

THE WORKERS' CALL.

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

SECOND YEAR.—WHOLE NO. 92.

CHICAGO, ILL., DECEMBER 8, 1900.

PRICE ONE CENT

DEBATE ON TACTICS

Harriman and De Leon Discuss Trades Union Policy.

SILENCING THE "PROFESSOR"

Exposure of S. T. & L. A. Scabbery Reduces De Leon to the Pitiful Defence of a General Dental.

The debate between Daniel DeLeon and Job Harriman last Sunday evening in New Haven, Conn., was a rousing success for the Social Democratic Party. From the time Harriman took the floor a large majority of the audience, indeed all except the strict De Leonites, were enthusiastically with him.

In De Leon's first speech he evaded the real issue and spent most of his time on general principles, upon which all Socialists are agreed.

But Harriman's first speech brought out the real issue so plainly that De Leon was put on the defensive, and kept dodging throughout his second and third speech.

The question for discussion was: "Affirmed that the tactics of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance AGAINST PURE AND SIMPLE TRADE UNIONISM is for the best interests of the working class and for the promotion of socialism in America." De Leon spoke in the affirmative and Harriman in the negative. De Leon thirty minutes, Harriman thirty minutes. De Leon twenty minutes, Harriman thirty minutes, De Leon ten minutes. In his first speech De Leon set forth the principles of the class struggle, universally accepted by all Socialists. He then went on into the old-time pure and simple peroration to the tune, "We want something now," for, as he rightly said, too it will take a long time before the S. T. & L. A. gets into power. The present trade unions, however, were not capable, in his opinion, to accomplish anything for the worker since they were controlled and misled by the "labor lieutenants of capital." Three methods, he said, had been proposed for dealing with the pure and simple unions:

1. Boring from within.
2. Withdrawing and paying absolutely no attention to the unions.
3. Organizing opposition unions on the lines of the S. T. & L. A.

He then stated that with other Socialists had tried the methods of boring from within; that they were very weak in numbers and were defeated. He charged all those who differed from him with being "fakies" and "lieutenants of capitalism." He said that the active men in the labor movement were all corrupt and were agents of the capitalist class.

As proof of this he pointed to the late coal strike in Pennsylvania, also the Tennessee coal strike, the machinists' strike in New York, the woodworkers' strike in Wisconsin, the cabinet-makers' strike in New York; the recent cigar strike in New York and others, claiming without any ground that in all of these strikes the leaders had sold out. Having shown to his satisfaction that the alleged corruption was an irresistible obstacle to Socialist agitation and also that the policy of withdrawing entirely from the economic movement was impracticable, he proceeded to the S. T. & L. A. He said that the S. T. & L. A. was organized on class conscious lines and claimed that they supported the working class in all its struggles whether led by the S. T. & L. A. or by the pure and simple, or even if they were not organized at all. That by this method they establish the S. T. & L. A. and that the remedy was not to be found in boring from within, but in battling down the pure and simple unions from without.

When Harriman next took the platform he pointed out that we do not differ upon a question of principle. Independent class-conscious political action is the position taken by all Socialists in every country. Neither was he there to assert that the pure and simple unions are class-conscious, or in favor of political action. The question is not whether the principles of the pure and simple unions or the S. T. & L. A. are correct or incorrect, but quoting from the argument read by the chairman, whether "the tactics of the S. T. & L. A. AGAINST PURE AND SIMPLE TRADE UNIONISM is for the benefit of the working class and the promotion of socialism in America." Hence political tactics and class-consciousness are not before us for consideration. It is the tactics of the S. T. & L. A. AGAINST PURE AND SIMPLE TRADE UNIONISM that is before us, and I for one mean to stick to this issue and no other. If De Leon and his associates were defeated when they were boring from within, because they were weak, he could only say that they should have remained within, and continued to bore until they grew strong. How could they expect to control a large trade union movement when they were weak? The fact that it was possible to bore from within is the important fact. But

FACING THE MUSIC

Wage Slaves Are "Moved By Concord of Sweet Sound."

LABOR PRODUCT IS DOUBLED.

Capitalism Finds a New "Incentive" for the Extraction of Increased Surplus Value.

The ingenuity displayed by the capitalist class in originating new methods for the extraction, in a constantly increasing ratio, of surplus value from labor, is no doubt responsible to no small extent for the charge that under socialism all the incentive to labor would disappear, and it may be admitted at once that it will be the express business of socialism to remove many of the "incentives" now employed with success in the feeding process. The following highly original scheme, which is reprinted from a daily paper, will assuredly find little favor in the society of the future, when the function laboring is no longer considered the basis of civilization:

A new factor in the labor problem is the introduction of music as an incentive to faster and better work. The plan has just been tried in a New York cigar factory where several hundred young women are employed. A piano was put in the working room and a skillful performer played lively and stirring tunes during the working hours. As a result, after several weeks' trial, it is declared that the same number of employees turn out almost twice as much work as before the music was started.

"Twice as much work as before!" If there is any truth in this statement, the universal adoption of this "incentive" is a foregone conclusion. And while the wage slaves are "facing the music" in the workshops, the "kept" writers of the exploiting class will plead the necessity of preserving capitalism, on the grounds that its destruction would inevitably imply the entire disappearance of music, just as they now accuse socialism of attempting to destroy "religion," "morality" and the "family," all of which have been passed into service for the continuance of capitalist class rule.

If the poets are to be believed, there was a time "When Music, heavenly maid, was young," but capitalism was then in its infancy, and its power of prostituting and degrading its service every art known to the human race, was not then developed. The "heavenly maid" plying her vocation in the factory hall as an auxiliary to the robbery of the wretched workers, is perhaps, about the lowest possible depth of degradation that could well be imagined, but while "twice as much work as before" is turned out, it is not likely that capitalist society will make any strenuous efforts to interfere with a prostitution which requires double profit for the "moral" investor.

But we notice that the "crusade against vice," which is now occupying the attention of our prominent citizens, aims directly at the elimination of music from the "dives" and "resorts" in which the tramps, criminals, outcasts, and other victims of capitalism congregate in search of the only "pleasure" for which the accursed social system of the present has fitted them. It would seem that in this, as in every other case, the exigencies of "business" interests determine the form of debasement to which any given art shall be subjected, the form deemed fittest to survive being that most conducive to the production of surplus value.

To a community whose musical aspirations are apparently satisfied with such "popular" productions as "Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight," "Banks of the Wabash," and other choice "ragtime" ditties of a similar type, the debasement of music to capitalist profit mongering will excite little comment. It is altogether more probable that the innovators of the new factory will come forward to assert themselves as the special guardians and preservers of music, and that their pretensions will generally be accepted as facts. And a new terror will confront the Socialist speaker and writer, in the person of the idiot who will persist in inquiring as to the fate of music when capitalism has passed away.

A Word with You.

Say, comrade, are you lonesome? Would you like to have Socialist neighbors? You can have them just as easy as not—presuming of course that your neighbors are of a common order of intellect. Pick out ten of your most liberal friends, send their names and addresses to the Workers' Call with ten cents for each name, and they will receive the paper for three months. This order will also entitle you to the "Socialist Campaign Book of 1900." This proposition cannot be beaten for a Socialist starter.

It is not a good idea to tackle the enemy when you are not properly equipped. Arm yourself with a dozen Workers' Call postals and mix in the fray.

THE PASSING SHOW

Latest Exhibit in the Tribune's Economic Museum,

IS DISCOVERED IN GEORGIA.

And Promptly Labeled "Socialism" for the Inspection of Those Who Want to Be Fooled.

Always on the lookout for "news," the indefatigable Chicago Tribune, has lately been making incursions into the economic field in search of curiosities. Last week it penetrated to the Klondike to secure a specimen which was duly labeled and exhibited in its columns under the title of "Anarchist." This week it explored Georgia for the purpose of unearthing a "colony" of forty "Socialists" of a peculiar type, utterly disregarding the fact that within a radius of a few miles of its office, between six and seven thousand genuine specimens, might have been found, without the aid of an exploring party. But the "colony" species of "Socialist" was far better adapted for exhibition purposes than the ordinary everyday product of Illinois, and it was this consideration which induced the Tribune to neglect the latter in favor of the former. It wished to chronicle a "Socialist failure," and had to go outside the state to find it.

The disruption of one of these so-called "Socialist colonies" is an event which is never overlooked by the capitalist press. It gives excellent opportunity to show up the ignorance of Socialists concerning "human nature," and draw therefrom the logical conclusion that Socialist ideas can never prevail until the aforesaid "human nature" is "changed."

This is the charge that the Tribune brings against the forty colonists in Georgia, and parades as an argument against the possibility of socialism, and it is hard to see how the latter can reply to it. They have failed—and that in itself goes a long way towards proving the charge. More than this, the disrupted ones cannot resist by accusing the Tribune of similar ignorance. The fact that it knew enough to exploit this incident in half a column of type is sufficient proof of knowledge on this point.

For, like every other capitalist journal, the Tribune has a comprehensive knowledge of the peculiarities of what is known as "human nature." It knows the gullibility of the average readers of the capitalist press, their willingness to accept without question what they see in "black and white" in the columns of the daily papers, their disinclination to trouble themselves with any original thinking of their own, and the fact that a lie, however monstrous, will, if repeated a sufficient number of times, appear as truth to the majority. It is upon this knowledge of "human nature" that capitalism relies for its maintenance, and the Tribune is right "onto" all these characteristics, and the best methods of using them.

It matters not that socialism reckons its adherents by hundreds of thousands, and in some cases by millions, in almost every capitalist nation on earth. It matters not that its numerical growth is carrying terror to the ruling classes of Europe, and that all their efforts to stop its spread have been unavailing. It is of no consequence whatever that the immense literature devoted to the advocacy of its principles uniformly rejects the "colony" theory and explains the grounds for such rejection. No importance is attached to the declarations of principles to be found in every Socialist platform, where the essentially political character of the movement is set forth in unmistakable terms—the conquest of governmental power by the united action of the working class. All these things are carefully ignored, but if socialism is to be mentioned at all, why here are forty nondescript from Georgia, just discovered after a long search, who can be used to represent it.

And "human nature" comes along, glances over the outfit set up for inspection, looks at the label "socialism" and departs fully satisfied with its own wisdom and sweetly unconscious of the trick that has been played on it.

Barnum perhaps was the first to declare that "the public like to be humbugged," but he was by no means the first to put the theory to practical use. The Tribune understands "human nature" without doubt, but it shares the conception with the "confidence man" and purveyor of "gold bricks."

Thus Far—No Farther.

In an excellent editorial upon the "Criminal Class" the Chicago American concludes by addressing "good men, rich men, able clergymen, comfortable and benevolent ladies," in the following words: "YOUR SOCIAL SYSTEM makes criminals and sells jails."

But the Chicago American is careful to stop right at that point. If the reader of Hearst's paper cares to make further inquiries as to this

Socialist Pointers

There is Socialist union wherever the rank and file take hold of the reins.

The Democratic party does not need reorganization half as much as it needs decent burial.

The reason the Socialist party must grow is that it is never necessary to convert a man but once.

The reason the man in the ditch is not a Socialist is because socialism has never been explained to him.

You might send a yearly subscription to the Workers' Call to some doubting friend as a Christmas present.

Now that the spring election approaches the politicians are once more all hot for municipal ownership.

No one can charge that our leaders are corrupt if we have no leaders, and the Socialist party should have none.

If we do our work well this winter there, will not be enough left of the Democratic party to reorganize by spring.

If workingmen displayed the same vigor on the political as on the economic field, strikes would not be so frequent.

The way to have a peaceful revolution is to convert all the world to socialism; then there will be no one to do the shooting.

If the city campaign is now on as we declare, it will take money to run it, and no one but Socialists are interested enough to put up the cash.

The Emperor of Germany has troubles of his own without taking on those of Kruger. He has at last discovered that there is a Socialist party.

It is better for a Socialist party to grow slowly and build well as it grows, than to gain power and not to have what it gains as to what it wants.

Men will never continue to vote to send children to the factories and the aged to the poor house after they have found out how they can avoid it.

Socialists who are not members of the organization should reflect on the fact that they are allowing a comparative few to carry all of the burdens.

Both the tramp and the millionaire will have a chance to work under socialism, and it will not be optional with them either; if they desire to live.

As cold weather approaches a good many who voted for McKinley are discovering that Mark Hanna forgot to put a ton of coal in the full dinner pail.

The Democrats need not spend time eliminating the Socialist element from the party. That part which knows why it is Socialist will eliminate itself.

The emperor of Austria wants to abolish representative government, because the people are finding out that what is good for the king is not good for them.

Where the party press circulates, there the vote always shows the largest increase. When you get a man to subscribe for a paper you have got him started right.

The farmers are turning to socialism, for the commercial class, now the ruling class, only allow the agriculturist to retain enough of the products he produces to live on.

The Populist party of Indiana has decided to unite with all reform parties, including the Socialists, but it might at least consult the latter party before doing anything final.

When the ship subsidy bill passes Mark Hanna will have to build an extension to his full dinner pail. Mark is one of the workingmen who voted for his own interests.

The proper kind of work will double the Socialist vote again in the spring. By the time it has been doubled a few times more the capitalist parties will begin to know we're on earth.

Poetry and Politics.

M. Rostand, author of "Cyrano," has written a poem calling upon "Europe" to assist Kruger. "Our special correspondent" in criticizing this production, states that "His" meaning Rostand's, "ideal of justice is too flagrantly opposed to the exigency of contemporary politics," which would lead to the conclusion that M. Rostand has in reality said something.

Have you any Call postals in your pocket?

Galesburg Socialists Active.

The Socialists of Galesburg are not taking a vacation, and that they are putting into practice the saying that the Socialist campaign begins the morning after election, the following clipping from the Galesburg Republican-Register will conclusively prove:

The Social Democrats of this city held a good meeting in Sykes hall on Tuesday night, which was well attended. The speaker of the evening was Thomas Wallace of Annapolis, and he spoke at length on the general topic of "Socialism." He was introduced by Harry Holborn. Among other things he said: "The fundamental error" in all wage-earning is that the wage-earner is not given his share of his product, and today the wage-earner is in a not much better position than was the black man some years ago. The statement can be proven that the wage-earner gets only one-eighth of what he produces. The farmer gives one-half his crop for the privilege to farm the land, half of that for clothing, and one-half of what is left for clothing, and then that man goes to the market to buy some meat and he pays 100 per cent profit on it.

"The usury system is taking the heart out of commerce. We have seen that this usury has robbed the tenant of seven-eighths of his product. Social ostracism and political preferment stand in the way of the man who speaks the truth while this is a land where the truth is legalized. The railroad works to carry the goods of the producer but it is conducted by organized laziness—that is the road carries the goods, charging what the traffic will stand. This may be free will contract, but it is the wrong kind. Socialists do not advocate an equal division of property, but they do believe in justice. It is society's fault that John D. Rockefeller got so much money for to him was granted free oil in the earth. God never meant that this oil should become the property of one man, but, of mankind, and so to give it to him is an insult to God."

"Who owns the \$1,200,000,000 that was exported to Europe this past year? The workers produced that, but the exporter sent it out and he owns it. They say that it is a stimulant to labor, but what do you say of a doctor who said it would act as a stimulant to remove seven-eighths of a man's blood?"

"Today we pay for coal on times as much as it costs to dig it. Why should we pay such a price for coal that God Almighty put there for all men alike?"

"Have courage, stand for truth and justice. Truth enmeshed by love, brings justice; while greed enmeshed by hate, brings error, sin and trouble."

Henry E. Allen, Gust Haring and Altona and Mrs. Emma Lanyers made short speeches. Present from out of town were Gust Haring, Harry Eckman and Andrew Sandberg.

Local Galesburg, S. D. F. have arranged to have an agitation meeting once a month.

The Campaign Fund.

A call for funds has been issued, and the meagre responses up to the present do not show that the comrades are greatly interested in the approaching campaign.

Now, comrades, this is not the proper light in which to look at the struggle ahead of us.

Don't you know that it is just as important a campaign as any? A presidential campaign only, overlooks this coming campaign IN-SIZE, not IN-IMPORTANCE. WE MUST have money, and YOU MUST furnish it.

There have been some responses, but NOT anywhere near enough to speak of, much less to count.

Come! Let's have money and let's have it at once.

Money for printing advertising, hall rent, etc., is absolutely essential. Nothing can be accomplished without it, and it is you and you only who are interested in furnishing it, and it is to you alone that we must look.

So let us hear from you at once, so that the campaign may be carried on with effect.

Fraternally,
F. G. Strickland, Sec'y.

J. W. N. \$2.00
R. A. Morris 1.00
Total \$3.00

Don't forget to attend the third annual ball for the benefit of the Workers' Call, which will be held at Brad's Hall, on January 5th. Every comrade is expected to be present and a good time will be provided for all. Hustle the tickets and make this occasion a complete success. Get a bunch of tickets now and dispose of them. If every comrade will only put his shoulder to the wheel success is certain.

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

THE WORKERS CALL.

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Six months......35
Three months......20
Single copies......10
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Always in advance.
Special rates if ordered by the hundred. Orders for correct issues should reach the office by Tuesday evening.

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

EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS.
To secure the return of unused manuscripts postage should be enclosed.
Communications must reach the office by Monday evening preceding the issue in which they are to appear.
The fact that a signed article is published does not commit The Workers Call to all opinions expressed therein.
Contributions and items of news concerning the labor movement are requested from our readers. Every contribution must be accompanied by the name of the writer, not necessarily for publication, but as an evidence of good faith.



A SIGN OF PROGRESS.

The action of the Chicago Federation of Labor in extending an invitation to colored workmen to join the labor organizations, is one which will meet the hearty approval of all Socialists throughout the United States and elsewhere. It is not likely that the capitalist press will endorse this latest move on the part of organized labor, for it conveys to them in unmistakable terms the fact that the workmen are recognizing that in the struggle before them unity upon class lines, rather than upon racial or national ones, is a necessity that cannot be avoided if any success, however small, is to be attained. And this lesson has been taught not by humanitarians, sentimentalists or advocates of brotherly love, but by the irresistible force of economic evolution working through the development of capitalist production. In asking the aid of the colored workmen, it is quite evident from the wording of the appeal that the Chicago Federation of Labor rested its case not so much upon the fact that capitalism knows no race or color in its mode of exploitation, but upon another and somewhat more apparent one, viz., the manner in which the colored workman has been used so extensively of late by the possessing classes as a weapon to neutralize, by virtue of his cheaper labor, lower standard of living and more tractable disposition, the resistance of organized white labor.

Probably in no other country has racial prejudice and aversion played so large a part as in the United States. At the beginning of the century, it is no exaggeration to say, that the negro was hardly considered a human being. A long and bloody civil war was necessary to settle the question of his political and economic status in capitalist society. Today those who benefited most by the results of that strife see in the negro not only an unlimited supply of cheap labor power, but a potent force to cheapen and degrade those by whose aid the negro was transformed from an expensive chattel to a "free" competitor in the industrial system of today.

Old prejudices, however, whether of race, religion or nationality, are not removed in a day. It has taken a long time for the working classes to perceive, however dimly, the nature of these phenomena; and that perception is only made possible through the exigencies of our social system. The conflicting material interests of capitalist and working class have alone dictated this action upon the part of the Chicago Federation of Labor.

The ultimate political unity of the working class is assured by the development of capitalism alone. The step which has been taken by the Chicago Federation of Labor will not be retraced as it is in a direct line with what is known as progress. Considered as an isolated action its importance is certain to be underrated, but taken in connection with the trend of economic evolution, its significance is unmistakable. Nor will the call to the colored man for participation in the class struggle be confined to the economic field alone. He will be required, equally with his white fellow workman, to engage in the conflict for political supremacy which is now embodying itself in the Socialist movement. Capitalism leaves him no choice. He must take his place with those whose material interests are identical with his own. Regardless of race, religion or color the present social and industrial system compels the workers to unite.

SOCIAL JUSTICE LECTURESHIP.

Sundays, 2:30 p. m., Flynn's Hall, 457 W. North Avenue, corner Milwaukee Avenue and Robey streets.
Wednesdays, 8 p. m., Garfield Hall, corner Chicago and Hamilton Avenues.
Saturdays, 3 p. m., Aqua Pura Hall, 188 W. Lake street, near Campbell Avenue.
Tuesdays, 8 p. m., Hull House, Halsted and Polk streets.

Comrade Fred G. Strickland has recovered his health and his voice and will be present and speak at Flynn's Hall, Sunday, December 9, 2:30 p. m. Following a short address at Aqua Pura Hall, December 8th, the convention of the Thirteenth ward will take place.

Comrade R. A. Morris speaks at Garfield Hall, December 12. A good time is ahead of us.

SOCIALIST LECTURE.

Comrade A. M. Simons speaks at the hall corner Oak and Franklin streets, 2 p. m., Sunday, December 12. Seats free.

Press reports from China give details of an "execution" of eighteen Chinamen by the German troops. The victims were all shot in the back. It will thus be seen that the fame of the heroic deeds of our own Roosevelt has penetrated even to the utmost parts of the earth, when the soldiers of the Kaiser imitate his illustrious example. America leads and the world follows.

THE POLITICAL ASPECT OF "VICE."

That pernicious institution, familiar to all dwellers in Chicago, and designated

as a "moral crusade" is about due. The grand jury has made its report, the press is clamorous for reform, the clergy are urging the "good citizen" to help in the purging process, and Mayor Harrison is busy defending, excusing and explaining the position of the administration in regard to the "dives," "resorts" and other "dens of iniquity" which are to be swept out of existence by the forthcoming onslaught of the "crusaders."

Mayor Harrison does not look with a favorable eye upon the preparations which are being made. He thinks that those who are interested in making them are about to meddle with matters which he himself is fully capable of regulating, and in consequence, his defence shows considerable resentment against the originators of the movement against "vice."

For Mayor Harrison is a shrewd politician and has been engaged in the "reform" business himself. And knows exactly how much value is to be attached to the profession of "reformers" in general.

So he boldly asserts that those who are engineering this "moral crusade" are by no means so zealous for "morality" and civic purity as their professions would indicate. The newspapers, ministers and churches, he says, are being used by the traction companies for the purpose of unseating him, so that they may be able to secure more favorable terms for the renewal of their franchises from his successor. In other words, Mayor Harrison's rebuttal brings to light the inseparable connection between capitalism and crime.

Although the municipal campaign has not yet been formally opened on either side, the Republican and Democratic politicians are by no means ignorant of what the "reform wave" signifies.

They recognize it as the advanced guard of the "outs," a skirmish line thrown forward by those who wish to displace the present office holders. Those attacked are under the necessity of uncovering its real significance, while those who attack are equally bound to conceal it.

But the Mayor is correct in saying that "vice" existed before he took office, that it is necessary, that it may be "regulated," but cannot be abolished. He knows that his political opponents are also aware of this fact, and that the "crusade" they are manipulating is directed, not against "vice," but against himself and the crowd of city politicians, known as the "administration." There are no doubt a great many who really believe that the "basement saloon" and "javee resort" can be abolished and that drunkenness, highway robbery, prostitution, gambling and debauchery will disappear with their abolition. It would be useless to enter into argument to convince them of the folly of their belief. If repeated failure cannot effect this it is difficult to see how they are to be disillusioned.

But like the inquiry against which they apparently contend, these people are also "necessary," and the manner of their utilization is no mystery to the capitalist politician. "Morality" or "immorality" makes little difference to the latter. Within the boundaries of the perpetuation of the present social conditions, both being inherent parts of it.

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If you want to comprehend the real progress of the labor cause you should find out what the laboring man is doing for himself, and not what politicians say they are doing for him.

SNAP SHOTS BY THE WAYSIDE.

The suitan is evidently familiar with the tricks of capitalism. Uncle Sam has a bill against him for \$100,000 and has sent a collector after it. The wily Turk doesn't want to plunk the sum down at once and proposes a scheme. He will place an order for a cruiser with some American firm and the \$100,000 can be tacked on to the cost. The suitan has evidently a great "business" head. He must have been taking lessons from the American capitalists, who, when they raise the wages of their slaves always indemnify themselves by raising the price of the commodities.

We venture to make the following prophecy: Whether a republican or democratic mayor is elected this spring the franchisees of the street railway companies will be extended. We say this now, while as yet the campaigns of both capitalist parties are to begin. Their platforms when put out to gull the people will both contain "municipal ownership" planks.

But there will be no municipal ownership until the working class take possession of the city hall, and then the terms of the franchisees will not stand in their way. We know now that the aldermen will not grant franchises without a consideration, and that "consideration" will never go into the city hall treasury while the aldermen's pants are furnished with pockets.

The piety of the Boers is proverbial, but the extinction of the Transvaal republic will not effect the religious standing of the community in South Africa. A worthy successor to Oom Paul has been found, whose simple faith has prompted him to contribute \$15,000 towards the erection of a cathedral in Cape Town. The press dispatch which contains this item also publishes the name of the name of the generous donor, one Mr. Cecil Rhodes. It doesn't state, however, whether there is a cemetery attached to the sacred edifice or not, but perhaps, the pious Mr. Rhodes considered that, in view of the laudable efforts which he has put forth to convert South Africa into a grave yard, such a gift coming from him might seem superfluous.

Now that the election is over, it looks as if the capitalists are about to make a determined onslaught on the trades unions, and it will require cool heads amongst the members of labor organizations if the slight advantages they have obtained are to be preserved. That address, purporting to come from Hibbard, Spencer, Bartlett & Co., as a warning to the members of the building trades, might well have been written by Daniel De Leon. It breathes "union smashing" in every line.

Some of the leaders in the unions are not just as we would have them, but as it happens they are elected by the members, and that fact counts for a good deal from our point of view. Socialists must set to work amongst the membership, and with voice and pen make their influence felt, but interference with the right of members to elect their own officers should for one moment be tolerated. The continual and persistent efforts of socialists in the unions, aided by the development of capitalism will ultimately bring the masses of the unions to a realization of the nature of the struggle in which they are engaged, and the necessity of transferring the conflict from the economic to the political arena for the possession of the public powers. New leaders will then be elected, and capitalists of the H. S. B. & Co. stripe will not be any happier for the change.

They demand, like the "Professor," that the unions must select other leaders. Leaders that will obey the behests of those who drafted the manifesto. And they promise that if such leaders are chosen the "labor troubles" will disappear. They forget to add that in such case the unions themselves would follow the example of the "labor troubles."

W. J. Bryan, in a statement of his views on the result of the election, concludes his article in the North American Review as follows:

"Back of all the questions which have been referred to lies the deep and lasting struggle between human rights and human greed. If greed triumphs it will transform our government into a plutocracy and our civilization into barbarism. Those who believe in equal right before the law and desire a government which rests upon the consent of the governed and deals justly with all, who see in our government the cause of our present troubles, must continue the contest to triumph or defeat. Success may be the measure of enjoyment, but it cannot be the measure of duty."

With the exception of two, the only states which Mr. Bryan carried were those in which democracy was strangled by the disfranchisement of the working class. In face of this fact, why should he be regarded as the silver candidate? Would not the "apostle of Brass" be a more fitting title?

"Property" was well exemplified on Thanksgiving day in Chicago. A turkey dinner was given to fourteen thousand newsworthy, who otherwise would not have been able to participate in the festivities. Hearst's Chicago American fed six thousand of these children whose ages ranged between eight and sixteen. These little fellows work long hours to sell papers like Hearst's, which contain articles condemning child labor. But "charity" covers a multitude of sins.

Keep your eye on your subscription number.

CIRCULATION NOTES.

GENERAL MENTION.

It takes reading to make a Socialist. That is a truth which has been brought home to the comrades in Chicago during all the past years of propaganda. You may talk socialism until hoarse, come in your voice, but unless your argument be followed up by reading matter your efforts will seldom bear fruit. Every comrade should take this lesson to heart. The most important duty devolving upon party members at present is to push the circulation of the party organ, and help put it into the hands of the unthinking proletariat.

Every Socialist to be worthy of the name must be active in the cause, intelligently, continually and everlastingly. It is only in this manner that we will ever win. The man who calls himself a Socialist, who says he knows that socialism is right and that it is inevitable, et cetera, but who never does anything for the cause more substantial than mere dreaming of the good things to come, does not deserve to have his name recorded on the books of militant socialism. This is only stating the matter plainly and truthfully. Socialism expects every man to do his duty; and remember that one of the first things under the head of duty is to push the circulation of the party papers.

During periods of great political excitement like the campaign just passed the activity of the comrades in pushing the circulation of the Workers Call is very encouraging. However, during periods of lethargy and neglect following the excitement of a campaign the business department of the paper encounters many difficulties. If such lethargy were to continue the life of the paper would be in great danger. It is to be hoped that the comrades will buckle on the harness immediately and rush the subscription of the paper up to a safe figure. If every Socialist would do his duty in the next few months the Workers Call would soon have thirty thousand readers in the city of Chicago.

There are a few comrades who never take a vacation just after election. It is these men who are the salt of the Socialist movement. They understand that socialism must be battled for, constantly if the downfall of capitalism is to be hastened on its way. They feel that every stroke which they give ignorance and prejudices at this moment will bring socialism one day sooner. They understand that the sentinels of the proletarian army cannot afford to sleep at their posts while in the enemy's country. These men who are always active in the movement and who never take a vacation are continually hustling for subscribers to the Workers Call. It is these comrades, who by strenuous effort have managed to keep the paper alive during past periods of lethargy. Go thou and do likewise. Build up a big circulation for the Workers Call, and socialism will grow in proportion.

There is some talk amongst the comrades of Local Chicago about establishing a daily paper in this city some time during the coming year. A daily paper would be a good thing. But there is only one way to attain it. Let every comrade tickle his enthusiasm a little, put his shoulder to the wheel and roll the subscription of the Workers Call up to the 30,000 notch. Then a daily paper will be entirely feasible. Thirty thousand readers for The Call would mean an enormous accession to the Socialist movement—in fact it would be the nucleus of a sentiment which could easily support a daily paper. If the comrades want a daily there is only one way of attaining it. Get to work.

Every member of the Socialist party in Chicago can get at least one subscriber to the Workers Call each week. This is not an idle statement. If you don't believe it get out and try it. TRY IT! The question of whether you will or won't is a matter which depends upon your zeal. If you say, "Oh, well, I can't do it, so there's no use trying," you never will be able to contribute your share toward making socialism a reality. Suppose every man were ready to try to get one subscriber each week, what would be the result. With our party membership in Chicago fast approaching the one thousand mark, and every man doing his duty, the subscription of the Workers Call would advance by leaps and bounds, with the result that, the Socialist sentiment in Chicago one year from now would inspire every minion of capitalism with immediate dread of the inevitable reckoning.

Every Socialist who expects to participate in the continuous campaign for class-consciousness will find the array of facts and figures set down in the "Socialist Campaign Book of 1900" almost indispensable. By a little hustling, which in itself ought to be an agreeable duty, you can obtain this valuable book absolutely free. There are two ways of obtaining the campaign book. It is given as a premium with one dollar's worth of subscription postage; again, if you send us ten names with ten cents each for sample three months subscriptions, you will be entitled to the campaign book.

Doubleless there are many comrades who do not yet understand the card system which was introduced to our subscription workers some time ago. The plan is this: We have two kinds of postal stamps printed. One is good for six months' subscription; the other, for one year. The comrades buy these cards and sell them to their victims, who in

turn fill in their names and address on the back of the postals and send them to this office. For every dollar's worth of these subscription cards paid for at the full rate of 50 cents for yearlies, and 25 cents for half-yearlies, we give as a premium a copy of the Socialist Campaign Book for 1900. With two dollars' worth we give a copy of Lissagary's "History of the French Commune." If the premiums are not desired, the cards will be furnished at the rate of 40 cents for yearlies, and 20 cents for half-yearlies. Every Socialist should carry a supply of these cards with him everywhere he goes. Make your friends and acquaintances buy them. Sell them to strangers. Sell them to everybody.

PERSONAL MENTION.

Comrade E. Arndt, of South Chicago, brings in a list of five yearlies and gives us an order for a dozen postals with which to continue the work. Englewood branch holds the postal card record up to date. Comrade Brown who has been appointed subscription agent for the branch, called on us Monday and carried away with him 150 postals. This is the largest single order yet received.

Comrade Chas. Seck, of Port Chester, N. Y., sends us an order for 100 copies of the Pocket Library and two campaign books. Comrade Seck is a good man for the Chicago workers to imitate. "Tis an ill wind that blows nobody good. Comrade L. Anderson, being out of a job, says he will give capitalism a rap until he finds one. He equipped himself with a dozen Call postals and a bundle of samples and started out on the warpath.

Comrade Peter P. Zell sends us four subscriptions from Ashland, Wis., and reports good work being done for the cause in that locality. He speaks of the same troubles with the police which we so well understand in Chicago. Comrade Gus Bartlett came into our office and said he wanted 20 postals, 12 yearlies, and 5 half-yearlies. He got them, and is now out looking for victims.

Comrade F. J. Lehr, of Pullman, gives us an order for two dozen six months' subscription cards; Comrade Lehr is one of the best subscription hustlers in the city. Some names of subscribers to this paper, principally between Nov. 10th and 20th, having been in some unaccountable manner mislaid, the management asks all such who have not received the paper to notify this office so that the mistake can be rectified. Please give date of sending subscription, if possible, as the matter can be more readily traced when such data is given.

FOREIGN NEWS.

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

BELGIUM.

The Socialist deputies have brought in a bill by which it is proposed to grant a yearly pension of £24 to miners at the age of 59. A congress has been held at Brussels to discuss the question of universal suffrage and proportional representation. After much discussion a resolution in favor of proportional representation was carried.

FRANCE.

Dr. Flassieres, the Socialist mayor of Marseilles, has decided to take no part in the proposed demonstration in favor of president Kruger, as he considers that the demonstration is simply a Nationalist dodge got up to embarrass the government. The Nationalists do not love free institutions, but they hate the republic.

GERMANY.

The chamberlain of the Empress, Herr von Mirbach, has been denouncing Socialists. He compares them to rhinoceroses and says that they live by the pennies of the workers. Now, why they should be compared to rhinoceroses is not apparent, and to accuse them of living on the gifts of workmen is highly amusing. How does Herr von Mirbach think that his august master and mistress and all the court are supported?—London "Justice."

ELECTION ECHOES.

Correspondent Writes of Crooked Work in Virginia Directed Against Socialism.

Returns give the Social Democratic party, 225; Middle-of-Road Populists, 62; and De Leon's "trade union smashers," 167. Over HALF of the COUNTIES and CITIES in the state have not a single vote officially reported for ONR party—a clear proof of political evil-doing of itself, A Mr. Corrigan of New York assisted by local De Leonite, Lea Dery, spoke in Portsmouth, Richmond, Manchester, and Newport News, in halls and on streets, and the results must be a surprise to that faction, in that it paralyzed their vote as versus OURS, and the vote in 1898. The daily press and its "labor" columns only printed the capitalist parties' votes by counties and cities—they are making extra efforts now to stay the tide of socialism as directed by the Social Democratic party, and its magnificent and already numerous papers, periodicals, and thousands of comrades from all trades and professions. The dog in the manger act of the Beckman street faction has temporarily hindered us somewhat, but the movement in this state is now so advanced that the getting to touch with each other of hundreds of comrades through the state into localities, is proceeding satisfactorily. An extra session of the legislature is

to meet in January, and will certainly pass "A Primary Plan" unless we post the people as to its sure results in practically disfranchising the WHITE proletariat, other than those who continue to vote for the political machine in power, as it is an intended direct blow of capitalism against any minority party competing with their dear old tools, the Dem? and Rep. factions, and especially against our party, now rapidly clearing the field of all the frauds and fakes, between it and that party of capitalism, (proper), the Republican party.

Social Democrat.

CORRESPONDENCE.

News Items and About Springfield.

The city campaign is now on in the cities of Chicago, Holyoke, and Springfield, and the comrades have been doing effectively work the past week. On Tuesday evening, December 20, a ratification meeting was held at Graves' Hall, Springfield, where comrades Allan and Geiger spoke, and notwithstanding it was raining in torrents, our audience, though small, listened for two hours to the speakers. On Thursday evening, November 22, Comrade Geiger spoke at an open-air meeting in Westfield, and considering the time of the year the meeting was a successful one; one new member was admitted that evening. On Sunday afternoon, the 25th, Comrades Geiger, Allan and Butcher addressed the French Nationalization club at Chicopee, and excellent work was done there in sowing the seed of socialism among the French workers of that city. On Friday evening, November 30th, Comrades Allan and Butcher will address a mass meeting at Forester's Hall, Indian Orchard, and it is expected that a branch of Local Springfield will be organized at that time, as we have a number of sympathizers there.

Applications for charters were received this week from Locals Dover, N. H.; Pearl River, N. J., and Hamilton, O.

Finances have been coming in very slowly the past week, and in order that the N. E. C. may clear the indebtedness incurred by the national campaign, we would ask that all locals and state committees settle up at once all indebtedness for literature, special due stamps, and regular due stamps; also local retaining subscription lists will please return them at once.

Our bills are now due and we trust that the above request will be met with a prompt remittance from those locals and state committees indebted to the N. E. C.

Also, comrades, don't forget the Massachusetts Campaign Fund; this will be the last opportunity of calling your attention to it through our press; therefore let those who have not yet contributed, and desire to do so, subscribe at once.

Wm. Butcher, Nat'l Sec'y.

They Are Hustlers.

Editor Workers Call: Members of the S. D. P. of the Twenty-seventh ward held a grand mass meeting at Meyers' Hall, 1903 Armitage Avenue corner Sanger, Sunday afternoon, November 25th. Great enthusiasm was maintained throughout the meeting, and 23 new members joined the party.

Some of the well-known speakers present were J. H. Bard, and comrades August Kincke, and Walter Thomas Mills.

Another ward convention and mass meeting will be held in this vicinity, (within a few blocks), at Almira Turner Hall, Sunday afternoon, December 9th at 2 p. m. Come one, come all, Good speaking and good music will be in order. Bring your wives.

F. L. C. Temporary Chairman.

LOCAL NEWS AND NOTES.

The Fifteenth Ward club holds agitation meetings every Wednesday and Sunday evenings at Educational Hall, (formerly Garfield Hall), Armitage and Milwaukee Avenue.

All Socialists in the Twelfth ward are requested to attend meeting Sunday afternoon, December 9th at 2:30 p. m., at 1053 W. Madison street, for the purpose of electing five delegates to city convention. We are requested by Comrade W. T. Mills to inform those who intend taking the course of lessons which has been advertised in these columns that the first lesson will be given on the 13th of December instead of the 6th, as was formerly announced.

The Socialists of the Seventh ward met Monday evening, December 8, at the corner of Maxwell and Jefferson streets, and elected the following delegates to the convention: S. P. Levenberg, Jos. Kolitz, W. Levenberg, H. Solout, T. Levin, Jacob Lesser was elected organizer and secretary. Other officers, and delegates to the Provisional Central committee will be elected at the next meeting. Members will be notified by postal card.

Ward organization in the Fifth ward was effected at a meeting held at 3791 Wentworth Avenue, Monday evening, December 3. The following officers were elected: Recording Secretary, Jos. Trentz; Financial Secretary, Wm. Figoloh. The delegates to the city convention are J. Trentz, H. A. Williamson, L. E. Larson, W. Figoloh Jr., and C. Wisner. The delegates to the Provisional Central committee are C. A. Gustafson and H. A. Williamson. The next meeting will be held at 3791 Wentworth Avenue (entrance on Twenty-seventh street), Monday evening, December 17. All Socialists in the Fifth ward are urged to attend.

The Socialists of the Eighth Ward met Monday evening, December 2, at Workman's Hall, corner of Twelfth and Wacker streets and perfected a ward organization in pursuance of the call issued by the mass convention of November 18th. The following officers were elected: Organizer, J. Gruder; Recording Secretary, B. Schlesinger; Financial Secretary, A. Sockatoff; Treasurer, I. Levinson. The following delegates were elected to the city convention: I. Levinson, A. Sockatoff, A. Gruder, B. Schlesinger and M. Peter. The delegates to the Provisional Central committee are B. Schlesinger and A. Tofstein. The next meeting of the branch will be held at the above hall, Monday evening, December 10. All Socialists residing in the Eighth ward are invited to attend.

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.

What Communities Lose by the Competitive System

By JACK LONDON

(Reprinted by permission from "THE COSMOPOLITAN.")
(Continued from last week.)

Trade of Commercial Crises.

At one time our forefathers, ignorant of hygiene, sanitation and quarantine, were powerless before the plagues which swept across the earth; yet we, their enlightened descendants, find ourselves impotent in the face of the great social cataclysms known as trade and commercial crises. The crises are peculiarly a modern product—made possible by the specialization of industry and the immense strides which have been taken in the invention of labor-saving machinery, but due, and directly so, to the antagonism of the units which compose society, competent cooperative management could so operate all the implements and institutions of the present industrial civilization, that there need never be a fear of trade or commercial crisis. Boards or departments, scientifically conducted, could ascertain, first, the consuming power of the community; second, its producing power; and then, by an orderly arrangement, adjust these two, one to the other. These boards or departments would have to study all the causes which go to make the community's producing power inconstant—such as failure of crops, droughts, etc.—and so to direct the energy of the community that equilibrium between its production and consumption might still be maintained. And to do this is certainly within the realm of man's achievement.

But instead of this logical arrangement of industry, the community, today, possesses the chaotic system of competitive production. It is a war of producers, also of distributors. Success depends on individual knowledge of just how much and at what cost all others are producing, and of just how much and at what prices they are selling. All the factors which decide the fluctuations of the world's markets or the purchasing power of its peoples, must be taken into account. A war-cloud in the Balkans, a failure of crops in the Argentine, the thoughtless word of a kaiser, or a strike of organized labor, and success or failure, depends on how closely the result of this event have been foreseen. And even then, because of a thousand and one fortuitous happenings, chance plays an important part. Even the footing of the wisest and the surest is precarious. Risk is the secret of gain. Lessen the risk, the gain is lessened; abolish it, and there can be no gain. Individual strives against individual, producing for himself, buying for himself, selling for himself, and keeping his transactions secret. Everybody is in the dark. Each planning, guessing, changing; and because of this, the competitive system of industry, as a whole, may be justly characterized as planless. The effort lost is tremendous, the waste prodigious. A favorable season arrives. Increased orders accelerate production. Times are prosperous. All industries are stimulated. Little heed is taken of the overstocking of the markets, till at last they are flooded with commodities. This is the danger-point. The collapse of a land-boom in Oregon, the failure of a building association in Austria—anything may start the train of destruction. Speculations begin to burst, credits to be called in, there is a rush to realize on commodities produced, prices fall, wages come down, factories close up, and consumption is correspondingly reduced. The interdependence of all forms of industry asserts itself. One branch of trade stops, and those branches dependent upon it, or allied with it, cannot continue. This spreads. Depression grows, failures increase, industry is paralyzed. The crisis has come! And then may be observed the paradoxical spectacle of glittering warehouses and starving multitudes. Then comes the slow and painful recovery of years, then an acceleration of planless production, and then another crisis. This is friction, the inevitable corollary of a disorderly system of production and distribution. And the losses incurred by such friction are incalculable.

Commercial Selection.

The forces of evolution, effecting their ends under various guises, are, after all, one and the same in principle. They are conscious of neither good nor evil, and work blindly. In any given environment they decide which are to survive and which to perish. But the environment they do not question; it is no concern of theirs, for they work only with the material that is. Nor are they to be bribed or deceived. If it be a good environment, they will see to it that the good endure and the race be fitted; if an evil environment, they will select the evil for survival, and degeneration or race deterioration will follow.

In the world primitive, man was almost utterly the creature of his natural environment. Possessing locomotion, he could change the conditions which surrounded him only by removing himself to some other portion of the earth's surface. But man so developed that the time came when he could change his natural environment, not by removing but by forcing upon it. If there were ferocious animals, he destroyed them; pestiferous marshes he drained them. He cleared the ground that he might till it, made roads, built bridges in short, conquered his natural environment. Thus it was that the road-maker and the bridge-builder survived, and those who would make neither roads nor bridges were stamped out.

But today, in all but the most primitive communities, man has conquered his natural environment and become the creature of an artificial environment which he himself has created. Natural selection has seemingly been suspended; in reality, it has taken on new forms. Among these may be noted military and commercial selection. In tribal warfare, in which fighting and fighting are carried on alike by all male members of the community, does not give rise to military selection. This arises only when tribes have united to form the state, and division of labor decides it to be more practicable that part of the community farm all the time, and part of the community fight all the time. Thus is created the standing army and the regular soldier. The stronger, the braver, the more indomitable, are selected to go to the wars, and to die early, without offspring. The weaker are sent to the plow and permitted to perpetuate their kind. As Doctor Jordan has remarked, the best are sent forth, the second-best remain. But it does not stop at this. The best of the second-best are next sent, and the third-best is left. The French peasant of today demonstrates what manner of man is left to the soil after one hundred years or so of military selection. Where are the soldiers of Greece, Sparta and Rome? They lie on countless fields of battle, and with their descendants which are not. The degenerate peoples of those countries are the descendants of those who remained to the soil—"of those who were left," as Doctor Jordan aptly puts it.

Today, however, more especially among ourselves, military selection has waned, but commercial selection has waxed. Those members of the social organism who are successful in the warfare of the units, are the ones selected to survive. Regardless of the real welfare of the race, those individuals who better adapt themselves to the actual environment are permitted to exist and perpetuate themselves. Under the industrial system as at present conducted, in all branches the demand for units is less than is the supply. This renders the unit helpless. Trade is unscrupulous, unscrupulous. The man who succeeds in acquiring wealth, is assured of his own survival and that of his progeny. Much selfishness, and little altruism must be his, and the heritage he passes down; otherwise he will not acquire his wealth, nor his descendants retain theirs, and both he and they will be relegated to the middle class. Here the keenest and usually the more conscientious trader survives. If he be unwise or lenient in his dealings, he will fail and descend to the working class. Conditions here change. The individual who can work most, on least, and bow his head best to the captains of industry, survives. If he cannot do these things well, his place is taken by those who can, and he falls into the slum class. Again conditions change. In the slums, the person who brings with him or is born there with normal morals, etc., cetera, must either yield or be exterminated; for the criminal, the beggar and the thief are best fitted to survive in such an environment and to propagate their kind.

Briefly outlined, this is commercial selection. The individual asserts its claims, to the detriment and injury of the type. It is well known that the intensity of the struggle has increased many fold in the last five decades, and it is self-evident that its intensity must still further and frightfully increase in the next five decades, unless the present system of production and distribution undergoes a modification for the better. Retaining it in its entirety, there are two salutary but at the same time absurd ways of ameliorating things: either kill off half the units, or destroy all the machinery. But this is as temporary as it is unwise. Only a little while and commercial selection would again prevail. Besides, man must go forward; he can neither stop nor turn back. Commercial selection means race prostitution, and if continued, race deterioration. Internal competition must be minimized and industry yield more and more to the cooperative principle. For the good of the present and the future generations, certain rights of the individual must be curtailed or surrendered. Yet this is nothing new to the individual; his whole past is a history of such surrenders.

The old indictment that competitive capital is soulless, still holds good. Altruism and industrial competition are mutually destructive. They cannot exist together. The struggling capitalist who may entertain philanthropic notions concerning the conduct of his business, is illogical, and false to his position and himself, and if he persists he will surely fail. Competitive industry is not concerned with right or wrong; its sole perpetual query is: How may I undersell my competitors? And one answer only is vouchsafed. By producing more cheaply. The capitalist who wishes to keep his head above the tide must scale his labor and raw material as relentlessly as do his business rivals, or even a little more so. There are two ways of scaling raw material: by reducing quality and adulterating; or by forcing the producer to sell more cheaply. But the producer cannot scale nature; there is nothing left for him to do but scale his labor. Altruism is incompatible with business success. This being so, foul air, vile water, poor and adulterated foods, unhealthy factory work, crowding, disease, and all that drags down the physical, mental

and moral tone of the community, are consistent and essential adjuncts of the competitive system.

The Aesthetic Loss.

As being the more striking, the only form of art here considered will be that which appeals to the mind through the eye; but what is said will apply, subject to various modifications, to all other forms of the aesthetic. Art is, at present, enjoyed by a greatly favored but very small portion of the community—the rich and those that are permitted to mingle with them. The poor, lacking not only in time and means but in the training so essential to a just comprehension of the beautiful, and having offered to them only the inferior grades, and because of all this, reacting upon an already harsh environment, live unlovely lives and die without having feasted their souls on the real treasures of life.

And even to the rich and those that cling about their skirts, only fleeting visions may be had of art. Their homes and galleries may be all the soul desired, but the instant they venture on the streets of the city, they have left the realm of beauty for an unsightly dominion, where the utilitarian makes the world hideous and survives, and the idealist is banished or exterminated.

Art, to be truly effective, should be a part and parcel of life, and pervade it in all its interstices. It should be work-a-day as well as idle-day. Full justice should be accorded the artist of the period; to do this the whole community should enjoy, appreciate and understand the work of one who has toiled at creating the beautiful. Nor can this be done till the belly-need is made a subsidiary accompaniment of life, instead of being, as it now is to so many, the sole and all-important aim.

Present-day art may be characterized as a few scattered oases amid a desert of industrial ugliness. Not even among the rich can all refresh themselves at the fountains. The nineteenth-century business man has no time for such. He is the slave of his desk, the genie of the dollar.

The artist exerts himself for a very small audience indeed. The general public never attains a standard of comprehension; it cannot measure his work. It looks upon his wares in the light of curiosities, baubles, luxuries, blind to the fact that they are objects which should conduce to the highest pleasure. And herein great injury is done the artist, and heavy limitations are laid upon him. But so long as "society flourishes by the antagonism of its units," art, in its full, broad scope, will have neither place nor significance; the artist will not receive justice for his travail, nor the people compensation for their labor in the common drudgery of life.

Individuality.

Variety is the essence of progress; its manifestation is the manifestation of individuality. Man advanced to his dominant position among the vertebrates because his "ape-like and probably arboreal ancestors" possessed variety to an unusual degree. And in turn, the races of man possessing the greatest variability advanced to the center of the world-stage, while those possessing the least retreated to the background or to oblivion.

There should be no one type of man. A community in which all men are run in the same mold is, virtually bankrupt, though its strong-boxes be overflowing with the treasures of the world. Such a community can endure only through a process of vegetation; it must remain silent or suffer ignominy. An instance of this is afforded by Spain and her invincible Armada. The Spaniards were not fighting men; so were the English. But the English could also build ships and sail them, cast cannon and shoot them. In short, the English possessed and utilized variety. Spain, through a vicious social selection, had lost the greater part of the variety which was hers in former times. Nor was this loss due to an innate degeneracy of her people, but to her social, political and religious structures.

A people must have some standard by which to measure itself and its individuals; then it must shape its institutions in such manner as will permit its attaining this standard. If the measure of individual worth be HOW MUCH HAVE I MADE? the present competitive system is the best medium by which to gain that end; but under all its guises it will form a certain type—from the factory hand to the millionaire there will be the one stamp of material acquisitiveness. But if the measure be, WHAT HAVE I MADE OF MYSELF? it cannot be attained by the present system. The demand of the belly-need is too strong; the friction too great; individuality is repressed, forced to manifest itself in acquisitiveness and selfishness. And after all, the greatness of a community lies not in the strength of its strong-boxes, nor in the extravagant follies of a few of its members, but in its wisdom, its power for good, and its possibility of realizing in itself the highest and the best. It were well to stand, as Doctor Jordan has said, "for civic ideals, and the greatest of these, that government should make men by giving them freedom to make themselves."

(The end.)

The average politician's sole standard of ethics is to serve the cause that best serves him.

LABOR ITEMS

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

Illinois Steel company has presented its employes with a chunk of prosperity in the shape of a 5 per cent cut in wages.

New York capitalists are organizing a \$25,000,000 Carolina pine trust, the market having been "much demoralized by competition."

Illinois State Federation of Labor convention went on record as opposed to a universal label. There is growing hostility to the plan.

Two thousand workers have been laid off at the Cramps ship yard. The firm refuses to enforce the national eight-hour law, and the trouble is in the nature of the lockout.

In England the capitalists have organized a foremen's union, which they propose to use for their own interests and to keep the workers in subjection. —Cleveland Citizen.

The fable of the killing of the goose which laid the golden eggs has just received an illustration in the greed of British capitalists brewers, who, by careless methods of adulterating beer, have poisoned wholesale the customers from whom they received their profit.

The Austrian idea of indemnifying concerns against strikes is being talked of by eastern capitalists. The plan is to form an organization, and whenever a strike occurs in a concern holding membership therein, to close the same and pay its owners the amount of losses sustained.

"The meek shall inherit the earth." Not by a jugful. They have inherited poverty, hunger and dirt up to the present, and so long as they are meek this will continue to be their portion. Rockefeller and Morgan own a big portion of the earth, but it wasn't acquired through "meekness." —Ex.

Socialism continues to be a tabooed subject in Porto Rico. A number of trade unionists who agitated for collective ownership were sent to prison for from 40 to 60 days each by McKinley's rulers. Pablo Iglesias is in this country attempting to start a paper to expose the outrages that are taking place in the conquered island.

The Chicago Federation of Labor has taken an important step towards class solidarity by inviting colored workmen to join the trades unions. The appeal which it puts forth on this matter shows that union men are beginning to perceive the manner in which racial hatreds and prejudices are being used by the common enemy—the capitalist class.

The Coast Seamen's union recently sent a letter to President McKinley, protesting against the employment of Chinese sailors on United States transport ships. It was promised that the evil would be remedied, but advices from the headquarters of the seamen's union are to the effect that cheap Asiatics still occupy the places on transports across the Pacific, which rightfully belonged to American sailors. —Ex.

The wickedness of organized labor in Chicago has once more given poor, timid "capital" a scare. Several benevolent individuals had been considering the advisability of erecting the "largest automobile factory in the world" within the limits of this city, but on surveying the situation decided that such a proceeding would be nothing less than "commercial suicide." They are therefore reluctantly compelled to look elsewhere for more tractable wage slaves. There is such a tone of injured innocence running through the newspaper reports of this calamity, that the reader gets an impression that the offending union men actually wanted to ride and own the automobile themselves, instead of being properly grateful that they were even permitted to make them.

The so-called National Industrial Trades union, which organized expressly to supplant the Building Trades council of Chicago, has at last seen the errors of its ways and has affiliated with the body which it purposed to destroy. This action seems to have been a sort of boomerang for the Building Contractors' council from which source its expenses were paid during the early period of its existence. It is gratifying to notice that the sense of solidarity amongst Chicago workmen is at last sufficiently strong to render organized scabbery impossible, and this incident gives good ground for believing that the grip of the capitalist classes upon the unions is being gradually weakened, and that the baneful influence of capitalist politics within the ranks of organized labor will next attract the attention of union workmen.

Wasted Energy.

The expense of a trip to the Cape Nome gold coast is approximately \$500. It has been estimated that fully 50,000 men made the trip during the past season. That is to say \$25,000,000 was expended by so many gold-crazed fortune hunters. No better example is needed of the pitiful waste occasioned by modern speculative greed. The men are not responsible; all blame lies with the conditions which make it necessary for a man to acquire a shining baup of gold before he can enjoy the generous blessings that nature intended for him.

Say, comrade, would you not like to be the means of bringing a few voters into the Socialist camp in time for the spring election? If so, take our advice and dispose of a dozen or two of those Workers' Call subscription postals. The sooner the better.

A CAPITALIST ULTIMATUM.

Unions Must Select "Leaders" for the Approval of Employers or Take the Consequences.

In notifying the union men of this city as to its intentions regarding them in the future, the firm of Hibbard, Spencer, Bartlett and company, has supplied organized labor with matter which should cause union workmen to seriously reflect upon the relations existing between capitalist and laborer, as seen from the standpoint of the former, and as Messrs. H. S. B. & Co. have intimated that their attitude upon the question is essentially the same as that of other business firms who contemplate the erection of buildings in the near future, this manifesto may be admitted to represent the general sentiment towards union labor, of those who are compelled to employ it.

It may be observed in the first place that this notification begins by declaring in favor of unions, a trick by which capitalist ultimatums are invariably prefaced now-a-days, but it would seem that the union which finds favor amongst the employers is not exactly the same kind of organization which the men believe to be best suited to their needs.

According to Messrs. H. S. B. & Co. there are many grave defects in the economy of the unions which must be eliminated before it will be possible for that reputable firm to enter into business relations with union men. The "spellbinders" who infest their organizations and who "fill their pockets at the expense of the men whom they profess to represent," are highly objectionable to the moral sense of this pious corporation, and their abolition is insisted on as the first necessary preliminary before any dealing with the unions is possible.

The H. S. B. document then gives a dissertation upon the origin and object of unions, which it is declared were founded for the purpose of protection against the "rapacity of employers who were greedily enriching themselves at the expense of their workmen." This action, which according to the same authority is "highly commendable," is being "frustrated by the 'spellbinders' aforesaid, under whose bondage the workmen are chafing," and it is to rescue the afflicted ones from this galling yoke that the H. S. B. Co. put forth their manifesto.

And when they have freed the victims what then? Why the unions will be at liberty to carry out the "highly commendable" purpose of their being, viz, to "check the rapacity of employers who are greedily enriching themselves at the expense of the workers."

This is a fair deduction from the identical words in the document. Is there any union man so idiotic as to believe that the firm in question really wishes to have this program carried out? Does any union man think that they protest against the alleged robberies perpetrated by the "spellbinders" because they feel any sympathy for the alleged victims? Is it because their sense of honesty is outraged that they pose as champions of the "best interests" of the workmen? Is there any union man so credulous as to imagine that these people wish to arm the unions with increased power to carry out the "highly commendable" purpose for which they were established? We should hardly suppose such to be the case. What then do they really want?

They want unions in which they shall be the dictators instead of the "spellbinders" and "walking delegates." They want unions which are incapable of resistance. They want to be themselves the judges of those elastic terms, a "fair day's work" and a "fair day's wage." They want submissive, subservient, emasculated organizations disguised under the name of unions. They want the shadow of power to remain with the unions; while they utilize the substance. And in these respects they correctly represent the attitude of the class for which they profess to speak.

Against "spellbinders" in the unions they entertain a most lively hatred, but the political "spellbinder," whose business it is to delude the workingmen into voting for capitalist class rule, is looked upon as an exceedingly useful individual, which he undoubtedly is, from their point of view. It all depends in whose interest the "spellbinding" is done. And for this reason the H. S. B. manifesto declares against "lawlessness" upon the part of the unions, and just at this point the most important lesson for workingmen comes to light. The vast majority of workmen have, through their votes, placed the power of the law in the hands of the class with whom they struggle in the economic field. When this power is used against them in the conflict, they must submit, or pay the penalty for "lawlessness."

If the unions are conducted as the capitalist class would desire, they would become absolutely impotent as a check upon "rapacity," and the acknowledged reason for their existence be gone. If they attempt to carry out their "highly commendable" mission, in an effective manner, the law, the creature of their own making, whose powers they have placed in the hands of the "rapacious" ones; intervenes and forbids the action under penalty. There is a contradiction here which can only be resolved through a struggle for the possession of the law-making power.

This struggle must ultimately come. Already some thousands of workingmen have perceived it. Every punishment inflicted for "lawlessness" upon members of labor organizations helps to enlighten the workers upon this truth, and every document issued by their opponents tends to the same end—the recognition of conflicting inter-

ests, known as the class struggle, and its only possible outcome, the economic and political supremacy of the working class.

ODDS AND ENDS.

A Socialist's Comment Upon Some of the Current Topics of the Day.

On Thanksgiving day the Times-Herald reprinted, for the edification of its readers, a cartoon from Harper's Weekly, headed, "Let Us Give Thanks!" It represented Uncle Sam with the large end of a "Horn of Plenty" on his right shoulder. From the mouth of it poured a mixture of the good things of life—filled barrels and boxes and tubs, bags of money, loose coins and loose vegetables. The horn was a long one, and following it to its end brought the eye to the smoking chimneys of the factories in the background of the picture, giving the impression which it was likely intended to convey, that from among the factories came the good things which were dropping from the mouth of the horn. Uncle Sam, thin and bent under the load, is presented with a smile on his face, as if he is well pleased and is about his business. We see the outlines of the factories, the smoking chimneys, the horn trailing from among the buildings until its huge mouth is brought to the foreground, disclosing and emptying its contents, and the man who oversees the job, Uncle Sam. The recipients of the contents of the horn are not represented, but from the twinkle in Uncle Sam's eye we infer that he knows who he is working for, and from the heading "Let Us Give Thanks!" you are at liberty to extract whatever comfort you may, if all depending upon whether you are in the U.S. It is truly a representative capitalist picture.

Is there prosperity? There certainly is. Anyone with his eyes open can see it on all sides—for somebody. And look at the figures representing our exports! They have been something wonderful lately, more than ever before. We are so prosperous that our masters, having taken possession of everything of value over here, are hustling goods over the seas to get the gold with which to purchase the bonds of foreign countries. And the lower the wages paid to the slaves here, the more they can send over. So they are cutting down wages, and of course it shows in the export figures—don't you see? And the money which the foreign rulers get for the bonds is put into armaments and equipments for the soldiery, who are used as an instrument to compel wage slaves of still other countries to submit to the impositions of commercialism. See what a beautiful system of international capitalism our low wages are augmenting!

The Des Moines Globe says that thinking people with large commercial interests have for a long time felt unsafe with the present form of government, and it advocates a constitutional monarchy to be adopted, as "everything is ripe for a change." "Neither is the change to be dreaded nor looked forward to with foreboding. While we are in fact largely under the conditions of a monarchy, we have the evils without the benefits of the same." Has the Globe scented socialism and is this the length it advocates going to in order to put up an issue to draw attention from the "new light"? Capitalism is nearing the last ditch, for if on the other hand this is intended seriously, its inauguration would arouse the "American voter" to come to his senses. For that purpose its speedy adoption would be beneficial.

Hibbard, Spencer, Bartlett and company, in a communication to the capitalist press "appeal to union labor" and at once this press takes sides with the Hibbard, Spencer, Bartlett company. Of course! And altogether they appeal. See how these enemies of union labor stick together to try to induce the union men to betray their class! "Lord, deliver us from our friends"—when they are on the enemy's side! But as the union men at once saw through the scheme, which Hibbard, Spencer, Bartlett and company no doubt anticipated they would be able to, most likely the "dear public" will be influenced by their "fairness," and then the union men will have public opinion against them if they don't toe the mark.

This matter recalls a rumor which emanated from certain victims of the policy of a great hardware house of Chicago. Said house employed a number of office clerks and treats them in the following manner: The "business colleges" of Chicago advertise for students and promise "positions" to graduates. Said house supplies as many positions as it has open from time to time. The graduate student is employed at a "salary" of seven or eight dollars per week with the promise of a "raise" when he has shown himself competent. He works for a year and as the raise has not materialized he timidly approaches his "boss," who tells him that the house is not making money and the interview ends. When he receives his envelope on the next pay day he finds a notice therein that his services are no longer required. His place is then filled by another graduate of the "business college" who is treated in a similar manner. This house benefits by new blood continually and at a wonderfully cheap rate. Oh, the schemes of these devils of the young men and the unions.

However uncertain we may be as to other lines of party conduct it is certain that by spreading socialist literature you help the socialist cause. Send in a club to the Call.

Debate on Tactics

(Continued from page 1.)

is born. It is not born of fakery nor of corruption, but of economic pressure, and the object is to increase wages. Trade unionism is, therefore, an organized effort to keep wages up by strike or boycott. On the one hand is the union, backed by the working class and on the other is the capitalist organization, both representing great power. Wherever power concentrates within the capitalist system, there is a greater or less opportunity for corruption. But this corruption is no more a part of trade unionism than is De Leon's tactics a part of Socialism. It is just as foolish to fight unionism because of a few dishonest men as it would be to fight socialism because of Alliance tactics.

Since unions are born by reason of economic pressure, it is evident that if every union were swept off the face of the earth to-day that the same economic cause would reproduce them tomorrow, 95 per cent of the vast majority of the working class are yet unacquainted with Socialism. It is evident that the union thus reproduced would be exactly like those of to-day. Hence if every union were "smashed" nothing would be gained. But since the working class are not acquainted with the principles of socialism, the union is to them the natural and only method of fighting the capitalist class. For they do not see the class struggle. Hence to fight the union is to attack the only means by which they know how to even temporarily keep up their wages. The "smashing union" policy only arouses their antagonism, stirs up their prejudice and inspires their hatred, and divides the working class into two antagonistic camps.

The same policy had resulted in dividing the S. T. & L. A. in 1898, the S. L. P. in 1899. At the same time such tactics cause the working class to refuse to listen to Socialist appeals because they think Socialists are their enemies. Thus such tactics stand in the way of progress of Socialism. Harriman then showed by quotations from De Leon's paper that members of his own party were actually boring from within, and that the boring within was possible and practicable.

De Leon then took the floor for twenty minutes. He said first of all that every statement of any importance which Harriman had made concerning the cigarmakers' strike was absolutely false. He made a wholesale denial without particular reference to any specific statement. He also said that Harriman and his associates had prostituted themselves to the capitalist class. He referred to the Milwaukee question and to others equally remote. He said that the unions to which Harriman referred were small and insignificant, and exceptions to the rule. He tried in his clumsy way to flatter the audience by saying that Harriman insulted their intelligence by his speech, and the audience responded with laughter, which he did not quite like.

Harriman then took the floor for thirty minutes and said: "You have said, Mr. De Leon that I have lied concerning the facts in the cigarmakers' strike, and that I had prostituted myself to the capitalist class."

He would not accuse De Leon of lying, but he would let the facts talk. "Mr. De Leon says in his People that they have a contract with Davis & Co. to the end that their shop will be an Alliance shop for two years. The Alliance men join in the position for an injunction against the cigarmakers' union, wherein they state that they are being interfered with as they go to and from their work. Davis states in his affidavit in the same petition that he has paid large sums of money for new hands, and that the union pickets are interfering with them. Now, since Davis admits that he has paid large sums of money for new hands and that the union is interfering with them, and since your Alliance men swear that they are the men who are being interfered with, and since you claim to have the two years' contract, it is pertinent to ask, 'How much did you get for job?'"

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Third Ward—2701 Wentworth Ave., Monday, December 2nd, 8 p. m.
Fourth Ward—3553 Armour Ave., December 12, 8 p. m.
Fifth Ward—2701 Wentworth Ave., Monday, December 2nd, 8 p. m.
Sixth Ward—3693 Honore street, December 5, 8 p. m.
Seventh Ward—Parquet Hall, Maxwell and Jefferson street, Monday, December 2nd, 8 p. m.
Eighth Ward—Workmen's Hall, Walden and Twelfth, Monday, December 2nd, 8 p. m.
Ninth Ward—Pulasky's Hall, 800 S. Ashland Ave., Saturday, December 5th, 8 p. m.
Tenth Ward—418 W 24th street, December 7, 8 p. m.
Eleventh Ward—306 Gilpin place, near Loomis, Sunday, December 9th, 2:30 p. m.
Twelfth Ward—1603 W. Madison St., December 9, 2:30 p. m.
Thirteenth Ward—Aqua Para Hall, 1025 W. Lake street, near Campbell avenue, Saturday, December 6th, 8 p. m.
Fourteenth Ward—374 N. Ashland avenue, December 3, 10 a. m.
Fifteenth Ward—Wendel's Hall, 1304 Milwaukee avenue, Wednesday, December 11th, 8 p. m.
Sixteenth Ward—Walsh's Hall, 484 Noble street, Friday, December 7th, 8 p. m.
Seventeenth Ward—140 N. Union street, Saturday, December 6th, 8 p. m.
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Nineteenth Ward—Hull House, December 11, 8 p. m.
Twentieth Ward—Meier's Hall, 536 N. Halsted, Monday, December 10th, 8 p. m.
Twenty-first Ward—Garfield Turner Hall, 477 Larabee, Friday, December 7, 8 p. m.
Twenty-second Ward—Union Hall, 250 Larabee street, Monday, December 10, 8 p. m.
Twenty-third Ward—308 N. Franklin street, December 8th, 8 p. m.
Twenty-fourth Ward—59 N. Clark street, room 4, Friday, December 7th, 8 p. m.
Twenty-fifth Ward—59 Sheffield avenue, Saturday, December 8th, 8 p. m.
Twenty-sixth Ward—Hall at northwest corner Belmont and Southport, Wednesday, December 5th, 8 p. m.
Twenty-seventh Ward—Almira Turner Hall, Sunday, December 9th, 3 p. m.
Twenty-eighth Ward—Lincoln's Hall, northeast corner Forty-eighth and Lake, Monday, December 11th, 8 p. m.
Twenty-ninth Ward—457 Wentworth avenue, December 9th, 3 p. m.
Thirtieth Ward—Lindquist's Hall, Sixty-first and Morgan, Friday, December 7th, 8 p. m.
Thirty-first Ward—Ulhorn's Hall, Sixty-third and Conlar, Saturday, December 8th, 8 p. m.
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Thirty-third Ward—Eigemann's Hall, Ninety-third and South Chicago avenue, Sunday, December 9th, 3 p. m.
Thirty-fourth Ward—Fussey's Hall, corner Seventy-fifth and Drexel avenue, Grand Crossing, Sunday, December 9th, 2:30 p. m.
Thirty-fifth Ward—319 Central avenue, December 8th, 8 p. m.

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Taft, 7919 Escanaba Ave. THIRTY-FOURTH WARD, 1136 S. 2nd and Michigan Aves., every 2d and 4th Wednesday at 8 p. m.; Sec. G. F. Dennis, 11437 Perry Ave. THIRTY-FOURTH WARD No. 2; Sec. M. L. Kauber, 656 Drexel Ave. POLISH BRANCHES POLISH CENTRAL COMMITTEE meets every Monday at 484-486 Noble St., 8 p. m.; Sec. A. J. Borkowski, 709 W. 21st St. SIXTH WARD (Lithuanian) meets 1st Thursday of each month at a corner 33rd and Morgan Sts. NINTH WARD meets every Saturday at 809 S. Ashland Ave. (Pulaski's Hall), 8 p. m. FIFTIETH WARD meets 1st and 3rd Saturdays each month, at cor. Levee and Hamburg Sts. Sobleski's Hall. SIXTIETH WARD meets every 1st and 3rd Friday 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 Fleck. LADIES SOCIALIST BRANCH, meets 1st and 3rd Sundays each month at 603 N. Paulina (Comrade Odalaki's home), 8 p. m.; Sec. M. Tylicki, 709 W. 21st St. SOCIALIST CARTOONS AND COMMENTS BY FRED D. WARREN. Workers' Call, Chicago: "This is a series of clever criticisms of present society, illustrated by cartoons which are decidedly bright in their point of view." Freedom, Equality, Washington: "The cartoons are comical, but forcibly illustrate the benefits of the co-operative system as compared with the competitive." The New Light, Port Angeles, Washington: "Should be in the hands of every laboring man in the United States." PRICE 5 CENTS. WARREN BROS., Publishers RICH HILL, MO.