

THE WORKERS' CALL.

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

VOL. 1, NO. 6

CHICAGO, ILL., APRIL 15, 1899.

PRICE ONE CENT.

STEEL TRUST

The Wide Spread Influence of Newly Perfected Combine.

IT IS TRULY A TRUST OF TRUSTS

An Unbroken Chain of Monopoly From the Mine to the Rolling Mill Encircling the Entire Industrial System of the United States.

"Upon the best of advice it may be said that by the first of next week at the latest, will see the gigantic rolling mill trust just organized under the name of the Republic Iron and Steel company in full operation. The Iron Trade Review, referring to the matter, says: 'The capital is \$55,000,000, of which \$25,000,000 is 7 per cent preferred and \$30,000,000 common stock. The capitalization was fully and promptly subscribed by the rolling mill interests involved and by the underwriting syndicate in New York.' 'The yearly capacity of the combined mills in finished material, chiefly bar iron and steel, is about 1,000,000 tons. An important development in connection with the plans of the new company is in the securing of an ore supply. It is understood that the Franklin mine on the Mesaba range, owned by Frank Rockefeller, has been acquired, and that the Atlantic mine on the Gogebic range is also under option.

'Twenty nine rolling-mill plants besides ore properties and furnaces, have been acquired. It is probable that six or eight other mills will be acquired later. The headquarters will be in Chicago, it now seems certain, though some idea was entertained of Cleveland for a time. 'It is stated that the cash working capital of the new company will be \$5,000,000 and that all plants be taken over free of debt. Of the preferred stock \$1,500,000 and of the common stock \$3,000,000 remains in the treasury. The prospectus estimates profits of \$3,500,000 on the properties thus far taken.'—Daily News.

Ordinarily we do not consider it worth our while to spend much space in commenting on the formation of trusts or new combinations of capital. The tendency is so evident that we can take it for granted, although we have a right, as socialists, to occasionally say, "we told you so," and to point out that when capitalist political economists were talking about "natural monopolies," and "constant, increasing and diminishing returns," the socialists had long called attention to the inevitable tendency to concentration and showed that competition moved on with absolute certainty to monopoly.

But the trust described above has many things of importance in connection with it that render it but a cog in the greatest mechanism the capitalism of this age has produced.

It is but one of the steps that will place the interests of this country, and particularly those of Chicago in the grip of the man who has done more to simplify industry and bring in the dawn of better things than any other man in this country—John D. Rockefeller. Not that we are ascribing any benevolent motives to Mr. Rockefeller or think of perpetuating his reign. We realize that he is moved by the only reasonable motive for a man to act under—intelligent self-interest, and also that he is infinitely more apt to further the general welfare when inspired by such a motive than when acting in accordance with so-called "benevolent" motives.

There are some characteristics about this monopoly that command admiration for the tremendous scope of its conception. The steel pool referred to above is but one link in a long chain every part of which seems of impregnable strength.

In the first place the mines from which the ore is to be obtained in Minnesota are peculiar. The ore is a loose shale and lies directly on top of the ground; to "mine" it it is only necessary to construct a railroad track into any particular locality and then run a monster steam shovel out and fill the cars direct from the "mines." The cost of securing the ore is thus ridiculously low—having been variously estimated at from ten to thirty cents a ton.

The next step in the process was the building of a railroad with rails of tremendous weight and other equipment in proportion to carry this ore to the lake ports. Then followed the building of mammoth steel ore cars with a capacity of 110,000 pounds each. Concerning these cars The Chicago Record of Dec. 9th, 1897, says:

"Among the advantages claimed for the steel cars are lightness of construction, thus allowing more cars to be hauled; nominal cost for maintenance; average life of probably fifty years, against fourteen years for wooden cars; can be built for same cost per ton carrying capacity; fewer

cars required for a given load; trains much shorter, hence take up less terminal and track room and require less help to handle; cannot be burned.

"Experiments have already been made on seven representative roads, which show that the average train-load of paying freight is about 57 tons or about 25 per cent of the entire weight hauled. It is claimed that a train of thirty steel cars of 100,000 pounds capacity would carry 1,500 tons of paying freight with a dead weight of 510 tons, thus making the paying freight carried about 75 per cent of the total tonnage hauled."

Mark you the strength of the chain. So far the cost of raw product is lower than anywhere else in the world. The next step was to secure great docking facilities at various lake ports so as to avoid dockage charges and also as a step toward the final object, to be shown later.

Then came the building of the great fleet of steel steamers, first securing the patents to make sure of the monopoly. The Chicago Record of May 1st, 1898, says that "the vessels have cheapened lake transportation 50 per cent over the old steamers." But it must be remembered that this cheapening power has been used continuously to strengthen the monopoly. These boats were used almost exclusively in the coal and ore carrying trade. Now it will be seen that from the mine up to this point an impregnable wall of cheapness, the most potent force known to capitalism, has surrounded the Rockefeller interests in the steel line.

Now comes the formation of this steel trust described above and the chain is completed. From start to finish the scheme is the perfection of capitalist organization. The power of such a chain is almost inconceivable. In this "age of steel" it means that its possessor has the key to the entire capitalist system. Against such a combination how puny appears anti-trust laws, and "step-by-step" schemes for nationalization.

Well might Rosewell P. Flower say in a late interview on the stability of trusts: "Take the case of Federal Steel. What reason can possibly be alleged against its continued prosperity? With abundant capital, owning the mines from which its raw material is drawn and the water and rail lines of transportation by which it is taken to the mills, it possesses all the elements that make for prosperity."

But what does this chain we have traced inclose? One of the things that we have seen it gather within its folds is the traffic of the great lakes. What this means is hard to conceive for one whose commercial calculations are limited to figuring how to support a family on a dollar and a half a day. It means a monopoly larger than that of all the railroads in this country combined. It means a half score of states and a multitude of cities with their millions of people laid under a tribute more exacting than any ever gathered by medieval lord from his subject lands and serfs.

It means the power to manipulate the prices of goods in an hundred markets at the bidding of the trust owners. It means a marvelous accumulation of wealth rolling up like a snowball and constantly calling for investment; and like as this last combination was the child of the Standard oil so it must, whether its owners wish or not, give birth in turn to ever larger and larger combinations, until all shall be gathered in the grasp of one great combination with but a single head to amputate when the proletariat shall conclude to "expropriate the expropriators."

Economy of Combination.

The following from the annual report of the Knickerbocker Ice company is of interest as showing the savings of combination:

"On April 1, last year there were sixty-seven ice houses from which ice was being taken. This was gradually cut down to twenty-two plants being operated at one time, which saved enormously in shrinkage. It is probable that during the coming season the ice can be successfully loaded at not more than fourteen plants, being in operation at one time, moving train loads as far as possible, the saving in covering, shrinking and incidentals by this method being very large.

For the month of March the cost of distribution of this company was 81 cents a ton less than that shown for the same month last year by the data of one of the then largest companies."

It has recently been proposed that all the various penal and charitable institutions of the state be brought together in one colony for economy of administration. The Chicago Tribune points out that they would make a good-sized city, with a value in buildings and plant of over \$12,000,000 and a population of inmates alone of over 13,000, and covering a space at the present time of over 3,000 acres. Incidentally it would make a terrible object lesson of the results of capitalism.

SOUTH PEORIA

Call to the Intelligence of the Workers of South Peoria.

CLEAR STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

Demands in the Interest of the Laborers—Work for Unemployed—Better School Privileges—Efficient Inspection of Factories—Reasons Why the Workers Should Vote the S. L. P. Ticket.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY, SOUTH PEORIA, ILL.

Village Ticket.

Village President—Chas. Kirk.
Clerk—Franzes Nace.
Trustee—John Lang.
Trustee—John Bekle.
Trustee—Bernard Meier.

Municipal Platform.

Workingmen—Consider the value of your vote. Election day is at hand. Think before you vote. The Socialist Labor Party of the Village of South Peoria declares its unflinching allegiance to the principles set forth in the national platform of the party. Its nominees for the several offices to be filled at the municipal election of April 18th, 1899, are pledged to the support of the following principles:

First—We demand the formation of a charter that shall embody the principles of the initiative and referendum, and direct responsibility of all officers to their constituents—a real self government.

Second—We demand that the village obtain possession of all the water, gas and electric light plants, and all the industries requiring municipal franchises. Such industries shall be carried on co-operatively by the employees, under control of the city government, the employees electing their own superior officers, and no employee to be discharged for political reasons.

Third—We demand that the village shall establish free dispensaries where medicines and attendance may be obtained by those in need.

Fourth—We demand that the full power of the village shall be exercised in providing employment for those unemployed persons who have resided in South Peoria for one year.

Fifth—Since the working class needs all possible knowledge and training, we therefore, imperatively demand that no pains be spared in giving thorough, free universal, education in the public schools. That the laws against child labor be strictly enforced. That provision be made for feeding and clothing school children, when necessary, and that school books be furnished free to all.

Sixth—We demand that political economy be taught in all public schools.

Seventh—We demand that the contract system in public works be entirely abolished and all work done by the village; eight hours to constitute a day's work, and in no case shall less than \$2 per day be paid; that men and women receive equal pay for equal work.

Eighth—We demand that the factories, tenement houses, business blocks and public buildings be subjected to rigid inspection periodically, and such sanitary improvements as are necessary to the public health to be compelled from the owners of the premises.

These are our immediate demands, the first step toward the realization of the socialist commonwealth, in which each worker shall enjoy the full fruit of his labor. To them we pledge our support, and we call on you to aid in carrying them into effect. Show your independence, your manhood, your intelligence and your class sympathy and register a protest against this capitalist exploitation by casting your vote with the only party of, by and for the working class—the Socialist Labor Party.

Rock Island.

The machinists and metal polishers in the United States arsenal at Rock Island have been on strike since April 5th. They have recently been cultivating capitalist politicians to secure their demands. Here would seem to be a place where "politics and wages" were quite closely connected and where government ownership did not bring the millennium. There have been some interesting developments, but the report was received too late for this issue. Next week we shall have a complete review of the situation with a discussion of the points at issue.

A REVIEW

A Call to Chicago Workers to Use Their Reason.

REASON, NOT PREJUDICE, TO GUIDE

A Calm Resume of the Alleged Arguments Offered to the Laborers During the Campaign Just Past—Socialist Labor Party Votes Only Ones Not Thrown Away.

Now that the smoke of battle has died away and there is time for sober thought we who uphold the banner of socialism are ready to begin our campaign. So long as socialists appeal to reason and not to prejudice, and argue instead of rant, their most effective propaganda can never be carried on just at the time when capitalism is dividing the spoils. Experience in capitalistic politics has shown that at no time during the year are men moved as little by sane reasoning as just before an election. It is a sorry fact that a campaign of education cannot yet compete with a campaign of demagogery. The existence of capitalism rests largely upon this fact. Were votes to be gained through appeals to the intellect the capitalist would be in a bad way.

In order that this fact should be made plainer to you, my reader, I want to ask that you govern with me in a clear dispassionate way the campaign and election that has just passed. Just imagine for the moment that you had no interest in this transaction—that you are a resident of another city. If it so chances that you are in fact such a resident then apply what I have to say to the last election that took place in your town, only changing the names and local allusions, and you will find that all capitalist elections are alike and the lesson will not go amiss.

To begin with now ask yourself what was the issue between Harrison, Carter and Altgeld, over which you got so excited one week ago. It was not municipal ownership, for they all alike declared for this and none of them could have given it had they so intended.

The actual material interests that were back of the different parties were pointed out so often in this paper prior to election that I shall now only call your attention to the different arguments that were made, the ideas that were put forth, and the individuals that were prominent on each side in the hope that they may somehow reflect the actual interests that lay beneath. And if these appear childish and silly do not blame me for wasting time upon them until you are sure you were not yourself going crazy over them a couple of weeks ago.

To begin with the successful candidate: The mainstay of the argument for Harrison was that he was a very negative virtue at the best and a poor excuse to give to hundreds of thousands of workingmen as a reason for their votes in his favor. But as a matter of fact if you will really stop to think you will see that there is really no fight between Harrison and Yerkes. Harrison openly offers the street car companies a twenty-year franchise with a compensation clause. Now just stop and look at the development of public thought regarding monopolies for the last few years and figure out how much any franchise will be worth in twenty years, no matter what its terms nominally are or how long the wording claimed to give it life.

A look at Harrison's backers is also interesting. He was supported by the plutocracy and the slums. The Lake Shore drive and the levee joined hands, and J. V. Farwell, Emmanuel Mandel, W. D. Kerfoot and Andrew McNally walked in lock-step with "Hinky Dink," "Bath House John" and the poor degraded and besotted criminals of the lodging house and the dive. This state of affairs is the natural one and always exists. The "slum proletariat" is always reactionary and clings in cringing subservency to the plutocracy and lives upon its contemptuously flung crumbs, for which they dearly pay by voting themselves and the entire laboring class into bondage with each recurring election. Tammany is made up of Fifth Avenue magnates as well as bowery toughs—its Perry Belmonts and its Boss Crokers.

Zina Carter had perhaps even poorer excuses to offer for existence. There had to be two parties in the field or else the harmony of capital-

ist interests would be too apparent. The Republican machine was in existence. Its organization was compelled to put up a fight, and so a candidate was nominated and the voters informed that the destinies of the city hung in the balance between Carter and Harrison.

That they were wholly without any reasonable arguments is shown by their falling back upon the "good man" racket and parading the fact of Carter's humble birth while keeping carefully in the background his present position upon the board of trade. They also issued a sheet purporting to be an organ of the Irish Americans in order to play upon race prejudice and offset the efforts of the Harrison men in the same direction. Not content with this argument (?) they sought to utilize the public schools and drag its management still deeper into the dirty mire of capitalistic politics than at present by publishing a paper purporting to be an educational organ, and gotten up in form and style to imitate such organs, containing a fierce attack upon a text book published by a certain "business man" who was actively supporting Harrison. In this move they were joined by the Altgeld forces, the paper advising those who were Democrats and would not vote for Carter to cast their ballot for Altgeld. This taken in connection with the Inter Ocean's impartial support of Carter and Altgeld and numerous other similar features shows plainly that the connection between Altgeld and Carter was closer than is usual even between capitalist parties.

This brings us to a consideration of the Altgeld movement—the one party for whom it is claimed that they were not capitalistic but were inspired by great "moral" motives. Now that the excitement of the campaign is over and the Altgeld balloon has collapsed will you be willing to look that movement over in the calm light of reason and see what grounds there were for supporting it.

First as to the sincerity of the movement. Until some power shall be given to look beyond the deeds of men, into the secret springs of action that lie behind, all talk as to motives must be uncertain. But I will simply put the evidence before you and you shall be the judge.

In the first place the campaign was built upon a lie. Altgeld knew and everyone of intelligence should have known that no action toward municipalization could be taken for nearly four years without a tremendous expenditure for purchase money which no one anticipated. What then of the sincerity of a movement built on such a basic falsehood? Then the men who came into his ranks, the support he received openly by Yerkes, and most significant of all, his foolish promises of hope to a perishing class of small capitalists, whom he must have known were destined to speedy economic destruction, all marked the movement as that of a demagogue and political trickster who was, like all the others, seeking merely to divide the ranks of the workers and perpetuate their suffering.

Throughout the campaign there was but one party that really offered an issue—that stood for a principle—that championed justice—that opposed oppression—that stood in clear-cut opposition to all other parties as a representative of the producers—the great body of laborers and opposed to capitalist interests, and improbable as it may sound now the 1,100 votes polled for the S. L. P. ticket meant more than all the thousands cast for Harrison, Carter and Altgeld. They were the only workingmen's votes that were not "thrown away." They are the first shots along the line that testify to the presence of the advance guard of that mighty army of workers that are today gathering beneath the banner of socialism in every land that feels the burden of capitalistic oppression and is a prophesy of the now rapidly approaching time when those mighty forces shall be locked in the final struggle that is to end in the overthrow of all that is meant by that term capitalism.

The misfortune is that when the collapse of the overcapitalized trust comes it will ruin the outside investors and not the men who have worked the mischief. The inside ring keeps the preferred stock for itself and unloads the common stock upon the public. At the first breath of disaster the common stock will drop like lead, while if there is any vitality in the enterprise the preferred stock may not suffer. The shrewd organizers are planning to get out from under and to be in a safe place with their profits when the crash comes.—Chicago Tribune.

Exactly so, and every smash will but serve to wipe out another swarm of little competitors and leave the consolidation all the stronger.

A sample copy invites you to subscribe.

ALTGELDISM

The Last Solemn Rites Around the Dead Cause.

A FINAL YELP OF BLIND DESPAIR

Meeting at Altgeld Headquarters Election Night—Preparations for Rejoicing Turned to Mourning—Contempt for Laborers Freely Shown—Billingsgate for Harrison.

When the returns began to come in last Tuesday night there was a scene in the Altgeld headquarters that should have been photo- and phonographed and set to music for the edification of the workers of Chicago. The followers of the "municipal ownership" candidate had gathered to celebrate their expected victory. The calcium lights were already purchased and their lungs and vocal chords prepared for action. But when the vote began to come in the jubilate was changed to a requiem and the celebration to a funeral service.

The first to speak was Albert Johnson. Under the inspiration furnished by long study of Henry George's bombastic oratory he soared to heights untouched, and affirmed that "the God-fetted destiny of the Altgeld movement came to the front and though snowed under at the polls still lived in the hearts of men who had the only hope of the laborers at heart."

It has been a pretty sure sign throughout history that when a man talked of "destiny" and attempted to show that he was being aided by the Almighty, that it was time to watch him. Religious phrases have ever been the cloak from beneath which the scoundrel has sought to advance his own purposes, and this middle class bunch of reformers seeking to save their already decomposing economic carcasses from utter destruction are no exception. Besides such phrases do not go well with a movement backed by "Mike" McInerney, "Smooth" Ed. Cullerton and the Inter Ocean.

The second speaker, whose name we were unable to get, showed a more comprehensive grasp [of the situation. After announcing that he was an American for 250 years back (for which America is not to blame and should not be too severely judged), he said: "As far as we are concerned this problem cannot be solved by the ballot; our only hope is the bullet and the bayonet." Perfectly correct my small capitalist friend. Your class is already in a hopeless minority and growing smaller every day and the number of laborers you can bamboozle into buying your "gold bricks" is growing beautifully less with each succeeding election. Whether you will accomplish anything more with your "bayonets and bullets," seeing that all these latter are owned by the large capitalists and used by the laborers is somewhat doubtful but your utterance at least shows that you recognize the desperation of your situation and we shall hereafter expect to find you on the front seat with John Most and Lucy Parsons advocating the "propaganda of the deed."

By this time the meeting was prepared for "any old thing," and they got it. By this time the returns had reached a point where the feelings of the Altgeldites were hard to express. But the right man for the place was found! Leo Richardson wanted the rostrum and after inquiring if there were any reporters present, declared that Harrison was a ————!!! and the leader of a gang of the ———— and the creature of the ————. We refrain from printing further lest the Health Department should demand the disinfection of the paper before allowing it to circulate. He then paid his respects to Mark Hanna, the plutocrats and the trusts in language that reeked of the levee. Then he turned his attention to the laborers and referred to them as a lot of "dinner pail pigs and pups," because they would not use their suffrage to save his poor dying desperate class of little bargain-driving shop-keepers for a few years more.

His billingsgate and vituperation was but the expression of the terrible straits that his class is in as the pressure of plutocracy grows heavier. Too blind to see that their actual interests as individuals belong with the workers whom they despise, they cling in snobbish ignorance to the sinking ship of their own class-consciousness and alternately howl at their plutocratic oppressors whom they envy even while they are crushed, and curse the laborers whom they secretly hate even while they whine for the proletarian vote, without which they well know they have no hope.

THE WORKERS' CALL

Entered every Saturday, at 36 N. Clark St., Chicago, Ill.

Subscription Rates. One year \$3.00, Six months \$2.00, Three months \$1.00.

Advertisements. A limited number of acceptable advertisements will be inserted.

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

The Chicago Tribune comments editorially on the terrible famine that is at present prevailing in Russia as follows:

A. M. SIMONS, Editor.

The Socialist Vote.

Table showing Socialist vote in United States from 1890 to 1898.

Copies sold last week 2,360.

THE ELECTION.

What are the lessons for the comrades of the Socialist Labor party to learn from the election we have just been through?

It might be slightly encouraging to such weak-kneed comrades as measure strength by votes counted to call attention to the fact that, as always happens, our vote was to a large extent counted out.

At Belleville we elected an alderman and increased our vote many fold. In all the other towns comes the story of large increases.

But the thing that we as socialists should draw from this election is the need of a better understanding of the underlying principles of socialism.

That crowd of so-called "socialists" and Utopians, on the contrary, whose economic oracle is Beljamy and whose idea of socialism was an overgrown postoffice, fell head-over-heels into Altdemism and thought to achieve "one step in advance" and get "something right off" by voting to place the street railways in the possession of a capitalist municipality and to strengthen the power of a class whose very existence constitutes one of the greatest obstacles to the advance of socialism.

Never were the peculiarities of "American socialism" better shown. Never was the need of narrow tactics and broad education better exemplified than in the past election.

economic development will not stop for ignorant workers, and the trust, combine and perfected machine is rushing on at a tremendous rate to the destruction of competition and enslavement of the laborer, unless these powers are seized and used by him for his own interests.

The Chicago Tribune comments editorially on the terrible famine that is at present prevailing in Russia as follows:

"The famine-stricken Russia stretches practically from the Ural Mountains on the east nearly to Moscow on the West, with a breadth of nearly ten degrees of latitude. A month ago the peasantry were reduced to a kind of gruel and bread, made of a small amount of wheat mixed with chopped straw and bran.

Yet Russia is the greatest competitor the United States has in the wheat markets of the world, and these starving peasants raise the wheat. Here is a situation besides which Spain's administration of Cuba was a benevolent paternalism.

And now the Municipal Ownership League have joined hands with the colony rump of the Debsite movement and propose to go "into the co-operative business on as large a scale as the capital the league may be able to secure in Chicago will allow."

Don't forget! Ten thousand copies of one paper, "The Workers' Call," MUST be circulated in Chicago before the leaves fall.

In the little pamphlet issued by the Maccabees, a beneficiary society, appears a paragraph that is enough in itself to condemn the present system, and yet the fact it contains is used not alone by the Maccabees but all other similar orders to catch more members, and incidentally, continue the present system indefinitely.

The "purity women" of Cincinnati are working up a crusade against posters of women in tights. Incidentally they are also kicking against the city controlling and "hoarding" houses of ill-fame.

Owing to the active agitation of the Socialists in and out of the Reichstag in Germany the Emperor has formally withdrawn the bill providing imprisonment for strikers who persuaded other men from taking their places.

SNAP SHOTS BY THE WAYSIDE.

A new recruit for socialism. Dick Croker, ex thug and Tammany boss, has come out for municipal gas. Let Fabian and sentimental socialists fall upon each other's neck and weep.

Union printers who voted for Harrison must feel elated over the victory gained by them and Victor F. Lawson, publisher of the Daily News and Record, which papers organized labor would boycott were it not illegal.

It is reported that the co-operative colony at Ruskin, Tenn., is about to dissolve. We Socialists have always held that colonization schemes were inevitably doomed to failure.

The election is over. The S. L. P. agitators will get to work again. Workingmen will gather around them and approve the doctrines of Socialism on the lines of the S. L. P.

Sam Jones, who has been re-elected mayor of Toledo on an independent ticket, and who has been loudly proclaimed by the capitalist press as an avowed "Socialist," is willing to run on the McKinley-Hanna ticket for governor if he can secure the nomination.

We will guarantee that the reform council will outdo all its predecessors. It will be strictly business. It will grant franchises, and, considering that street railway profits are six millions a year, a goodly sum can be paid and our Spartan mayor will sign these franchises to emphasize his declaration that "the streets belong to the people."

After the campaign of '94, the vote cast by the working class in protest, was made use of by the corrupt People's party leaders to higggle and bargain so long as they could get on the official ballot, to the distress of the class-conscious workmen who had helped to swell that vote.

Municipal "Economy."

The Chicago Tribune apparently understands that municipalization and municipalization of public utilities, so-called, might mean two different things as its utterances affirm the question of municipal gas, in its issue of the 11th inst. shows:

"The Scotch city has honest, trained officials, who manage the gas works about as well as a private corporation would. There is a scarcity of such officials in New York and Chicago. When Philadelphia was running its own gas works the laborers were paid \$1.75 a day by order of the council, when the current rate of wages was \$1.25. That meant a NEEDLESS YEARLY OUTLAY OF \$275,000."

The Tribune is apprehensive, as you see, lest American cities might not prove to be as effective fleecers of the workers as Glasgow. To convince you that its fear on this point is not wholly groundless it cites the horrible example of Philadelphia, where the laborers were paid \$1.75 per day when the current rate of wages was \$1.25, and it assures you that "no Glasgow council would do such a thing."

lute minimum, is likely to be indulged in, you can count on it as a powerful ally in the g-r-r-eat cause of municipal ownership.

MR. LEX, OR THE LEGAL STATUS OF MOTHER AND CHILD.

This work bears particular weight from the fact that it is the product of a practical lawyer—one thoroughly conversant with all points of her subject.

It consists of a discussion told in the form of fiction for "greater vividness" of the legal position of mother and child, each point being borne out by citations from statutes and actual court decisions in the state of Illinois.

Of the next point—the private management of the family—it is made plain that the tyrannical power of the father, if he chose to exercise it, is unlimited. "The authority to govern must rest in some one and the law has placed that power in the hands of the father as the head of the family."

The faultiness of the law concerning the wages of minors is next plainly exposed. The father, if he is living, being the only one who can collect such wages. In case of a step father his right to the earnings takes precedence of the mother's, right and only with certain exceptions.

With its full importance the injustice of the laws concerning illegitimacy are enlarged on. But just past her fourteenth birthday a girl is legally condemned old enough to consent to her own mind, and unless it can be proven that physical force was used the law is of no avail to punish the real offender except possibly to compel him to contribute the small sum of \$50, at the highest, for the support of her child, and no father is obliged to support an illegitimate child except to the extent of this allowance.

The child in turn can inherit nothing from its father, and finally; when it has reached the age of ten years, on the plea of the mother's unsuitableness, the father may claim the custody of the child and along with this may collect all wages while it is a minor.

Other points have been forcibly brought out, for instance, "because the father is the child's natural guardian and prima facie entitled to custody" he may at pleasure take an infant from its mother, and if she seeks to remove her child she may be found guilty of abduction.

Regarding the support of the family the law seems to have piled one inconsistency on another. If an article purchased by the mother for the family can be proven not to come under a family expense, is for personal adornment, etc., the father is not obliged to pay for such; again he may refuse on the plea that he being the legal guardian did not purchase it or authorize such purchase.

The author shows these laws to be the outgrowth of a period when woman confined and mentally narrowed, was incapable of assuming equal part in the family. That they still exist on the statute books is a relic of the Dark Ages.

"Mrs. Lex, like nine-tenths of the women in the United States, did all her own work and had no wages. Without money she was powerless to carry out her own wishes. Women must have some financial resources before they can ever stand equal to their husbands in the control of their children."

Did you throw away your vote?

Germany.

A gentleman in the confidence of the emperor has stated to the correspondent of the Associated Press that the reason why the emperor refuses to recognize the new mayor, Kirschner, of Berlin, is that he proposes a re-arrangement of the province of Berlin so that the city will have no power of self-government left.

In the election for the Reichstag which has just taken place in the second district, the well-known socialist Fischer, was elected. This district was formerly represented by a member of the "Freethinkers" party.—Freie Presse.

New York society, what with the drunkenness of many of its most prominent men and the filthy tongues of some of its best known young matrons, is becoming a muckheap of nastiness. A few years ago New York society was strait-laced to the point of provincialism.

And these are the ones through whose marvelous powers of management our industries are directed. They are the "fittest to survive," the result of "natural selection," the product of the "struggle for survival."

State Election Items.

Belleville reports polling the following vote in the election of April 4th:

Mayor, H. F. Zerweck, 279 votes; treasurer, Wm. Jansen, 206; assessor, Ed. Krumrich, 211; alderman 1st ward, H. Berger, 43; 2nd ward, Ernst Hever, 15; 3rd ward, Wm. Lam, 169; 4th ward, Wm. Warner, 68; 7th ward, Bruno Bueckert, 34.

Peoria raises her vote from 82 to 197—an increase of over 100 per cent since last November.

Report of State Committee.

The Illinois state committee met at 48 W. Randolph St. April 8th with Comrade Klentke in the chair. Absent, Morris Charter application of Joliet was endorsed.

Income for last four weeks \$35.80, Expenses for last four weeks 47.87. Peter Damm, State Organizer.

Hickey's Tour in Illinois.

Freeburg, April 14—15. Belleville, April 16—17—18. Lenz Station, April 19. O'Fallon, April 20. East St. Louis, April 21. Alton, April 22. Glen Carbon, April 23. Collinsville, April 24.

Copies of Edwin Markham's wonderful poem, "The Man With a Hoe," are now for sale at the office of "The Workers' Call," at the following rates, postpaid: Three for five cents, 25 for 10 cents, and 100 for 25 cents.

Don't forget to ask those you work with to subscribe to The Workers' Call. Your grocer, butcher and baker might be persuaded to subscribe if you demonstrate to them that it will be to their interest to do so.

The attention of all members of the Publishing Association is called to the fact that the second installment on stock is now due and the comrades are urged to be prompt in their payments.

The meetings of the Association are held at 48 W. Randolph St. the first and third Tuesday evenings of each month, at 7:00 p.m. All members are earnestly requested to be present.

The Central Committee will meet Tuesday April 18th. Delegates will please bring in the vote of their branches on the different propositions submitted to a referendum vote.

Notice.

The Publishing Association of The Workers' Call will hold a meeting Tuesday evening, April 18th, at 48 W. Randolph street. Every member should make it a point to be present as there is important business to be transacted.

Notice for Outdoor Meetings.

Hurrah! for this fine weather. It is the weather that we socialists were looking for and now it is here. The comrades should see to it immediately that their branch takes part in the open air agitation.

There will be a meeting at 642 Grand Ave. Sunday, April 15th at 2:45 p.m. The usual meeting will be held at 173 Wells St. next Sunday at 2:45 p.m. Good speakers will be present.

Ready Made Panic.

Last Friday there was a crash in stocks on the board of trade and "trust stocks," especially took a tumble. All sorts of explanations are offered by the capitalist press for the diminutive panic that swept over the market but the true explanation is found in the statement of the board that

"The host of speculators with small means who have been pyramiding their winnings for a week or more and watching their paper profits in the new industrial securities grow larger from day to day found themselves without the means to secure money to meet the calls for liberal margins their brokers made at the close of the slump of the previous day and were forced to liquidate at any obtainable price yesterday morning."

Some of the little fellows who had not yet learned that "prosperity" is exclusively for the plutocracy had to be held up and their spare change shaken out of their pockets. It was just a preliminary warning of what we may expect in a couple of years or less when consolidation has run its course and it becomes necessary to completely kill off the little fish.

"The public was hard hit. Of that there is no doubt, and it is said that for two weeks the insiders have been unloading their holdings, knowing that the crash was bound to come. This left the stocks, so far as the public was concerned, very weak.

Let the good work go on. It will make socialists faster than any method of direct propaganda yet discovered and will hasten the "expropriation of the expropriators."

All Chicago comrades having bicycles are invited to join the Socialist Bicycle and Propaganda Club. For further information address, Jos. Keidel, 812 35th St.

"From a source the reliability of which cannot be questioned it was ascertained yesterday that Philip D. Armour, the Chicago beef king, is making strenuous efforts to absorb the glue business of the entire country. The American Glue company, a combination formed three years ago, controls about one-third of the present output. Mr. Armour had made an offer in spot cash for the company's entire business. The company is considering the offer, and, so the report goes, will probably accept."

This is but one of the many forms in which the "subsidiary industry" development tends to increase a monopoly once formed.

Holland.

A by-election has taken place at Veendam, Holland, and the Socialist candidate, Schapper, has been elected to the Dutch Parliament by a vote of 1,307 votes against 1,426 recorded for the liberal candidate. The victory was not expected, as it is little more than a year ago that the Social-Democratic candidate obtained only 435 votes.—London Justice.

The Fifth Ward branch will begin its open air propaganda next Sunday afternoon at 3:30 o'clock at 33rd St. and Wentworth Ave.

WOMAN

Her Place in the Social Question of Today Defined.

NO SEPARATE WOMAN QUESTION

Her Struggle at One With the Laborer—History of Her Position in Past Society and Review of Present Relations.

MRS. MAY WOOD SIMONS.

It is a fact that will not now admit of a dispute that the present social movement is a proletarian movement. It finds its expression in the efforts of the laboring class to bring into being a form of society founded in the interests of that class.

It recognizes the existence of a ruling body whose continuance depends solely on the stability of the present industrial system, and further it asserts that the strength of this body arises from their monopolization of the means necessary for human well-being. The laborer owning none of the great instruments of production is in complete dependence on the possessors of these for the privilege to work, and hence the means to live.

It becomes true, therefore, that, since these two, employer and employe, are opposite in their interests at this economic point under discussion, that no relation can exist between them that will ever mean justice and equality of opportunity to the exploited class.

This movement is wider than nations, and includes the laborer wherever the wage slave is found. Japan, but a few years old in capitalist industry, having not yet destroyed all the old "domestic workers," is already struggling with its labor problem, while the latest American colonial possessions have thus soon felt the weight of capitalistic rule.

This present class movement has come to be consciously conducted. Says J. S. Cairnes: "A time arrives in the progress of social development when societies of men become conscious of a corporate existence, and when the improvement of the conditions of this existence become for them an object of conscious and deliberate effort."

Such a time has been reached in the laboring class, and they are class-consciously seeking to direct society in its industrial evolution.

The laborers believe their movement to be in accord with the development of society, and its aim will find realization in that organization of industry which is the inevitable outgrowth of the present.

Following the course of social progress from the early part of the 18th century, the mercantile system is found still prevailing in the dealings of nations. Along with this were to be seen the small hand manufacturers jealously guarding their particular trade. In economic history this is known as the "domestic system." Each little cottage was a factory in which man was the principle producer—the woman assisting only in the minor processes. The producer was also his own master and controller of his tools and the material on which he worked.

The close of the century marks the great inventions, the rise of the factories, and a change of policy to that of laissez faire. Side by side with this came the passing of the small masters into wage earners, and the removal of the tools from the users to the owners of factories.

With increasing growth and concentration of industry the wage-earners grew to such proportions that before the first half of the present century had passed, Carl Marx, having foreseen already much of the trend of social development, was calling the laboring men to unite.

To the last quarter of this century has been reserved the final feature in the growth of the present industrial order. The corporation, trust and monopoly mark the latest phase of concentrated capital.

Accompanying this is a great body of workers shut out from the instruments of production, or using them only with the consent of those who have become their owners and securing for their labor but a part of what they produce.

Of the remainder Lester F. Ward, in his "Psychic Factors of Civilization," says: "The rest finds its way into the hands of a comparatively few, usually nonproducing individuals, whom the usages and laws of all countries permit to claim that they own the very sources of all wealth and the right to allow or forbid its production."

Workingmen, seeking for years to meet the power of the employer and make terms with him through trade unions, have at last recognized that, so long as the privilege to obtain access to the means to work lies entirely in the hands of a class to whose interest it is to exploit the worker, nothing but a complete change of the

system can bring the liberation of the proletariat.

Furthermore, they realize that it must be through their own ballot that this shall be accomplished. Says Lester F. Ward again: "The true solution of the great social problem of this age is to be found in the ultimate establishment of a genuine people's government." The proletarian movement, tracing thus the course of events, looks for this people's government—meaning by the people the producers—as the next stage in society. This is to come through a struggle of the classes, the abolition of private property in the means of production, and their transfer to the hands of the users.

The agent in this transformation will be the workingman himself. He alone has his liberation to gain. He only can see clearly the interest of his class.

Concerning this Carl Marx wrote: "The emancipation of the working class must be achieved by the working class itself, and, therefore, involves a class struggle, which on the side of the workers is not for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and duties and the abolition of all class rule."

Having thus stated the social question, the thinking woman should see that this movement is of vital interest to her, and that her place is not far to seek.

As this is essentially an economic movement, we must first ascertain woman's industrial status. At present she is occupying in the commercial world the position of the "downmost man." This capitalistic system that finds a source of strength in the great body of unemployed men, who make the strike of small avail, has reached out to the women and children to yet further increase the competition for labor.

Improved machinery, requiring only a guiding power without great physical strength, has made her in the view of capitalism an extremely valuable economic factor, from the fact that she can be compelled to accept a lower minimum wage than man.

The minimum wages of all labor being determined by the subsistence point—that is, the smallest amount on which, in a given social stage, man will live and perpetuate his kind, it is taken for granted by the employer that this must be higher for man than for woman. Man's wages must include the support of wife and child. Woman, whether true or not, is looked upon as having no dependants on her work, and from her known ability to live more cheaply than man, is marked as the lowest of the laborers.

The following statistics prove this point. Analysis show that out of 762 instances, in which men and women are performing the same work, in the same occupation with equal efficiency, men receive greater pay in 595 cases, or 77 per cent. Women receive greater pay in but 129 cases, or 17 per cent. Further investigation shows woman's average wage to be about \$5.00 per week, while many receive but \$1.00 or \$1.50.

Having thus far, with few exceptions, met the combined power of capitalism singly, she is the weakest factor in the industrial field. Woman is far from a good trade unionist. It has been pointed out that this is in a measure due to her prejudice, unwillingness to tell her wages, and still further to her general individualistic nature. Every day, however, the effectiveness of trades unions for women grows less. In Lancashire, England, the one place where women have entered unions on the same basis as men and where her wages are the same as those of men, the cause of this inequality is not due to unionism. Unions can be effective only where the supply of labor is limited. If the position of a body of workers can be filled by others waiting for it, the power of combinations of men to obtain anything through strikes or demand any terms from capital is slight.

Machinery has become so far automatic that without great inconvenience to the owners many industries can be entirely refilled with unskilled labor in a short time. The supply of male labor is practically unlimited, except in a few of the highest skilled trades, and, since man moves freely from one place to another in search of work, the employer can always fill the place of discontented men with new workers. For this reason, even among men, unions often prove of little assistance.

About the Lancashire cotton mills the supply of female labor is limited. All the women in the immediate vicinity available are employed. Woman is not like man a migratory being, and a family seldom moves in order to find employment for the women. Due to this fact the supply has not been increased from outside, competition for labor has not begun, among the women of Lancashire, and hence unionism has been a success. This, however, is a most unusual condition and could not often be found, since the supply of female labor usually exceeds the demand.

At once the conclusion is forced

upon us that capitalism does not recognize sex—that woman's position is not all traceable to her sex. The same laws of competition, over-supply, etc., hold with the laborer whether man or woman.

Says John A. Hobson, in his "Evolution of Modern Capitalism": "It is not difference of sex which is the chief factor in determining the industrial position of woman. Machinery knows neither sex nor age, but chooses the labor embodied in man, woman or child which is the cheapest in relation to the degree of its efficiency."

Again, if woman is not actively engaged in the industries, she is still a dependant. The wife or daughter of a laboring man must look to him for her livelihood. This places her in a double relation to the system—the dependant of a wage-slave of this capitalistic society.

A further step in woman's industrial evolution opened when married women began to recruit extensively the labor field. Until recently the working women have been entitled to be called the "working girls." The majority began work at 15 years, and the average age of all was less than 23. At present 13 out of every 100 women in the labor world are women with families.

In our competitive regime, in which humanity counts for so little, the laboring woman should be quick to perceive the effect produced on the home and children by the manner in which she engages in present industry. In no way belittling the effect on the home, let us notice the question of health. The general health is deteriorated. The reports of labor on "Working Women in Large Cities" show that out of every 100 women interviewed who entered work in good health 11, at the time of the investigation, were in bad health. Making all due allowance for other causes, much of this is traceable to the long hours required of them, often in small, ill ventilated rooms, especially among the women who take work to their homes. All this, however, does not take into account the great number that every year are compelled to drop out of the industrial ranks through complete loss of health. Again, this affecting the children born to these women, means a lower standard of health for the coming generation.

Of the vast number of working women, over 3,000,000 in the United States, it is found, according to the report of the commissioner of labor, that one out of every three are living in houses that are classed by the report as "very poor," while one out of every ten are working in shops designated as "neglected and unhealthful."

Having proven the fact that capitalism is no respecter of sex, but exploits man and woman alike, it is seen that certain causes have operated to make woman weak in the struggle for existence. She cannot meet man on his own plane. This is due to her dependence on him for the means to live. Her husband, as a wage earner, is dependent on his employer for subsistence, and, due to the same economic conditions, aggravated by social institutions and relations, she is, in turn, an economic dependant upon him.

But further it is found that changes have arisen in her nature, resulting almost solely from economic conditions. Tracing her historically, she is seen to occupy the position of an inferior. Savagery and barbarism gave birth and slowly developed her economic dependence. Support for herself and her children became more concentrated in man. Civilization has brought this to full growth.

In a state of savagery, woman, strong physically, journeyed with the men on their trips and provided food and clothing for herself and offspring. As the human race advanced into barbarism, she became less the companion of man, but still procured much of her own food.

With later barbarism life grew more settled, herds and flocks were kept. These new conditions resulted in woman's finding still more of her material support in man. Civilization made her a secluded being and no longer his physical equal. Further, she became entirely dependent on him for subsistence.

Morgan, in his "Ancient Society," says of the Greek woman: "Abundant evidence appears in the Homeric poems that woman had few rights men were bound to respect." The virtuous women were doomed to a life of absolute seclusion. Turning next to the Roman family, he says: "The condition of woman was more favorable, but her subordination the same."

Lecky, in his "History of European Morals," points out that the Roman matron had at one time gained political equality, but this was soon lost through economic dependence. Life to woman of the patrician class meant at this time no useful toil, even the care of her children being almost wholly undertaken by slaves. During the later Roman empire, there being no middle class, we see woman occupying one of two positions, either an appendage to a degraded manhood, economically dependent on him, or a slave dependent on a master.

Here we take note of an occasional exception, one who rose above sur-

roundings, as in all society, but this in no way effects the accuracy of the statements as we are following the great body of women, not the incomparably few.

It was only with the beginning of the English industrial revolution that her pure economic value became utilized. Our present century has changed for a vast number of women—economic dependence from husband or father to employer, and made her problem more evidently the same as that of the laboring man.

Lack of physical strength barred her from extensively competing in industry before the present century. Perfected machinery has been the great material force in the growth of capitalistic organization of society. It has made a woman's productive power the equal of that of many men and is in this sense labor-saving.

The inventions of science have thus proved, with society organized as at present, the means in the hands of a class for reducing the laborer to a condition of slavery. Only with machinery in the possession of the users can its benefits become general, and the term "labor-saving" mean other than a frightful reality to the worker.

The condition thus historically contracted stands in the relation of cause to a psychological effect. Biology shows that the parent mother primarily stood at the head of any race as bearing and rearing the young of her kind. Hence woman is not inferior in function in the human family, neither was she originally physically or mentally so. Environment has constituted the cause of her psychological inferiority. It has been pointed out that the motive force of society lies in the desires or feelings, and that the guiding power is found in the intellect. Woman's surroundings have been such as to develop a vast amount of feeling. Intellect, however, has not kept pace with this increase of feeling, and the social force is found, without a well-developed directing power.

All this operates to make woman weak in the social struggle. We find woman's work mostly characterized by a certain personal element. She engages in the social work that she sees most closely affecting family or neighborhood, or the immediate future, or that draws on her sympathy, following it with little reasoning foresight of results. Her view is scarce ever broad enough to reach beyond the interests of her own vicinity, seldom to unborn generations. When advocating a cause, almost invariably it is the men and women engaged in it that appeal to her more strongly than the object for which the cause stands. In fact, she is sometimes found cherishing a movement whose principles she has never heard because the men leading it enlist her sympathy.

Work done thus far by women has been in the nature of a sex reform. It has been an effort to change a little here and there, while remaining under the old system. Like municipal ownership, eight-hour legislation, etc., so agitation for equal wages, and equal taxation, have sought to alleviate present conditions, not recognizing the fact that so long as the means of life remain in the hands of another class, reform may follow reform, and the subject class never be liberated.

That woman's economic equality is not imaginable without political rights is indisputable. However, many advocates of woman's suffrage but see in part. They look only for a sex emancipation and fail to perceive that the present workingman has a vote, but that his condition is not that which the well-being of man demands, because thus far he has not used his vote for the interests of his class. So woman with political power would be equally oppressed, unless aware of the fact that her vote must bring about an industrial revolution that would likewise give her economic freedom.

The present social movement stands for a condition in which classes on an economic basis cannot exist. It does not demand especial privileges for the laborer—only equal opportunity for all. Under the existing order there are two alternatives for woman. She may, through marriage, become a dependant on a laborer, or she may enter the industrial world and compete with men. In either case, the root of her emancipation is found in an economic change. With the industrial field organized on a co-operative basis, production carried on for use and not for exchange, economic freedom secured to every individual, the marriage state would lose its dependence, and the working woman with the working man gain equality.

Woman has an active part in this proletarian movement. She is still unlearned in social matters. Even our higher education has given her little conception of the present step in industrial evolution, and she failed to take her part in the guiding of this development.

But history proves that to make freedom such, indeed, it must be gained by a class or people so far conscious of their place, and intelligent as to work for it themselves. Negro free-

dom has lost much of its benefits to the colored man from this very fact. In an article in "Die Neue Zeit" by Dr. Lehmann on Die Frau vor der Wissenschaft it says:

"The man shall make woman free? And improve the morals of customs? The master lift up the slave and create the idea of equality? Such has never been the course of history, and it will not be this time. In any case, women will not wait for it and they do well not to. Further, they will demand not only mental but likewise physical freedom of development, since sound intelligence, as well as all scientific knowledge, has taught that the two belong inseparably together."

This, however, must be no sex movement alone. The economic equality of woman can be accomplished only through the economic liberation of the working class.

Many of our working women far behind the body of working men have not a glimmer that a social question exists. This movement emphasizes the preparation of the workers to take an intelligent part in the so-operative commonwealth. The measure of the advance of civilization or society lies not in the culture or education of a class or sex, in the number or completeness of material inventions, or in the equality with which these things are distributed and within the reach of all. The claim sometimes heard that equalization of woman with man politically and economically would be detrimental to her performing the function of mother in the race, and is unnecessary for the advance of society, can no longer be considered by the fair minded or intelligent.

Society's standard is set by its "downmost man" and this place is now occupied by woman.

Italy.

The following is an extract from a letter to the New York Vorwärts by Camrader Enrico Ferri, the famous criminologist and socialist representative in the Italian parliament.

The three laws demanded by the government are: (1) the abolition of the right of union, assemblage and coalition, and freedom of the press; (2) the military organization of the railroad as well as the postoffice and telegraph employees; (3) retroactive criminal legislation. The laws against the freedom of the press have particularly raised a cry of indignation and urgent protest throughout the country. Under the excuse of preventing "abuses" of the press they propose to take preventive measures of the worst sort.

A twice condemned paper, and condemnation is easily secured in these days, must observe caution and submit itself to the supervision of the police, who have the right to take away any number before its appearance for circulation and also to wholly suppress the paper. This means not only the abolition of the freedom of the press but the abolition of all independence on the part of that portion of the press that is seeking to remove political and social evils.

Just as fundamental are the laws regarding the freedom of union, assemblage and organization. The laws of exception are declared permanent and the caprice of the police raised to the position of law. The police have the right to dissolve any union, whether it be political, trade, or even scientific, that appears to them suspicious, and to confiscate their goods in the name of the sacred right of property. The laborers and officials of the public industries—railroads, postoffices, etc., are entirely deprived of the rights of union and may not even enter into a union should they be in the service of a private individual.

Even this is not enough. The laborers and officers in such industries shall be organized under the military law that insists on blind obedience with the severest penalties.

A strike will be treated the same as rebellion in time of war, and the taking part in any strike by the railroad, postoffice and telegraph employees will be punished the same as desertion. This monstrous paragraph, that would scarcely dare be suggested in any other land is a constituent part of the law of exception of July, 1898. Now it is sought to make it a permanent statute of the land.

The law relative to retroactive punishment of criminals, hides under the cloak of "necessary protection of society against dangerous criminals." It provides for the sending of lawbreakers to certain designated places where they shall be under the strictest supervision, and also provides for deportation to the African criminal colonies for a term of ten years.

In actual practice this system of transportation and banishment to designated places is only a continuation of the domicilio coatto—the compulsory residence—whose injustice was recognized even by Pelloux himself, in that he abolished the colony of Assab, whose unwilling inhabitants without exception rapidly starved to death shortly after arrival.

The law providing for retroactive punishment of criminals applies also to political criminals. To be sure this is nowhere stated—in fact it is

expressly provided that it shall apply to only common criminals. But under "common criminals" are included, by definition, those who "glorify lawbreaking," "attempt to arouse the classes against each other," or "further revolutionary uprisings." Those are titles under which anyone desiring can bring every socialist or republican newspaper article or proposition. In fact most of the criminal judgments against political offenses in the last few years have been founded upon just such clauses in the laws. If this law should pass the government could within a week or a month be able to send back to Africa the majority of those whom the amnesty has returned to their homes.

These three demands constitute a judicial coup d'etat, a coup d'etat in legal form. They make our constitution, the famous "chart of Italian liberties," to be mere empty letters and a horrible mockery. Accordingly our party has united in the legislature with the radical Left, the Republicans, and some of the Liberals, and even a few Conservatives to oppose this legislation. In spite of all this they have been advanced to a second reading. If they will finally be passed is now the question. The Pelloux ministry already smells of the grave so that it is possible that the senate will dare to let a government measure fail. If it went according to the wish of the Conservatives these laws would be pressed through and then their application used to overthrow the Bellou ministry that in spite of its reactionary attitude is not agreeable to its subordinate members.

It is certain that no old parliamentary party has the stuff in it with which to save Italy. The Socialists alone comprehend the situation and they are gagged. Yet they are the center around which alone the opposition can crystallize, which alone are in a position to lead the struggle against the capitalist class.

Upon the one side is a part of the capitalist bourgeoisie—the commercial, industrial and agrarian bourgeoisie—who lead the battle; upon the other side is that portion of the bourgeoisie who have been exploited and impoverished by the capitalist militarist and tax-system. A long continuance of present conditions is impossible. The strongest rope breaks at last and I fear that the criminal foolishness of our reactionary Utopians, will hinder this sound development and bring a catastrophe upon us. May the future show my fears to be without foundation.

International Competition.

Now the Missouri legislature has joined the Illinois one in the introduction of a bill to promote trusts—both being arranged so that the majority stock holders are not compelled to even nominally consult the smaller ones before joining a combination. This goes to show that the capitalist class have about given up the "anti-trust" cry and are now going to turn "socialists" and preach the right of combination.

In this connection the testimony of F. H. Thurber, president of the United States Export Association, before the industrial commission is of interest. After pointing out the benefits of trusts in reducing price, and indulging in some wild and ridiculous assertions about their beneficial effects upon the laborers, he made the statement that "We were a nation of 75,000,000 people, with a producing power of 150,000,000, and trusts were necessary that we might keep the people employed by reaching out for foreign markets."

There is a world of truth in those words for the laborers of America to ponder over. With a productive power of double our population (and truth is it is much more), we are continually driven to scour the seas for outlets for our products, while those who produce them are starving and freezing for need of the things we are trying to get rid of.

Another point brought out is the influence of the international market on concentration. In the markets of the world the most efficiently organized industry wins. Whether a nation will or not it must organize its industry in the most effective manner possible or be driven out of these markets. Furthermore, it is manifestly impossible for a multitude of little firms to successfully enter into foreign trade. It is only the great trust that can conform to the exacting conditions there demanded, and as the market grows wider the smaller firms grow more helpless. Thus all things work together to greater concentration and toward the better things that lie beyond it.

And now the farmers have formed a wheat trust. The Times Herald says that over 200 Kansas farmers have united in a bonded agreement to hold the May wheat for a rise, and to sell only on the orders of the trust. Now, if the Debsite farmer plank was in effect to assist them in this laudable effort, the laborer's loaf might take a rise. As it is, the days of this trust are numbered.

They were all socialists before election but things are different now.

"State Socialism."

The Chicago Chronicle of the 5th inst. commenting on the recent election reasons as follows:

"Of all the elections held last Monday that in Toledo undoubtedly possesses the greatest significance. The victory of Mayor Jones by a clear majority over the candidates of both the regular parties cannot be dismissed as an accident or as due purely to local conditions. It is clearly and unmistakably the triumph of an issue which must hereafter be reckoned with in American politics—municipal, state and national. State socialism—still in a nascent stage, perhaps—is growing in favor with the American electorate. Politicians who fail to recognize its growth may prepare for defeat."

"It is idle to ignore a fact which is quite as patent in Chicago as in Toledo, though in a less accentuated form. In 1887 Robert Nelson ran for mayor as a socialist and received a vote which was insignificant in comparison with the total."

"Twelve years elapse. Yesterday every one of the three candidates for mayor appealed to the voters for support upon substantially the same platform adopted by Nelson. Harrison, Carter and Altgeld proclaimed their devotion, to the principle of state socialism as involved in municipal ownership of the street railroads. Not one of them could have got 1,000 votes if that declaration had been omitted. In other words, there has been a revolution—not partial, but overwhelming—in the sentiments of the Chicago electorate. The municipal ownership of street railroads is the logical prelude to the acceptance of the doctrine that all natural monopolies should be appropriated to the use of the people—not to the profit of private owners."

The result in Toledo is more significant than the result in Chicago, because in Toledo there was an opposition to the socialist candidate. In Chicago all the candidates were, by their own declaration, socialists. All accepted the fundamental doctrine that the municipality—or the state or the nation—may acquire and operate certain public utilities. Bellamy contended for nothing more. Hence in Chicago the result was the triumph of one socialist candidate over two other socialist candidates. In Toledo the victory was one of the socialist over all the forces that conservatism could bring against him."

"The question is an important one. The people of Toledo, as well as those of Detroit and of Chicago, have had a taste of socialism. They may not recognize it under that name. Indeed, many of those who are loudest in their demands for municipal ownership would probably deny with emphasis that they are socialists. They don't like the name, which they associate with shaggy beards, unkempt heads and beer saloon conferences. But in spite of their repudiation of the appellation socialism is the word which stands for the doctrines unmistakably approved in Toledo last Monday and in Chicago yesterday. The bugaboo of 1887 has become the shibboleth of 1899."

"The fact is pregnant with significance for the campaign of 1900. The trusts and monopolies, as well as the politicians of both parties, will need all their address to control, if they cannot suppress, this new and powerful factor in politics."

The above is an example of a popular fallacy, or rather of a shrewd use of the existence of such a fallacy, and as such will bear a short examination. The key to the whole matter lies in the tacit confusion between socialism and "state socialism." As we have explained in these columns there is no connection between so-called "state socialism" and socialism save that the former indie the attainment of a certain stage in social development in which capital entrenches itself directly within the governmental organs that it controls instead of hiding behind them as heretofore."

The sentence "The municipal ownership of street railroads is the logical prelude to the acceptance of the doctrine that all natural monopolies should be appropriated to the use of the people—not to the profit of private owners, is about as shrewd a combination of half-truths, whole falsehoods, poor economics, weak reasoning, and good capitalist politics as could well be contained in so few words."

In the first place socialists recognize no such distinctions as that implied in the expression "natural monopolies," but holds that all industry tends naturally to monopoly. Second, municipal ownership, is not appropriation "by the people," but by the capitalist government."

The next paragraph occurs a statement that in some degree accounts for the muddled condition regarding socialism. It says concerning the situation here, "Bellamy contended for nothing more." So long as "Bellamyism" is confounded with socialism, we may expect such editorials as that above."

Socialist Labor Party

OF THE

United States.

PLATFORM.

The Socialist Labor Party of the United States, in Convention assembled, re-asserts the inalienable rights of all men to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

With the founders of the American republic we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of this right; but in the light of our social conditions we hold, furthermore, that no such right can be exercised under a system of economic inequality, essentially destructive of life, of liberty and of happiness.

With the founders of this republic we hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be owned and controlled by the whole people; but in the light of our industrial development we hold, furthermore, that the true theory of economics is that the machinery of production must likewise belong to the people in common.

To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economics is the direct opposite of our democratic system of politics can plainly be traced the existence of a privileged class, the corruption of government by that class, the alienation of public property, public franchises and public functions to that class, and the abject dependence of the mightiest of nations upon that class.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party once more enters its protest. Once more it reiterates its fundamental declaration that private property in the natural sources of production and in the instruments of labor is the obvious cause of all economic servitude and political dependence.

Human power and natural forces are thus wasted, that the plutocracy may rule.

Ignorance and misery, with all their concomitant evils, are perpetuated, that the people may be kept in bondage.

Science and invention are diverted from their humane purpose to the enslavement of women and children.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party once more enters its protest. Once more it reiterates its fundamental declaration that private property in the natural sources of production and in the instruments of labor is the obvious cause of all economic servitude and political dependence.

The time is fast coming when, in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalistic combinations on the other hand, shall have worked out its own downfall.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of the United States, and upon all other honest citizens, to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a class-conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them by taking possession of the public powers; so that, held together by an indomitable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, we may put a summary end to that barbarous struggle by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

To intelligently assert the interests of his class and secure their just dues. It is not true by any means that "in Chicago all the candidates were socialists." There was but one set of socialist candidates on the ticket and that was those enrolled beneath the name Socialist Labor Party.

We would be very glad indeed if "those who are loudest in their demands for municipal ownership" would keep on denying that they are socialists. But they will not. Socialism has become a word to conjure with and they will not let us go.

The last sentence we will say amen to with all the emphasis possible, but the socialism that will demand all the resources of the politicians and the trusts and monopolies, will not be the diluted capitalism of so-called "state socialism," but will be the international proletarian movement of the world.

Authorized Agents.

The following comrades are duly authorized agents for The Workers' Call and are entitled to receive money for subscriptions and advertisements.

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IMMEDIATE DEMANDS.

With a view to immediate improvement in the condition of labor we present the following demands:

1. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production.
2. The United States shall obtain possession of the railroads, canals, telegraphs, telephones and all other means of public transportation and communication; the employees to operate the same co-operatively under the control of the Federal government and to elect their own superior officers, but no employee shall be discharged for political reasons.
3. The municipalities shall obtain possession of the local railroads, ferries, water works, gas works, electric plants and all industries requiring municipal franchises; the employees to operate the same co-operatively under the control of the municipal administration and to elect their own superior officers, but no employees shall be discharged for political reasons.
4. The public lands declared inalienable. Revocation of all and grants to corporations or individuals, the conditions of which have not been complied with.
5. The United States to have the exclusive right to issue money.
6. Congressional legislation providing for the scientific management of forests and waterways, and prohibiting the waste of the natural resources of the country.
7. Inventions to be free to all; the inventors to be remunerated by the nation.
8. Progressive income tax and tax on inheritances; the smaller incomes to be exempt.
9. School education of all children under fourteen years of age to be compulsory, gratuitous and accessible to all by public assistance in meals, clothing, books, etc., where necessary.
10. Repeal of all pauper, tramp, conspiracy and sumptuary laws. Unfettered right of combination.
11. Prohibition of the employment of children of school age and the employment of female labor in occupations detrimental to health or morality. Abolition of the convict labor system.
12. Employment of the unemployed by the public authorities (county, city, state and nation).
13. All wages to be paid in lawful money of the United States. Equalization of woman's wages with those of men where equal service is performed.
14. Laws for the protection of life and limb in all occupations, and an efficient employers' liability law.
15. The people to have the right to propose laws and vote upon all measures of importance, according to the referendum principle.
16. Abolition of the veto power of the executive (national, state and municipal) wherever it exists.
17. Abolition of the United States Senate and all upper legislative chambers.
18. Municipal self-government.
19. Direct vote and secret ballots in all elections. Universal and equal right of suffrage without regard to color, creed or sex. Election days to be legal holidays. The principle of proportional representation to be introduced.
20. All public officers to be subject to recall by their respective constituencies.
21. Uniform civil and criminal law throughout the United States. Administration of justice to be free of charge. Abolition of capital punishment.

BOOK LIST.

General Works on Socialism.

- Any of the following books may be had by addressing The Workers' Call, 36 N. Clark St.
- Sombart—Socialism and the Social Movement of the Nineteenth Century..... \$1.50
 - Schaeffle—Quintessence of Socialism, paper 15c..... 1.00
 - Hyndman—Economics of Socialism..... 1.20
 - Marx—Capital..... 1.75
 - Dawson—German Socialism and Ferdinand La Salle..... 1.00
 - Fabian Essays, paper 25c; cloth..... 1.00
 - Ely—French and German Socialism, paper 25c; cloth..... .75
 - Blatchford—Merrie England..... .10
 - Marx and Engels—Communist Manifesto of 1847..... .10
 - Socialistic Almanac..... .50
 - Vall—Modern Socialism..... .25
 - McClure—Socialism..... .10
 - Engels—Socialism from Utopia to Science..... .05

HISTORICAL WORKS.

- Hobson—Evolution of Modern Capitalism..... \$1.25
- Toyubee—Industrial Revolution, paper, 60c; cloth..... 1.00
- Gibbins—Industrial History of England..... 1.20
- Rogers—Six Centuries of Work and Wages, paper, 25c; cloth..... 1.00
- Marx—Revolution and Counter Revolution..... 1.00
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- Letourneau—Property, Its Origin and Development..... 1.25
- Bax—History of the Paris Commune..... .25
- Benham—History of the Commune of 1871..... .25
- Lissagary—History of the Commune of 1871..... 1.00

PAMPHLET LITERATURE.

- Five cents each unless otherwise stated.
- Kautsky—The Proletariat.
 - The Capitalist Class.
 - The Class Struggle.
 - The Co-operative Commonwealth.
 - DeLeon—What Means This Strike? Reform or Revolution.
 - LaSalle—What Is Capital?
 - Joyne—Socialist Catechism.
 - Harriman and Maguire—Single Tax vs. Socialism.
 - Kropotkin—An Appeal to the Young.

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS.

- Ward, L. F.—Outlines of Sociology..... \$2.00

Platform of Socialist Labor Party.

Chicago Municipal Campaign of 1899.

The Socialist Labor Party of Chicago, by its delegates in convention assembled, declares its adherence to the principles set forth in the national party platform.

We hold that the present miserable condition of the working class of Chicago, as well as of the rest of the capitalist world, with compulsory idleness, uncertainty of employment, and small portion of his product received by the laborers when permitted by the capitalists to work, is caused by the private ownership of the means of production and distribution by the capitalist class.

We, therefore, pledge our nominees, if elected, to immediately comply with the following demands:

(On Preamble)—The worker cannot produce unless he can get the tools—the machines, mines, land and factories. He cannot live unless he does so produce. But all such instruments are owned by the capitalist class, who buy labor power to operate them. Labor-saving machinery, constantly throwing men out of work, makes a body of unemployed who will work for just enough to keep them alive. But the capitalist will pay no laborer more than he is obliged to. Therefore, the tendency is to pay just enough to support life, the remainder going to the capitalist as profit.

Plank 1—The city shall furnish employment to all unemployed citizens by the establishment of public works to be operated co-operatively under the control of the municipality.

(On First Demand)—The unemployed are created by capitalism and are necessary to its life. So long as the laborer is paid but a small part of what he produces he cannot buy back the whole product, so there is always an over-production. The continual progress of invention, constantly throwing men to seek work which cannot be supplied them under capitalism. But this army is absolutely unnecessary to the existence of our present society. If there were no unemployed to take their places the laborer could easily demand and obtain by a strike the whole produce of their labor. The "army of the unemployed" is far more effectual than the state militia or United States troops to keep the workers in subjection. No capitalist party dares to advocate its abolition. Therefore, we may rest assured that however much of our platform may be copied by so-called "reform" parties to catch votes, they will let this portion severely alone. That we are making no Utopian demand, or holding out impossible hopes to the laborer, is shown by the fact that in hundreds of cities throughout the world where the Socialists are in power, one prominent feature of their work is the operation of municipal undertakings for the benefit of the unemployed.

Plank 2—We demand the municipalization of all public means of transportation, lighting and communication, the same to be operated co-operatively under the control of the municipality, the services to be furnished at cost to all, with wages of all employees as high as are paid for similar services by any private employers, and eight hours to constitute a day's work, save in the most laborious and disagreeable forms, where the hours shall be still further proportionally shortened.

Second Demand—Municipalization.—The Socialists seek in all middle class reform movements toward municipalization only a shifting of exploitation from the capitalist corporation to the capitalist municipality. He sees in such action only an attempt on the part of capitalism to hide its nefarious operations under the cloak of the state. So long as the government directing the operation of the industries and owning the instruments of production is composed of a different class from those who must use and operate them, such ownership will be used to exploit the workers. Could this movement be carried on "step by step," as some so-called "state socialists" would wish, until all industry was merged in our present class government, it would simply mean that all political and all economic power would be united in one class and completely unified for action, and would constitute the mightiest engine for exploitation of the workers ever devised. Municipalization under the Socialist Labor Party means that the workers have first through the election of their party gained control of the powers of government and that therefore owners and users of tools are the same.

Plank 3—We demand that no pains be spared in giving a thorough, free and universal education to all children in the public schools; that sufficient school buildings be immediately erected to afford adequate accommodation for all children of school age;

that the laws against child-labor be strictly enforced; and that provision be made for feeding and clothing school children where necessary, and that all school books be furnished free to all.

(Third Demand—School Accommodation.)—At present the children of the workers are left without proper accommodation in our public schools, notwithstanding that they need such preparation to fit them for the struggle of life more than any other class and are not able to procure it at any other place. Yet, whenever there is a "retrenchment" in the building of schools it is always made in the working neighborhoods. Not only should there be sufficient schools, but those pupils whose parents are prevented by the social condition into which they were born from providing them with proper food and clothing should be so provided for at public expense that they may be prepared for their duties as citizens. As Socialists, we would especially call the attention of the workers to the fact that only through their ignorance can their exploitation be maintained and only through education can their freedom be secured.

Plank 4—We demand that the medical and sanitary service of the city shall be so organized as to secure to all good medical care free of cost.

(Fourth Demand—Free Medical Care.)—Modern medical science has shown that the public health is no longer to be considered a matter for individual concern, and we hold that it is time for this fact to be recognized by society and action taken in accordance therewith.

Plank 5—We demand that the city provide free and commodious public baths and gymnasias; small parks to be located in the densely populated workingmen's quarters of the city, and free public drinking fountains for both man and beast in each ward.

(Fifth Demand—Public Parks, etc.)—Capitalist production has made the worker a slave to a machine during his working hours and deprived him of all enjoyment in his labor. Therefore we hold that during his free hours he should have all possible means of enjoyment and recreation convenient to his home, as his meager wages and limited leisure preclude the use of those at a distance.

Plank 6—We demand the abolition of the veto power of the mayor and the adoption of the initiative and referendum.

Sixth Demand—Mayor's Veto, Initiative and Referendum.—In this we enter our protest against the concentration of power as being a check on popular will and a surrender to one man of the people's rights and duties. We demand that the voice of the people be given an opportunity to be heard. We recognize that this voice will be of small efficiency so long as the powers of government are all in capitalist hands, but we advocate it as a means to making audible the demands of labor, rather than to secure them. We recognize that without proper education the referendum and initiative, like the present ballot, may be proved a means to further deception and enslavement.

Plank 7—We demand that in all cases where workers are obliged to resort to strike the city government shall furnish every possible assistance to the strikers.

(Seventh Demand—Assistance to Strikers.)—Here again, as in our first demand, is an essentially working class demand and one which no reform party will dare to borrow. We hold that at present the power that makes the strike useless is the government of the whole capitalist class, which stands behind each individual capitalist whenever he is engaged in a struggle with the workers. We propose to place the power of the government behind the producers, not the idlers; the exploited, not the exploiters. That this is no impossible dream is seen by the recent action of the Socialists in the Paris municipal council, who voted the striking building trade 20,000 francs for the benefit of their families and then actively gave them sympathy and encouragement at all points. Workers, if you believe that the powers of government ought to be on your side when you are fighting for your right to live and to enjoy the fruits of your labor, vote the Socialist Labor Party ticket. It is the only party that believes in that position. Vote the Socialist Labor Party ticket by putting a cross (x) in the circle opposite the head of the ticket, thus:

(X) SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

In presenting these demands we again call the attention of the working class to the fact that no permanent improvement can take place in their condition so long as capitalism exists, and we emphasize the fact that the Socialist Labor Party stands for the complete overthrow of the competitive system and the substitution therefor of the co-operative commonwealth.

Directory of Section Chicago.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

Secretaries will please send notice of any omissions, changes or corrections in the above list and notify the editors of The Workers' Call, 36 N. Clark St.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF SECTION CHICAGO, 48 W. Randolph St., 1st and 3rd Tuesday; Sec. Jas. Smith, 367 W. Madison St.

BRANCHES.

FOURTH WARD, 3638 Armour Ave., 1st Thursday each month; Sec. N. Krogh, 3830 La Salle St.

FIFTH WARD, 2701 Wentworth Ave., every Monday night; Sec. Joseph Trentz, 359 24th St.

SIXTH WARD, 284 Archer Ave., 1st and 3rd Saturday, each month; Sec. H. Pahl, 257 S. Halstead St.

SEVENTH WARD, 486 S. Halsted St., 1st and 3rd Wednesday, each month; Sec. Jos. Stone, 236 Forquier St.

NINTH WARD, 427 W. 18th St., every Sunday; Sec. John Benda, 86 Fish St.

TENTH WARD, no regular meeting place; Sec. R. Finstrom, 1044 S. Wood St.

THIRTEENTH WARD, 624 Grand Ave., every Wednesday evening at 8 p. m., and every Sunday at 3 p. m.; Sec. John T. Gillespie, 719 W. Ohio St.

FOURTEENTH WARD (Scandinavian) 730 W. North Ave., cor. Campbell, 1st and 3rd Friday each month, at 8 p. m.; Sec. Lauritz Olsen, 744 N. Artesian Av.

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

SEVENTEENTH WARD, Danish; Sec. Albert Olsen, 225 Ohio St.

TWENTY-SECOND WARD, 580 Larabee St., 2nd and 4th Mondays; Sec. O. Gritchke, 84 Reese St.

TWENTY-THIRD WARD, 32 Clybourn Ave.; 2nd and 4th Sunday each month; Sec. O. H. Thunberg, 2936 N. Paulina St.

TWENTY-FOURTH WARD, 173 Wells St.; every Thursday evening and Sunday afternoon; Sec. K. A. Morris, 314 Indiana Ave.

TWENTY-SIXTH WARD; Secretary, 670 Osgood St.

TWENTY-EIGHTH WARD, Broth's Hall, cor. 45th Ave. and Lake St.; 2nd and 4th Thursday evenings each month; Sec. Carl Peterson, 2494 Lake St.

THIRTIETH WARD, German, 1718 W. 61st St., 2nd and 4th Mondays; Sec. H. Stenert.

THIRTIETH WARD, Danish, 1148 63rd St., 2nd and 4th Fridays; Sec. Carl S. Lavdahl, 692 Justine St.

THIRTY-FIRST WARD, 6310 Halsted St., 1st and 3rd Fridays each month; Sec. J. Wanhouse, 6320 Aberdeen St.

THIRTY-FOURTH WARD, 118 S. Michigan Ave., every Sunday, 2:30 p. m.; Sec. G. F. Deane, 1143 Perry Ave.

POLISH BRANCHES

POLISH CENTRAL COMMITTEE—meets every Monday at 571 Noble St., 8 p. m.; Sec. A. J. Borkowski, 709 W. 21st Pl.

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

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

SIXTEENTH WARD, meets 1st and 3rd Saturdays each month at 1571 Noble St., 8 p. m.; Sec. M. Pisch, 53 Euston Ave.

SIXTEENTH WARD, meets 2nd and 4th Saturdays each month at 571 Noble St., 8 p. m.; Sec. A. Gembicki, 11 Chapin St.

THIRTY-THIRD WARD (South Chicago) meet every Saturday at 256 Superior Ave., 8 p. m.; Sec. I. Rogowicz, 818 Green Bay Ave.

LADIES SOCIALIST BRANCH, meets 1st and 3rd Sundays each month at 663 N. Paulina (Comrade Odinski's house), 3 p. m.; Sec. M. Tylicko, 756 W. 21st Pl.

THROUGHOUT THE STATE.

PEORIA, every Tuesday evening, 3123 South Washington street.

COLLINSVILLE, every Sunday, 2:00 p. m., Gayer Building, Main street.

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Who said anything about municipal ownership?

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