle for their abolition.

Teachers will find the International Socialist Review an absolutely necessary assistant if they are to discuss intelligently the problems that are vexing modern society.

CLASS ECONOMICS

Socialism as Taught in the Chicago High Schools.

FROM CAPITALIST TEXT BOOKS

Sociology Distorted and Falsified to Suit the Material Interests of the Ruling Class.

The text book on political economy which is used in the Chicago high schools is a work entitled "Elements of Political Economy," by J. Lawrence Laughlin, head professor of political economy in the University of Chicago, and is published by the American Book Company. Almost every page of it is a striking illustration of what is said in the Communist Manifesto, to-wit: "The BOURGEOIS is a BOURGEOIS solely for the benefit of the working class."

Lassalle expresses the same idea more at length in his "Workers' Programme," where he says it is pretend that they have at heart the good of all and to live a life of constant hypocrisy, in order to maintain existing conditions of class exploitation.

The first page of the book is an illustration of this idea. Professor Laughlin says (Section D): "Let us take by way of illustration, a man in the humble walks of life, a village cabinet-maker, for instance, and observe the various services he renders to society, and receives from it: we shall not fail to be struck with the enormous disproportion between them. This man employs his day's labor in planing boards and making tables and chests of drawers. What does he receive from society in exchange for his work? First of all, on getting up in the morning he dresses himself; but he has himself made none of the clothing. In order to put at his disposal this clothing, simple as it is, an enormous amount of labor and many ingenious inventions must have been employed."

He sends his son to school, and the simple teaching which is given there is itself due to the work of many, thousand minds. If he undertakes a journey he finds that in order to save him time and exertion, other men have removed and leveled up the soil, filled up the valleys, hewn down mountains, united the banks of rivers and brought the power of steam into subjection to human wants. It is impossible not to be struck with the measureless disproportion which exists between the enjoyments which this man derives from society and what he could obtain by his own unassisted exertions.

The professor is right, but he selected a very poor example to illustrate his idea. In order to show the measureless disproportion, which exists between the various services the individual renders to society, and those he receives from it, why did he not rather take the proud capitalist, who does not even even plane boards, who does absolutely no service whatever to society; and yet, when he gets up in the morning he does not put on SIMPLE clothing, as the professor has it; he does not send his son to school where SIMPLE teaching is given. He has the best of everything, clothing, food, schools and everything else. With him the services he renders and those he receives from society, do not stand in a mere disproportion to each other, as in the case of the humble laborer; there is absolutely no proportion or comparison whatever between them. They are incommensurable quantities, and would have formed a far more striking illustration of the professor's idea.

It is impossible in our limited space to go through the book, chapter by chapter, but we recommend the book to all readers, both to those who are socialists, and to those who are not. It will strengthen the socialist's convictions, and it will sicken those who are not socialists, by holding up to them a mirror reflecting so clearly the class rule and class tyranny, which exists in our social system today.

We quote from section 42: "Some people, however, especially the wretched poor, find it very hard to save, and yet they too can save if they set aside all that is not necessary to live upon. . . . A little capital is the means of lifting a laborer out of a wretched condition, and the more capital he saves, the longer the lever he can use to raise his position in life, and the greater progress he can make. To him who hath, more shall be given. This is the thing to teach everyone, to set the unseen above the seen."

Section 190: "The growth of capital is now going on in the United States at a rate which far outstrips the growth of numbers, and the rate of interest, or the sum which any employer need pay for the use of capital in his business is steadily diminishing. The rate of money wages, on the other hand, is rising, and also many articles of common consumption have been lowered in price, so that real wages have risen still more. So long as these facts exist, it can hardly be said that the conflict between the laborer and the capitalist is going against the laborer. In fact the real difficulty with the labor question is not at this point. In reality it is a contest between different classes of laborers."

Intelligent, without ambition, he will remain where he is, in the lowest and largest class, who receive the least and most precarious wages."

Section 197: "The only true remedy, therefore, for low wages of unskilled labor, if not simply a restriction of numbers relatively to the demand, is a persistent and intelligent effort to raise their condition by means of Christian teaching, which gives the true value of self-sacrifice, and the proper estimate of the future over the present, (which affects the accumulation of capital and the size of families); the better training of those classes by industrial schools, and in fact by everything which makes for character and greater productive capacity."

In other words, the professor says that the first thing for laborers to do is to improve their character, and then after that improve their financial condition and material surroundings; whereas the socialist suggests that the first thing to do is to improve the financial conditions and material surroundings of laborers, and thereby they will be enabled to improve their character, which is impossible under present conditions.

As to increasing their productive capacity, laborers produce now about five times as much as they are allowed to keep. What good would it do them to produce more? Wages are regulated not by the amount of the product but by the laborer's standard of living. In fact as the product increases the laborer's share becomes proportionately smaller and his social condition is worse than before.

Instead of dividing people into capitalists and laborers, as the socialists do, and showing that their interests are directly antagonistic, the professor divides the people into skilled laborers and unskilled laborers, disregarding the capitalists as a separate class, because he says that the conflict between capitalists on one hand and laborers on the other does not amount to much. The real contest is between skilled labor and unskilled labor; that is, if the skilled laborer gets 50 per cent of what he earns, and the unskilled laborer, say 20 per cent, then these two have no particular interest in getting from the capitalist their entire product of 200 per cent, but are chiefly concerned in fighting each other over the division of the 70 per cent which is the sum of their wages, and if it were divided equally between them, giving 35 per cent to each, it would leave 130 per cent for the capitalist. We do not understand the professor's system of mathematics. It appears to us that 100 per cent of his product for the skilled and 100 per cent for the unskilled laborer would be better for both than 35 per cent or even 50 per cent.

Chapter 23 is devoted to socialism. We are here informed (Sec. 240), that "the system of appealing to the state rather than to individual action, is socialism. The essence of socialism is state help, as opposed to self-help."

It appears to us as if the essence of capitalism is state help. It depends entirely upon state help, and can only be maintained by a vigorous use of state help, and in the absence of this state help, would quickly collapse.

Sec. 241: "Every one wishes, of course, to see an advance in the comfort and well being of the poor, but we are also obliged to consider whether moral justice is satisfied when A, who is a meager producer, claims a right to a part of what is produced by B, who is a capable producer." The professor uses a very poor illustration, just as he did in section 1 of his book. He should have said that, "We are also obliged to consider whether moral justice is satisfied, when A, who produces nothing, claims a right to four-fifths of what is produced by B, who is a producer." This puts the matter in the right light and is a correct illustration of conditions today as between the capitalist and the laborer.

Sec. 241: "Still, while acknowledging industrial inequality, those who are capable are not free from a responsibility to treat their poorer fellows rightly, but each man ought to be protected by the state in the enjoyment of the result of his own exertion." This is good socialist doctrine. If each man had the result of his own exertions, how much would the man have who produced nothing, as the capitalist class does today?

Section 245: "The socialists of the United States are mostly foreigners and have diverse beliefs, and these are commonly derived from the teachings of Carl Marx, Lassalle or Proudhon, the originators of French and German socialism." How is that for a statement to be taught in the public high schools of a great city—that the socialists of the United States are mostly foreigners, and putting in one list, Marx and Proudhon who are direct opposites?

That socialism is a "belief" and was "originated" by some individual, and is not the inevitable product of the growth of capitalism in all countries independently of any brilliant individual.

The professor ends his chapter on Socialism by graciously conceding that: "There can be no objection whatever to permitting the trial of this experiment (colonies) because people go into them of their own free will. It is far otherwise with state socialism where there would always be a large class of persons who would be forced into the experiment against their will." Very good. Socialists have no objection to permit capitalists to try their system in small colonies, for people who are willing to go into them of their own free will, but when it is applied to a whole state, as it is today, there is a large class of persons forced into state capitalism against their will, and they endeavor to do what they can to induce capitalism to dispense with state

help for the exclusive benefit of a few.

Section 233: "The real labor problem is to be found in the apportionment of shares to the different classes of labor and in the discovery of the means by which the lowest classes can be restrained in numbers, elevated in character and self-control, and trained to do a higher order of work for the community."

Why should it be the lowest class that ought to be restrained in numbers? Why not restrain the capitalist class in numbers until it is reduced to zero? As to training the lowest class to do a higher order of work for the community, if this were done, who then would do the lower order of work, and how would we then be able to improve the condition of those who do the lower order of work?

Section 238: "In order to apply right principles to the improvement of our fellow men, we must ultimately go back to Christian teaching; the teaching of the value of the unseen and eternal over the seen and present, lies at the foundation of saving, which should be sedulously encouraged. Savings banks, postal savings plans, co-operative banks, building associations should be everywhere understood and established by the workman. Each man should learn to set the future above the present, and thereby learn the secret of self-control, foresight, prudence and saving." Why does not the professor suggest a good, stiff increase in the amount of wages, instead of advising workers to save something out of their present pittance? Doubling their wages would enable them to save a great deal faster than they can now do by curtailing their expenses. If the unseen and eternal is so much more important than the seen and present, why is it that the capitalist class devote all their energies to things seen and the present? Why do they not let go some of this and trust to the future, the unseen and the eternal for their reward?

What kind of Christian morality is that, which teaches that an individual cannot improve his condition except by getting ahead of his fellows and keeping himself above them, keeping them under him and riding on their backs; that it is the duty of everyone to strive to get other men under him; that there is some mysterious law of nature which forever prevents two men from assisting each other and improving the condition of both at the same time; that it is the duty of one to get a lever upon the other and squeeze him to the ground? "The longer the lever the greater progress he can make." (See Sec. 42.)

Space permits no more. If our quotations and comments have excited the curiosity of any of our readers, we again recommend that they read the entire volume, and judge for themselves whether it is not a characteristic expression of a class which depends on state help for its existence, which treats professors, school boards, principals and teachers merely as convenient tools to perpetuate its power, enable it to work with a longer lever and so make greater progress at the expense of those who are under the lever.

Marcus Hitch.

"SOCIALISM AND FARMERS."

Have you any friends who are farmers? If you have you should send them a copy of "Socialism and Farmers" by A. M. Simons. It is the last number of The Pocket Library of Socialism, and is intended to secure the co-operation of the great body of farmers in the struggle of labor for freedom. The laborer must have their co-operation. He has not the numbers to free himself without. The interests of both lie in the success of socialism. This little work demonstrates that fact from the point of view of one who has been both farm and city laborer as well as a socialist writer. Every member of the party ought to mail a bunch of these to his friends in the country. Send a few to the "old folks at home" to let them know that socialism is coming their way. Five cents each or ten for a quarter, and we will mail them to separate addresses if you wish.

More than 75,000 men are said to be today walking the streets of New York seeking employment. Attracted by reports of the work to be done on the rapid transit tunnel, laborers from the four quarters of the globe are hastening there in shoals. Every ship from Europe, every train from the West, East and South brings its freight of would-be workmen. Men fight each other for jobs, and hundreds live on soup-dishes out by charitable organizations and individuals.

In about eleven states there are laws declaring vaguely that it is unlawful for employers to exact an agreement from employees not to join a labor organization. Like all other "labor laws," the statutes bearing on this question are a mockery, as capitalists need not go to the trouble of giving reasons for the discharge of workers, and where a boss boldly defies the law and is brought into court the judge comes to his rescue by declaring the law unconstitutional. The operation of the Ohio law is a case in point.

Laws prohibiting boycotting in specific terms have been enacted in Colorado, Illinois and Wisconsin. In practically all other states, however, it is not difficult to make boycotting a misdemeanor. All that is required is for an employer to enter the courts and claim that boycotters are conspiring to ruin his business, when an injunction is quickly issued outlawing the boycott. So special laws are hardly needed.—Cleveland Citizen.

A sample copy asks for your subscription.

IN LINE OF MARCH

School Teachers on the Road to Socialism.

NECESSITY OF ORGANIZATION.

Teachers Must Ultimately Join Hands With the Working Class for Economic Freedom.

The history of teachers' organizations in the city of Chicago during the past three years is full of promise to the student of scientific socialism. The fact that all social progress is based upon economic conditions, is remarkably illustrated by the rise and growth of the Chicago Grade Teachers' Federation, the largest teachers' organization in America or perhaps in the world.

Heretofore all teachers' organizations have been organized upon ethereal Utopian plans. Never did they include more than a mere fraction of the teaching force of the city. The great mass were borne down upon too heavily by the arduous routine of the schoolroom and the meager salaries to have enough surplus energy and enthusiasm to devote to any such purpose. With fifty or sixty children to teach in each room, under regulations and rules, which in many cases made a mere machine of a teacher, thwarted, often in carrying out original plans, by an arbitrary and high-salaried principal; made to fear the insecurity of tenure by the rumors of incompetence (in many cases another name for wrong conditions); with the demand that teachers keep up with the times by taking courses of study in a Standard OH university; is it any wonder that the teaching force seemed an inert mass, incapable of any concerted action? And is it any wonder that when a small organization was started for the avowed purpose of arduous for increase of salaries, that this inert mass joined the movement in a body? It was organized upon essentially trades union principles—a demand for better conditions for its members.

A few attempted to cast odium upon the organization by holding up their hands in holy horror at the spectacle of the teachers asking for money, when they should be unselfish enough to be above such reprehensible salary-grabbing considerations. These same holy ones no doubt had been engaged individually in trying to get the better-paying positions through favor of principal, superintendent or board member. What was perfectly legitimate to do individually was indecorous when done collectively.

By the aid of the press, the pulpit and the "public" the board of education was induced to grant the increase asked by the teachers. In order to get this small concession, the teachers were obliged to enter politics to the extent of buttonholing politicians, etc. Again the holy hands of horror were held up, but to no avail. It had been discovered that POLITICS was the only means to success in such matters.

The new schedule of salaries went into effect January 1, 1898. January 1, 1900. Not only was this schedule suspended, but also all increases allowed under the old schedule. Thus at one stroke all that had been gained and much more, had been lost. The only explanation offered was—not enough money in the treasury. In view of the fact that the SMALL PROPERTY HOLDERS were paying more taxes than ever before, an investigation was deemed in order. Then a most astounding (to many) state of affairs was disclosed. Hundreds of millions of dollars worth of capital stock of corporations had escaped ALL TAXATION. One example, the gas trust, had escaped taxation on 50 million dollars. Enough had been discovered to pay all demands of the teachers and provide for all needed improvements for the whole city government.

Miss Margaret Haley and Miss Catherine Goggin were appointed the special representatives of the Teachers' Federation, to probe the tax scandals and compel the proper officials to do their duty in the matter of assessments. These two teachers have taken a temporary leave of absence from school, and are devoting their whole time to this matter. They are strongly backed by the financial and moral support of the 2,800 members of the Federation.

It is a magnificent spectacle—these 2,800 teachers making a heroic stand against organized plunder and greed of this great metropolis of capitalism. It is too soon to determine the immediate outcome of this campaign, but of the ultimate result no socialist can be in doubt. Already many of the teachers feel that there is no hope from the officials of the old capitalist Republican and Democratic parties, but that an appeal must be made direct to the producers. The brain workers must realize that they have common cause with the hand workers and that both must unite for common political action. It is becoming more evident that the taxation robbery is but a small part of the robbery DAILY practiced upon the people by capitalism, and that the only solution is the common ownership of all the means of production and distribution.

But few of the holy hands of horror are now held up and some of these are seen to be soiled with the slime of capitalistic politics.

The teachers are almost a unit in carrying on this great battle, one of the best results of which will be to impress the teachers themselves with the fact that they must stand together, and with

the great working class in a warfare against capitalism which will result in the "benevolent assimilation" of ALL classes.

If equality of wages can produce feeling of equality then the teachers and OTHER WORKING PEOPLE ought to be very fraternal, as the average teacher's salary (considering vacations), is just equal to that of the unskilled laborers, and thus it is not too much to hope that the teachers, the EDUCATED PROLETARIAT, will join hands with their brothers and help to usher in the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Chas. F. Lowrie.

FOR THE NEW ORDER.

Graduates of Parisian Universities Call Upon All Students to Unite for Socialism.

The attention of American college students and alumni is called to the following call for a meeting of socialists, students and graduates at Paris this fall. It is hoped that it will be as widely circulated as possible.

Comrades—In 1831 at Brussels was held the first international congress of socialist students and graduates; in September, 1888, a second congress was held at Geneva. Since then, socialism, which has not ceased to increase its strength the world over, has made considerable growth within the universities. Indeed today in Europe and America there are scarcely any universities without a certain number of students united in the great movement of emancipation of the working class, adhering to the essential conceptions of modern socialism.

The present crisis everywhere confronting liberalism—the doctrine to which most of the intellectual, the university men, very so deeply attached, the development of a barbarous "nationalism" in France, the growth made by "imperialism" in England and the United States, the dangers with which militarism everywhere threatens the essential liberties of the modern world—these have done more than all our efforts to bring close to us the most cultivated minds of the bourgeoisie. While the intellectual and moral disarray of the ruling class are thus growing more and more evident (a symptom foretelling its economic downfall), the socialist theory, born of the ceaseless struggle of the proletariat for its emancipation, result of the labors of our great theorists and of the daily activity of the organized working class, this alone offers the new generation a scientific basis and plan of life.

In many universities of Europe and America bodies of socialist students more or less numerous have already organized.

The group of Collectivist students of Paris believes that these bodies have a well-defined part to play in the struggle of the workers, and that it might be profitable for them to combine their efforts and become acquainted with each other's ideas. At its suggestion an organization, committee has been formed, including representatives of all the socialist students of the University of Paris.

As socialist students merging our aspirations with those of the international proletariat, we appeal to all those who accept the general principles of doctrine and the practical resolutions voted in the International Labor Congress, namely, on the basis of the international action of the laborers, the organization of the proletariat into an economic and political party of their class, the socialization of the means of production and of exchange.

Next summer, at the great International Socialist Congress, and at the same time we propose to hold the International Congress of Socialist Students and Graduates. We invite to it the groups of socialist students of all countries, and where no groups have been formed we invite the isolated students.

If for reasons beyond your control you cannot be represented directly or indirectly, we beg you to send us, in any event, communications on the various questions in the programme of the congress.

Counting on your answer to our appeal, we send you, our fraternal greeting.

The Committee of Organization.

PROGRAMME:

- I. Socialist Propaganda Within the Universities.
a. Propaganda Thus Far Accomplished.
b. Ways and Means to Develop It.
II. Role of Socialist Students in the Labor Movement.
a. Socialist Education (theoretic propaganda, pamphlets, periodicals, statistics, conferences, anti-military propaganda, organization of the young).
b. General Education (popular universities, university extension, reading clubs).
c. Propaganda in Form of Social Hygiene (struggle against alcoholism and tuberculosis).
III. Situation of the Intellectual Proletariat.
a. Statistics, general data.
b. Professional organization.
IV. Ways and Means for Establishing Subsequent Communication Between Groups of All Countries.
N. B. As the congress will control its own program, other questions may be added. This program is of course wholly provisional.

Socialist students from many American colleges and universities met in Forester's Hall, Boston, on May 30th, to prepare plans for an organization whereby to carry on socialist propaganda. The intellectual proletariat is evidently getting into line.

One of the locked-out cigarmakers of New York, who is prohibited by Freedman's injunction from bothering the manufacturers by picketing, wrote to a daily paper to inquire whether he can get an injunction restraining his landlord from bothering him for rent, how much the action would cost, and what judge to go to. The poor fellow received no satisfaction.

Notice!

All unattached socialists who are interested in the progress of the International Socialist Movement are requested to correspond with

N. A. RICHARDSON, County Secretary, San Bernardino Co., Cal.

WILL PERMIT NO UNION.

Carnegie Poses as an Example But Will Allow No Competitors to Imperil His Position.

From his Scottish castle with the unpronounceable name Mr. Andrew Carnegie announces his determination to prevent the unionizing or banding together of the workmen in his Homestead mills. In other words, united capital proposes to see that labor does not unite.

Mr. Carnegie does not propose to lower his 100 per cent dividends a penny in order to pacify the men with better treatment or higher wages. From his standpoint this would be silly. He will fight them with discharge and blacklist, which in some instances are synonyms for manacles and starvation.

At the same time good Mr. Carnegie will found libraries by the dozen, as he has a perfect right to do. He will keep his army of red-shirted fire-baked laborers working on Sunday while he goes to church and prays for the salvation of their souls, as he is entitled to do.

He will continue to combine his millions with other men's millions to form trusts, but not for a moment must the thousands of men working for him think of combining anything but their muscles.

Yet Mr. Carnegie is fond of saying to the poor man, "Why don't you do as I have done?" With the limited opportunities offered them this is just what Mr. Carnegie's employes are trying to do.—N. Y. Journal.

Yes, Mr. Carnegie will continue to do all these things as the Journal says, just so long as his workmen try to emulate his example and become capitalists themselves. When they have about given up this hope (and Mr. Carnegie, who doesn't want competitors, will be compelled to oppose them in this matter), they will see that the "limited opportunities" spoken of are only limited because it is to the interest of the class to which Carnegie belongs, that they should be so. They will then combine their brains first, and will see to it that no class shall be permitted to stand between them and the product of their labor as Carnegie and his class are now doing. The fact that they cannot do as he has done, is a proof that socialism is unavoidable.

The capitalist is not troubled about what class the teacher thinks he belongs to just so long as he gets the proletarian's wages.

Additional Book Offer.

Already many of the comrades are bringing in their second and third list of campaign subscribers and are asking for some other book as a premium. In response to this request we will make the following additional offers: To anyone sending in two clubs of ten on the campaign offer, we will send a copy of Lessagaray's "Commune," or Sombart's "Socialism." These books are cloth bound copies on first class book paper and their regular price is \$1.00 and \$1.25 respectively. It is perfectly easy for any comrade to get either one or both of these books for his library and at the same time help the Call to reach many prospective converts.

Attention! Women!

The use of the hall at 65 N. Clark street is offered for the use of women's meetings. All women interested in socialism, and all whose husbands, fathers and brothers are interested, are urged to attend the meeting on June 14, at 3 o'clock p. m.

COMMITTEE OF WOMEN.

Our capitalist administration is determined to compel the Sultan to disgorge \$100,000 for damages suffered by American missionaries. But the demand of the Austrian and Italian governments for compensation for the slaughter of workmen of those nationalities in the capitalist massacres which occurred in this country, was promptly ignored by the same crowd, on the same plea that the sultan now makes, viz.: that he was not able to protect them.

Brussels, May 30.—Returns from last Sunday's elections show remarkable socialist progress in the last six years. In that period the socialists have gained no fewer than 140,000 votes in Belgium.

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

Special Book Offer

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

"SOCIALISM: UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC" By Frederick Engels.

"NO COMPROMISE, NO POLITICAL TRADING." By William Liebknecht.

Any two of these books given with one yearly or two six months subscriptions.

"SOCIALISM AND THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT." By Sombart.

Will be given to anyone sending in 10 yearly, or 20 six months subscriptions.

BUNDLES OF THE WORKERS' CALL.

100 copies 50 cents. 50 copies 25 cents. 25 copies 10 cents. This offer is for bundles mailed to one address.

The Money Question

Rev. Charles Vail Gives a Correspondent of the Haverhill Social Democrat the Socialist Aspect of This Subject.

It gives me great pleasure to accept your invitation to answer the questions asked by your correspondent in the following paragraph:

"Until we can bring around the triumph of the Social Democratic party at the polls, what is its position or attitude to the money question? Suppose we should triumph, say next year, what would they do with the debts and the bonds, and the silver question? Of course I know that most of the debts are fraudulent, that they were conceived in fraud and born in iniquity, and that they are intended to be held by force. To my mind, therefore, the best way out of it, if we had the power, would be to coin up (free coinage of course) all the silver we could get hold of, gold, too, and pay them. And when the coin was all gone, pay the rest in greenbacks or wheat, give them all we had, then they couldn't complain or accuse us of fraud."

The above statement reveals a misapprehension of the fundamental principles of socialism, and evidences that the writer has not yet freed himself from bourgeois economic conceptions. The Social Democratic party is silent on the money question, for the reason that the question is of interest only to the two parties of the proprietary class. The republican party represents the large capitalists, and, as such, it favors the gold standard. The Democratic party represents the small capitalists, or middle class, and so favors free silver. The middle class, whose field of money making has been narrowed by the concentration of capital, have been devising schemes of all sorts looking to the government to protect their interests, and save them from the encroaching power of the new capitalism. Realizing that the gold standard serves the interests of plutocracy, they have raised the silver banner, and hope, by depreciating the money standard, to pay off their indebtedness and thus re-establish themselves in the competitive combat.

The cry for a double standard is merely the cry of the perishing middle class. This class is hopelessly doomed to bankruptcy; no change in the monetary standard can preserve its economic existence. The double standard might have delayed its downfall, but things would have soon adjusted themselves to the new conditions and the last state of this class would be worse than the first. The socialist knows that the bankruptcy of the middle class is the necessary outcome of industrial evolution. Those who advocate the free coinage of silver do so in hopes of preserving the middle class. But socialists are not interested in the preservation of this class, with its abominable system of industrial competition. Any measure that tends to rehabilitate this class is decidedly reactionary and anti-socialistic. The whole question is merely a capitalist family quarrel, in which the socialist refuses to take part. Socialism is primarily a proletarian movement, silver barons and small proprietors generally do not interest us. The working class should not allow itself to be used as a tool to fight the battles of its exploiters. Whichever wins, the laborers lose. Thus while the money question is of the utmost importance to the two branches of the proprietary class, it is of no interest to the working class, as no benefits would accrue to laborers from any alteration in our monetary system so long as the means of production and distribution are privately owned.

Socialists, then, are not interested in preserving or merely altering the form of the monetary system—it being part of the machinery of capitalism—but in its abolition. Under socialism money—gold, silver and their representatives—would become superfluous. Socialism would solve the money problem then by simply abolishing it. In the unified socialist economy metallic money would serve no purpose. How, then, would exchange be carried on? By labor checks, or certificates of labor. This note is not greenbackism. The greenbacker wished to abolish the precious metals as money, but he also wished to keep the present industrial system which rendered his scheme impracticable. His notes would be pure fiat, there being nothing behind them but the credit of the nation. It says: Here, take this note and go anywhere and exchange it for one dollar's worth of goods. This is absurd, since the goods do not belong to the government, but to individuals. But under socialism, when the state of society is sole producer, there would be something behind the notes with which to redeem them. The notes would be issued against the wares produced, and for every note issued, there would be wealth behind it. These notes, checks or certificates of labor would be given by society in return for labor performed and would represent the full value of the service rendered. For every day's labor a certificate would be issued against the values created, which would enable the laborer to exchange the note for the product or for any other commodity representing a like amount of labor-time.

Of course, it will be understood that under socialism the social-labor day is the measure of value. The socialist program is thus seen to be strictly logical.

Under socialism, then, there would be no coinage of gold or silver, free or otherwise. The use of metals as a medium of exchange is only a part of the present system of commodity production—it will form no part of the new order.

The next question is: What shall we do with the debts and the bonds—the national bonded debt, etc.? We come here to the old question of compensation. The method of the inquirer in dealing with this problem is surely unique, but I fear it would not meet with socialist approval. His statement, however, regarding the nature of the debts to which he refers is right, and it applies equally well to all capital. All capitalist accumulation rests upon usurpation, spoliation and exploitation. He seems to think that if we take this property—of which the bonded debt is a part—we ought to give in return all we have, lest the holders of this stolen wealth complain. But if capital now in the hands of the capitalist class is stolen property, why pay for its return? Have not the laborers a right to their own? Socialism simply proposes to return to the laborers that which has been fraudulently taken from them. Any fraud or injustice in this? All capital—factories, bonded debt, etc.—represents the fleecing of labor. Surely no one can hold that capitalists should be compensated on the ground of equity. The only ground upon which compensation can be argued is that of expediency. Some think that if the plutocrats submit to their expropriation in good grace, it might be expedient to compensate them for the actual capital invested. It may be that if the transaction could thus be effected with less friction it might be advisable. When the socialists have triumphed, of course they can afford to be generous. But if the capitalists make the revolution a violent one, they will be disposed without compensation, as were the slaveholders of the South.

But, here, note that those who have thought of a possible compensation have not thought of paying off the vested interests in money. The possessor of this capital would be recompensed in goods, paid in regular annuities until the obligations were satisfied. Suppose the state owed a Vanderbilt one hundred thousand dollars, it would pay him so much a year until the debt was cancelled. He could take his hundred thousand dollars in labor-checks or non-interest bearing certificates of indebtedness, and use them as he pleased—only he could not capitalize his wealth and turn his superfluity into a source of new income. It is readily seen that with this kind of compensation the vast fortunes of today, even if reimbursed to their full value, would only be a superfluity of commodities and would soon be dissipated. No need then to interfere with bequest or inheritance, for it would be but a few generations at the most before such families, like all others, would be thrown on their own labor, and deprived of the privilege of living in idleness off the labors of others.

To compensate the capitalist, then, not an ounce of silver or gold need be coined—all that is needed is to issue, to those bought out, certificates of indebtedness to be redeemed in annual annuities for a term of years until the obligation is met.

But remember that if compensation is granted, it will be merely a matter of expediency, not of justice. It would seem to me, however, that if capitalists are expropriated simultaneously, and the present system at once replaced by socialism, it would be absurd to talk of compensation, for it would be unnecessary. Socialism would open the door of equal opportunity to all, and would thus enable all to work and supply their own needs. But for the laborers to take their own without paying for it, does not necessarily mean that no temporary relief would be granted to the expropriated individuals. Socialism is, above all, human, and it would not allow any of these persons to suffer, but, if necessary, would undoubtedly grant such relief as it deemed expedient until all should be adjusted to the new social order. No worthy person would suffer under socialism.

Hoping this will satisfactorily answer the inquiries of your correspondent, I am, Fraternally, Charles H. Vail.

The workingmen who propose to "dip into capitalist politics" to better their condition should remember that "who sows with the devil should have a long spoon."

The delegates from the South African Republics have learned that a "warm reception" and "hot air" are synonymous terms.

Those who believe in "saving up for a rainy day," don't know that capitalism always stands ready to precipitate the expected shower.

You can't "lose your vote" by casting it for socialism. In that case it is the capitalist who loses it, not you.

Kruger will shortly have an opportunity of observing the capitalist method of "dividing up."

That offer of ten three months subs for a dollar is still good.

THE LOCAL SITUATION.

The Grand Jury Farce—Formation of Scab "Unions"—Events of the Week in Chicago Labor Affairs.

The strike situation in Chicago has undergone several interesting changes in the past week. To begin with the farce of the grand jury was played to a finish. They went through the forms of investigating the alleged conspiracy of the material men, and of course found nothing worthy of consideration. This simply adds one more proof, if such proof were needed for any but the blind, that the grand jury, like the police, the courts, the army, and the other paraphernalia of government, are but instruments to carry out the will of the owning class.

It was significant that while there was not a single bona fide laborer upon the jury there were two material men. It would seem that anyone not hopelessly blind would see the ridiculousness of claiming that such a result could happen by chance. But there seems to be no limit to the blindness of some of those who are at present engaged in this strike, since they are still engaged in endorsing the master's candidates for office.

The contractors still insist, upon the dissolution of the Building Trades Council as a condition of settlement. This is of course not to be considered, as the principle of federated trades is absolutely essential to any effective resistance to the demands of the employers. It would seem as if this act of the Chicago employers was a part of a concerted scheme throughout the country, as the Kansas City bosses recently made the same demand and were able to force the men to accede. This was owing to the fact that some of the unions refused to stand by their brother workers and made individual bargains with the employers. It is a strange fact that while the union man has ever been fierce against scabbing by individuals he has not yet been able to properly condemn wholesale scabbing. They do not see that for a union to betray the federated body is much worse than for a single man to sell out his union, while it is infinitely worse still when a federated body scabs on the whole working class by betraying them into the hands of the capitalist politicians as was done by the Chicago Federation of Labor last week when it endorsed a Democratic candidate for the legislature. It is worthy of note that the one man who refused to join in this wholesale scabbing was Comrade Collins of the S. L. P., the delegate from the Machinists Union.

The bosses have added another demand to their conditions of settlement that renders a compromise still more impossible. About a year ago the bosses, in apparent preparation for the present strike took up the old tactics that have so often been used to disrupt union labor. They assisted in the organization of an "Independent" or scab union. Not having a DeLeon with an S. T. and L. A. to do the work for them they were not so successful as they might have been had they the valuable assistance of the "professor." However they succeeded in getting together quite a number of men who were organized into an "Industrial Trades Union." This body has continuously and consistently betrayed their fellow laborers and done all they could to injure them. Now the bosses insist as a condition to a settlement that this body of organized traitors be treated as a genuine union and that its members be treated in the same way and given the same privileges as the members of those bodies who have been bending all their energies to preserve and build up the standard of their class. It is demanded that the bona fide union men shall agree to accept as companions in their daily life and work, the most contemptible enemies of their class.

Finally the contractors make as one of the conditions to a settlement that no one who was a member of the Building Trades Council should be allowed to serve on the committee of settlement. In other words they from the beginning bar the only men who are familiar with all phases of the situation and are competent to make a bargain. This of course is not asking for a settlement at all but for a complete surrender and the men are by no means disposed to concede. They are still in good shape to resist and do not propose to meekly surrender. Up to the present time they have given a magnificent example of trade solidarity. If they would only stand together politically as they are now standing economically their victory would be within reach. But when they allow themselves to be sold out by political stool pigeons working in the interest of the class of bosses they are sowing seeds of weakness within their own ranks that may easily prove the means of losing their present strike.

THE ST. LOUIS STRIKE.

The "Best Element" in That City Making Socialist Propaganda with Buckshot.

The class struggle in St. Louis has had some rather startling developments during the last week. As was mentioned last week the street ear employes there are out on a strike and as usual the owners of government have been invoked to enforce the "law and order" which had been established in the interests of the owners. First the police were called in, but not proving effectual in breaking the strike, the federal injunction to "protect United States mails was used. Still the strikers did not go back to work and people did not patronize the cars. So a new turn was taken. Instead of calling out the militia resource was had to the legal process known as a Posse Comitatus. By this means any citizen may be called in to do the will of the bosses.

But it has been significant in the St. Louis troubles that only the "best citizens" have been summoned. That is, only those who belong to the exploiting class. In many ways this is a decided improvement over the old plan of hiring some of the workers to shoot the others into submission. It is possible that it will bring out the class struggle sufficiently plain to make some of the fellows who are being shot at able to see that their interests are not the same as the fellows who are doing the shooting. The capitalists are to be armed with repeating shot-guns carrying buckshot while the workers will be allowed to use paving stones the same as they always have. Probably a few of the laborers will be fool enough to accept the challenge and get shot, which will end the strike and send them back to work with their fetters riveted firmer than before.

SHUT DOWN---SHUT OUT.

Closing of South Chicago Steel Mills Leaves 3,500 Workmen to Face Starvation.

The big steel mills of the steel trust at South Chicago shut down on last Saturday and 3,500 wage slaves find themselves without a master. Already the word is sent out that suffering must soon result unless something is done. The mills are still there. The men have all the skill that they ever had. The mines are unexhausted. There are countless places where steel could be used to contribute to human comfort. But because no further profit can be made upon the labor power of these workers they are turned out to starve.

A few weeks ago a short description of the conditions under which these laborers work was printed in these columns. It was pointed out how these workers were a great slaughter house for the helpless wage slaves who were creating wealth within its walls. But if their condition was bad then it is worse now. Then they had at least a chance to dodge the molten metal and dangerous machinery, and if successful received enough to keep them alive. Now there is nothing before them but starvation or charity.

Yet as we said before all the instruments of production are still there with hands willing and able to operate them and produce wealth. But the LEGAL OWNERSHIP of the things which were necessary for production was in the hands of a class who could not themselves use them and would not allow others to use them unless a profit could be made from their toil. Sometime those laborers will awake to the fact that it is to their interest to own the tools with which they work cooperatively and then they can use them as long as there are people needing the goods produced and themselves receive all that is produced.

LOCAL NEWS AND NOTES.

Cambridge, Mass., Mar. 26.—Harvard will send two representatives to Paris to the Socialist Congress next September.

Prof. Thos. E. Will will address the "Federation for Social Justice" at Hull House, Halsted and Polk streets, Tuesday, June 12th, at 8 p. m.

The Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Ward branches hold open air meetings every Sunday at the corner of Southport avenue and Roscoe street, at 3:30 p. m. All comrades are invited to attend these meetings.

Members of the Fourteenth Ward branch are requested to attend the business meeting of the branch to be held at Shoenhofen's hall, Milwaukee and Ashland avenues, at 10 a. m., on Sunday, June 10th. Business of importance is to be transacted and all comrades are earnestly requested to attend this meeting without fail.

A vaudeville trust has been formed and the performers who have heretofore been earning good salaries, are apprehensive, (and good reason they have to be), that this move doesn't exactly mean prosperity for them. "All the world's a stage," and as the trust owners only want the world, the stratification of the stage follows as a matter of course.

It seems that the usual form of invitation to a socialist meeting is altered for the meeting tomorrow afternoon at 85 N. Clark street. In place of the husbands being invited to "bring their wives," the wives are graciously permitted to "bring their husbands" in case the latter are not needed at home to take care of the baby in its mother's absence! Well, it is time that some changes began for women in this world, as well as for men.

The National Tube company have closed down all their branch houses, with the exception of those in New York, Chicago, Pittsburg and San Francisco. This will result in the displacement of more than 800 employes, and the combine will effect a saving of not less than \$1,000,000 per year. This is an example of thrift upon the part of the ruling classes which will necessitate a similar line of conduct upon the part of the displaced workmen—at least until they strike another job.

The DeLeon socialist section in Fort Wayne, Ind., has left the New York boss and joined the "Kangaroo." Today the boss holds an alleged national convention in New York. It is rumored that Hickey and Keel will be the presidential ticket—Cleveland Citizen.

A daily socialist paper called "Lueta" (the Light), edited by Jose de Macedo, is now published at Lisbon.

FOREIGN NEWS.

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

AUSTRIA.

The government has introduced a bill for limiting the working day in mines to nine hours a day, i. e., 54 hours a week. If the masters wish at any time to work more, this will have to be assented to by a joint committee of masters and men.

GERMANY.

A committee of the Landtag—the local parliament—of Bavaria has agreed to the socialist proposition that delegates of the miners be allowed to assist in inspection of the mines.

The worst clauses of the Heine law have been rejected by the Reichstag. This absurd bill was strongly supported by the Centre (the Catholic party), who urged the government to carry it at any cost as a set-off to the Conservative support for an increase of the debt. The son of the German chancellor warned the government some time ago that they were doing a very foolish thing, especially in allowing the socialists to have the credit of opposing it, and this will certainly increase their influence.

There is a strike of men employed by the Berlin tramways, and the police have shown great brutality in putting down a manifestation of the strikers.

HOLLAND.

At Haarlem, at a recent election for the States-General the socialist candidate, though unsuccessful, obtained 633 votes. This is a distinct advance, because in 1897 he only succeeded in getting 156 votes.

ITALY.

The Italian government has been unable to carry on the government with the chamber, though they have nominally a majority and though they have just adopted very stringent rules for closing the debates. The chamber has been dissolved and a new election is to be held on June 3 (all elections are held on one day, a very good thing), and the second ballots on June 10. The chamber is to meet on July 6. There are now fifteen socialist deputies, but they hope to be 30 in the new chamber. But the government will exercise much pressure by suppressing meetings, compelling newspapers to leave out certain articles, etc. It was not for this that men died under Garibaldi and Mazzini.

RUSSIA.

Kieff, an important town in Russia is now the scene of a great bakers' strike. About 1,000 men are involved, including foremen, journeymen and apprentices. The demands are a twelve hours' day, with half an hour for breakfast and one-and-a-half hours for dinner; an increase of wages—27 a month for foremen and 22 10s. a month for journeymen—and a corresponding increase for apprentices; Sunday rest; better sanitary conditions and better food; and courteous treatment. The police are doing all they can to suppress the strike by means of arrests and forcible "dragooning"; 57 men have already been thrown into prison. But the workers are gallantly holding out. Who is to relieve them?

The first of May in St. Petersburg, as in other large industrial centres, has been signalized by an immense amount of proclamations and various other publications, as well as by arrests. The police arrive at a place about ten in the evening and wait till somebody comes. Then they arrest him, and wait further. In the House of Preliminary Detention there is no room to live. Many have been transferred to the fortress, and the new arrivals are placed in the so-called "Cross." However, it is all an every-day occurrence. There was nothing regards arrests to distinguish the 1st of May from other days.

ONE SOCIALIST VOICE.

Raised Against the Entrance of Scab Politics in the Chicago Federation of Labor.

The following clipping from the Inter Ocean is self-explanatory, and will show what one S. L. P. man is doing in the labor union world. Even if Comrade Collins was not successful at this time it is something gained that such work cannot be done without a protest.

Politics again entered largely into the business of the Chicago Federation of Labor yesterday, and occupied a considerable part of the afternoon's session. Objection was made to the endorsement of A. H. Drew as a candidate for the Democratic nomination of the legislature in the Eleventh district. The committee on resolutions reported favorably upon the endorsement of Mr. Drew. He was a delegate to the Federation some time ago and filled the position of chairman of the grievance committee, besides being a member of Typographical Union No. 16.

A motion for the adoption of the report brought Delegate John Collins of the machinists to his feet, who pro-claimed Drew was a Democrat.

"Well, anyway," said Delegate Collins, "I don't think this federation ought to endorse him, as he is running as a candidate for the party which is well-known to be owned and controlled by the capitalist classes, the same as the Republican party is. I don't think it is the business of this federation to endorse any candidate for office, and I am opposed to it on principle."

The question was discussed for nearly an hour, and it finally ended by a vote to endorse Drew.

Tested against the endorsement of Drew because the federation did not know what ticket he was running on.

"I would like to ask the chairman of the committee on resolutions what Mr. Drew's politics are," said Mr. Collins.

"I never asked him his politics," said Chairman E. A. Davis, in a non-partisan tone. "It was enough for me that he is a good trades-unionist."

President James Daly of the federation said that he had heard it intimated: Are you still hustling for subscribers?

TEACHING AS A BUSINESS.

Reasons Why the School Teachers Should Make Common Cause with the Working Class.

In his memorable speech before the Chicago convention of 1896 William J. Bryan undertook to define the words "business man," and mentioned several examples, such as farmer, laborer, etc., claiming that these were business men. The fact that he discussed those words at all is a striking admission of a truth that we all recognize, viz., that we live in an age of business; business elects our presidents; business makes our laws; business declares war and concludes peace. The only constitution and bill of rights that is now recognized, is business interests. If a man is not a business man he is simply not in it. Is the teacher a business man? As we are not running for president we can afford to tell the truth, and we must frankly say that the teacher is not a business man and is therefore not "in it."

In the Workers' Call of December 30, 1899, we made some remarks on teachers' salaries. As many of the readers of this issue may not have seen that article we make no apology for reproducing part of it here:

There are two kinds of work, viz., productive work and acquisitive work. Productive work is that which increases the total product of society; acquisitive work is that which merely transfers from one member of society to another without compensation what is already produced, or the opportunity to produce. Those engaged in productive work are called the proletariat; this class includes school principals as well as the teachers under them. The wages of this class are just enough to live on, no more. Those engaged in acquisitive work form a subclass wholly under the influence of the ruling capitalist class and intimately connected with it. Their business is not to produce anything nor to superintend production, but merely to get business, get trade, get custom away from other persons without compensation and draw it to the concern they are working for. They are working to get work for themselves, employes to do and so increase the number of their employes. These acquisitive workers are the men who become part owners of the concern, or else set up in business for themselves. There is, strange to say, no natural law limiting their wages, as there is the wages of productive laborers.

The Chicago Tribune of December 23, 1899, gives some instructive interviews with acquisitive laborers on this subject. The vice president of the First National bank says: "The bookkeepers and tellers in the banks do not consider their opportunities for advancement better than those offered in teaching. We have old men among our clerks, men almost ready to go on the superannuated list. They have been clerks for years. We have 250 men in the bank with about six official positions to be attained. The bookkeepers' salaries range from \$1,200 to \$1,600."

The president of the Illinois Steel company said: "There is no safe comparison to be made between the salaries offered in a manufacturing industry and those in teaching or any other profession. The opportunities in manufacturing are unlimited and the salary depends largely on the man. The rank and file of clerkships in the industry will pay from \$1,200 to \$1,800."

An attorney said: "There will be some enormous salaries in a manufacturing industry, but directly under the possessors of these positions there will be a drop."

A member of the firm of Marshall Field & Co., said: "There is no limit to the salary which a house will pay to a man it needs. A good commercial man can make more money than a man in the professions."

All of these interviews go to show that the wages of productive laborers are fixed by natural law and never rise above a certain limit, but that the wages of acquisitive laborers, the men who get the business, but do nothing else, are practically unlimited or are limited only by the amount of business which they can take away from others and thereby reduce all others to the condition of productive laborers, pure and simple. Between the wages of the acquisitive laborers and those of the productive laborers there is a "drop," as the attorney said in the above interview.

Business has now come to mean acquisitive work, such as gambling in real estate, grain, stocks, bribing public bodies and getting franchises, in short anything which offers a chance to take away a part of the product which others have produced. Teachers cannot engage in this kind of business; they have neither the time nor the capital, nor the peculiar character and stomach required for it. They are confined to common productive work and receive standard producers' wages, that is, just enough to live on and no more. Their wages will never be raised so that they can save anything as a class. If they are taken care of in old age it will be by their relations and friends. The capitalist state will throw them on the scrap heap.

Socialism will abolish that acquisitive work which is now technically called "business." The name "producer" will be no insult, and a presidential candidate will not have to flatter the voter by calling him a business man in order to get his ballot; and the teachers' life will not be soured by that uneasy looking forward to an old age of penury and want.

Marcus Hitch.
Antwerp, May 20.—The civic guard of Antwerp late last night revolted, singing the "Marseillaise" and hustling Maj. Waterkeyn when he sought to assert his authority and quell the disturbance. The civic guard includes citizens of all classes, and the situation is full of serious difficulty for the military authorities. The guards protest against the present obnoxious law governing their service—a law that causes irritation throughout the country. The government is fearing now that the example of the Antwerp guard will be followed elsewhere.

Those who look upon the world mainly as a place for the "investment of capital," will see that they knocked endways when socialism arrives.

Send in a club of ten this week.

Socialist Labor Party of the United States.

PLATFORM.

Human energy and natural resources are wasted for individual gain. Ignorance is fostered, that wage slavery may be perpetuated. Science and invention are perverted to the exploitation of men, women, and children. The lives and liberties of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit. Wars are fomented between nations; indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged; the destruction of whole races is sanctioned, in order that the capitalist class may extend its commercial dominion abroad and enhance its supremacy at home. The introduction of a new and higher order of society is the historic mission of the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts, are interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the means of production. We therefore charge that in this country the Democratic, Republican and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production are alike the tools of the capitalist class. The working class can not however, act as a class in its struggle against the collective power of the capitalist class except by constituting itself into a political party, distinct and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied classes. We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of the United States, without distinction of color, race or sex, and upon all citizens in sympathy with the historic mission of the working class, to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor party, as a party truly representing the interests of the toiling masses and uncompromisingly waging war upon the exploiting class, until the system of wage slavery shall be abolished and the Co-operative Commonwealth shall be established. Pending the accomplishment of this our ultimate purpose, we pledge every effort of the Socialist Labor party for the immediate improvement of the condition of labor, and also for the securing of its progressive demands. "Workersmen of all countries, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains, and have a world to gain!"

A MATTER OF CHEAP LABOR.

How Californian Capitalism Consumes the Consumptives.

The beauties of the competitive system are well illustrated by the following description of one phase of the economic conditions that appear in California at present. It has often been said that capitalism, in its frantic desire for ever cheaper labor, presses into its service those who are but just beginning the journey of life, the infant children of the working class. This robbery of the cradle finds its complement in the new method of extracting surplus value from the unfortunates whose time upon this earth is practically measured with certainty by the ravages of consumption. The fact that these doomed individuals have sought out a locality which promises a few more months of existence than they could expect in their native states, has not been allowed to pass unnoticed by the capitalists of the "golden west," who were quick to appreciate the fact that here was a supply of cheap labor which could be profitably exploited, and that the supply might be reckoned upon with certainty. It would be contrary to sound "business" methods to allow any possible labor power from which profit might be extracted, to leave this world without passing through the grist mill of capitalism, and for this reason the consumptives are consumed as follows:

"What they call 'consumptive competition' out on the Pacific coast has certainly become a grave problem," said a visitor from California at one of the hotels, "From San Francisco to Los Angeles the country is simply overrun with one-lunged individuals who have emigrated from the east to save funeral expenses and are willing to work for anything that will keep them alive. The trouble is that most of them are so distressingly competent. I know men who held positions at their old homes that paid them \$4,000 a year who are willing and anxious to go to work for \$3 a week. Of course, the services of such chaps are in demand, and they are rapidly filling all the good jobs to the exclusion of healthy natives. I was talking to the proprietor of one of the largest hotels in Fresno the other day and he was boasting about his crack office force. There's my head bookkeeper," he said, "he used to be general secretary of the Steenth Avenue Street railway in New York and is one of the finest actuaries in the United States. My chief clerk was formerly manager of the Victoria in London. He speaks four languages."

"You must have to pay them fancy salaries," I remarked. "Oh! I don't know," he replied, "the bookkeeper gets \$15 a month and the clerk \$20. Of course," he added, "that includes board. Without exaggeration that's a fair sample. To be sure, the average consumptive doesn't last very long, but another is always ready to take his place, and the way those who are employed step up the incumbents of good positions and calculate their chances of holding on is somewhat horrifying to an outsider. They will chat one another about it too. I was in a big dry goods store recently when a hollow-cheeked gentleman sauntered up to one of the department managers and asked him how he was feeling. 'Having night sweats, eh?' he said, 'then I suppose I can take hold here about October. But don't hurry on my account. Take your time, old man, take your own time. Consumptive competition was really behind the late effort to have a bill passed restricting cases of tuberculosis from entering the state. The talk about infection was all a bluff. It was a MATTER OF CHEAP LABOR—same as the Chinese.'—New Orleans Times-Democrat.

The visitor from California who gave the foregoing details, very appropriately remarked in the beginning that the subject constituted a "grave" problem, which it certainly does in every sense of the word, both for the "distressingly competent" ones and the "healthy natives," whom they displace. The whole story shows in a vivid light the vampire nature of the capitalist system of production, the ghastly and revolting commercial cannibalism perpetrated upon the dying, in whose "distressing competency" and cheap labor, the possessing classes seek profits considera-

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SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF SECTION CHICAGO, 65 N. Clark St. 1st and 2nd Tuesday; Sec. Jas. Smith, 343 W. Monroe St. BRANCHES. FOURTH WARD, 3058 - Armour Ave., 1st Thursday each month; Sec. N. Krogh, 3559 La Salle St. FIFTH WARD, 2930 Westworth Ave.; business meeting every Monday night; public meetings every Sunday at 5 p. m.; Sec. Joseph Tronta, 859 24th St. SIXTH WARD, Street meeting Sunday, June 10 at 3 p. m., corner 25th and Marshfield Ave. C. E. Lowrie, Sec. 1734 36th St. SIXTH WARD NO. 11, meets at corner 62nd and Morgan Sts. Sec. 1st Thursday and 3rd Sunday of each month; Sec. Joseph Kodis, 805 33d St. SEVENTH WARD, meets at Forge's Hall, corner Maxwell and Jefferson Sts., 1st and 3rd Monday each month. H. Bodominski, Sec., 109 Gilpin Pl. TENTH WARD, 115 W. 54th St., every Friday night; Sec. H. Almbald, 166 24th St. THIRTEENTH WARD, meets every Wednesday at 8 p. m. at Mehl's Hall, 570 Grand Ave.; Sec. P. Schubert, 1013 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 730 W. North Ave. at 8 p. m. every 3d and 4th Wednesday of each month; Sec. A. P. Nielsen, 884 Maplewood Ave. FIFTEENTH WARD, 902 N. Tolman Ave.; 2nd and 4th Friday evening each month; Sec. Adam Harvey, 902 N. Tolman Ave. SIXTEENTH WARD, 518 Milwaukee Ave. every 2nd and 4th Friday evening. TWENTY-SECOND WARD, 580 Laramie St., 2d and 4th Mondays; Sec. G. Gritchka, 94 Reese St. TWENTY-THIRD WARD (Scandinavian), 109 N. Chicago Ave.; public meetings every Sunday at 3 p. m.; public meetings 2nd and 4th Sundays each month at 2 p. m.; Sec. A. B. Gubbur, 135 Oak St. TWENTY-FOURTH WARD, holds business meetings 1st and 3d Fridays each month at 6 1/2 N. Clark St. TWENTY-FIFTH WARD, holds business meetings every 1st and 3rd Monday in the month at 1477 Boscoe St. Sec. Andrew W. Lindgren. TWENTY-SIXTH WARD, meets regularly, 3d and 4th Mondays at 8 p. m. at Southport and Belmont Aves. J. A. Runnberg, Sec., 2903 N. Claremont Ave. TWENTY-EIGHTH WARD, Brett's Hall, cor. 48th Ave. and Lake St.; 2nd and 4th Thursday evenings each month; Sec. Carl Peterson, 944 Lake St. THIRTIETH WARD, 5430 Paulina, every Saturday night; Sec. H. Phillips, 5430 Paulina. THIRTIETH WARD No. 1 (German), meets 2nd and 4th Monday each month at 437 S. Ashland Ave.; Sec. H. Steiner, 240 W. 46th Pl. THIRTIETH WARD, Scandinavian, 1148 63d St. 2nd and 4th Thursday; Sec. A. Raasmussen, 6543 Center Ave. THIRTY-FIRST WARD, 6801 Sangamon St., 1st and 3rd Thursdays each month; Sec. J. Wainhope, 6801 Sangamon St. THIRTY-THIRD WARD, meets 1st and 3rd Mondays at room 19, 9206 Commercial Ave. Sec. M. H. Tait, 7919 Escanaba Ave. THIRTY-FOURTH WARD, 113th St. and Michigan Ave., every 2d and 4th Wednesday at 8 p. m.; Sec. G. F. Denny, 11437 Perry Ave. THIRTY-FOURTH WARD No. 2; Sec. M. L. Elaubert, 677 96th St.

POLISH BRANCHES.

POLISH CENTRAL COMMITTEE—meets every Monday at 484-486 Noble St., 5 p. m.; Sec. A. J. Borkowski, 709 W. 21st Pl. SIXTH WARD (Lithuanian), meets 1st Thursday of each month at a e. corner 33rd and Morgan Sts. NINTH WARD, meets every Saturday at 500 S. Ashland Ave. (Pulaski's Hall), 8 p. m. FIFTEENTH WARD, meets 1st and 3rd Saturdays each month at cor. LeVitt and Hamburg Sts. (Solzaski's Hall). SIXTEENTH WARD, meets 1st and 3rd Fridays each month; public meeting every Wednesday, 8 p. m. at 484-486 Noble St. THIRTY-THIRD WARD, meets at 8413 Superior Ave. (second floor front), every 1st and 3rd Sundays at 8 p. m.; Sec. Majk Plick. LADIES SOCIALIST BRANCH, meets 1st and 3rd Sundays each month at 608 N. Paulina (Comrade Odalski's house), 3 p. m.; Sec. M. Tylicko, 700 W. 21st Pl.

ILLINOIS.

QUINCY, first Wednesday of each month at Pink's Hall, 613 Main St. MURPHYSBORO, every Thursday evening. D. W. Boone, Sec'y. PEKIN, C. E. Crandal, Sec'y. SPRINGFIELD; Aug. Von Behrens, Sec., 11th and Madison Sts. PANAMA, Henry Vemmer, Sec. CENTRALIA; A. Baumgartner, Sec., 1302 Locust St.

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