

# THE WORKERS' CALL.

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

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PRICE ONE CENT.

## MOTIVE TO ACTION

### How Self-Interest Constitutes the Only Logical Incentive.

## PHILANTHROPIC SELFISHNESS

### No Matter What the Disguise, the Underlying Motive of Action Is, and Should Be, Self-Interest.

It is sometimes said that personal happiness or the love of it, while a motive of all action furnishes no criterion in ethics, and this passage from Leslie Stephens is quoted:

"The love of happiness must express the sole possible motive of Judas Iscariot and his Master; it must explain the conduct of Stylites on his column, of Tiberias at Capree, of a Kempis in his cell and of Nelson in the cockpit of victory? It must be equally good for saints, martyrs, heroes, cowards, debauchees, ascetics, mystics, cynics, misers, prodigals, men, women and babes in arms. Truly it must be an elastic principle." (Science of Ethics, p. 44.)

Then the conclusion is drawn that the standard of ethics must be sought independently of personal pleasure or pain.

To this we may reply that: It is not apart from all these apparently contradictory actions enumerated by Leslie Stephens but it is the underlying motive of them that constitutes the field of ethics.

Supposing a biologist should say: Since the forms of life are so many, to discover what life is we have a criterion outside of living beings. Or a meteorologist should say: "Because water sometimes runs down hill and sometimes runs up, sometimes spreads itself out thin and sometimes runs deep, sometimes is mist, sometimes is flood, sometimes is cloud, sometimes is frost, therefore the standard of aquatic conduct must be sought independently of the various forms of liquids.

If the proper study of mankind is man, then the study of human ethics must be in the field of human desire.

If desire is the motive of all action is it not absurd to try to discover a criterion for action independent of desire and its satisfaction? Instead of happiness having nothing to do with right and wrong, it has everything to do with it. Leslie Stephens says himself: "good means everything which favors happiness, and 'bad' everything that is conducive to misery, nor can any other intelligible meaning be attached to the words."

If a course of action is desired, then if the satisfaction of the desire brings unhappiness, something is wrong. That something is a conflict of desires or of interests. To secure the happiness of all, the interests of all must be common. Until they are common every man will and must seek his happiness in forwarding the interests of the group to which he is conscious that he belongs. If his family circle is the most vivid one to his consciousness, he will abandon all others for that; if his self-interest is most clearly identified with that of his trade, then he will sacrifice everything else to his trade; if his self-esteem is regulated by the esteem of others ("public opinion"), then he will lose everything for the good will of the makers of public opinion; if his self-consciousness is class-consciousness—whether plutocratic or proletarian—everything else will go by the board. He will sacrifice everything, but never himself. Self-preservation is the first law of nature, and the last, but the self is not always the same.

It is absolutely impossible to make a man happy except in the attainment of his own interests. He can only have pleasure in what he desires, and his desires are always in the line of his (apparent not always real) interests. If those interests are bound up with those of others he will act in a way that is called altruistic, but altruism is refined and perfected egotism. Many actions are called unselfish because the real and selfish motive is not apparent.

It is at least a good working hypothesis that happiness as a criterion of goodness has been abandoned largely because the rulers of society could not maintain their supremacy except by persuading the masses to submit to unhappiness for the sake of the "general good," meaning thereby the good of the dominant class. "Unselfishness" has been cultivated as a virtue in order to suppress rebellion at its origin—the heart's feelings.

To do right—that is to obey public opinion—is better than to be happy, because the seeker for happiness is likely to seek his own happiness, not that of his masters.

This virtue of unselfishness has been fostered by conspicuous examples, the more conspicuous the better, on the part of the members of the dominant class, and by parading as samples of it such actions as were compelled by economic necessity. The abolition of slavery was not an unselfish act on the part of northern capitalists, but the bitterness of those who paid for it in their pockets.

ing coveted with the title "unselfish."

Nor is philanthropy unselfish, as can be seen by the facts that its greatness is often measured by dollars and cents, that trivial philanthropic efforts are magnified out of all proportion to their real importance, and that every institution that carries on a "philanthropy" takes care to be credited with that philanthropy. These steps are justified on the plea that interest must be won or sustained, i. e., without parading its successes philanthropy would die. What does this mean but an appeal to the vanity of the class sustaining these philanthropies? Not much unselfishness about that! The enactment of labor legislation was anything but "unselfish" on the part of its Tory promoters or its large capitalist supporters, but we shall never hear the end of the unselfishness of capitalists like Lord Shaftsbury in securing such legislation. It may be a tremendous problem to organize society and educate men so that all interests shall be and be seen to be common, and so identifying rightness and pleasure, but this does not qualify us in abandoning the problem and seeking to find a standard of ethics independently of personal pleasure or pain. This idea that the "good" is something other than the desirable seems to have arisen as a method of justifying class rule.

The importance of the existing economic system is so vivid, that even normal desires that conflict with it are considered "wrong." They are wrong, considered from the view-point of that part of society for whose benefit our institutions are established, state, church, school, shop and what not. But if its right to get, to beget, and to work, then when the opportunity to do these things is denied to most of the people in the interests of a few, of course it appears "wrong" to those few when the attempt of the many to satisfy these primal desires results in the disobedience of laws and opinions that are imposed for the sake of securing the special privileges of the few.

If we assume that all desires (excepting a few diseased ones) are good, and then find that their satisfaction is always making trouble for the interests of the few, which shall we conclude is "wrong" the universal desires or the bulwarks of the interests of the few?

Moralists may well be bewildered at the growing conflict between desire and duty, for the "weirdness of society" on which they lay so much stress is the welfare of a dominant class whose "sacred institutions" would be anything but sacred if the workers of the world should really seek their own self-interests and satisfy their own desires.

## A SUDDEN FLOP.

### Chicago Labor Fakes Change Their Minds As to Results of Trades Unions.

On Labor Day, but three weeks ago every "labor leader" in Chicago was telling how much his union had raised wages in the past few years. It will be remembered that they all claimed gains of from 40 to 100 per cent and boasted of the tremendous prosperity thus secured. But a few days ago there was an agitation raised by the general building contractors against the exactions of trade unions. Considerable newspaper stir was made about the way in which the "extortionate demands" of trades unionists were preventing the progress of building. As a consequence some of the "leaders" had themselves interviewed and the following is the result:

President George P. Gubbins of the Mason's union during the morning said that Chicago masons have received no raise in wages since 1886, and that workmen now do 20 per cent more work for the same pay they received 15 years ago.

President Joseph Sullivan of the Stonecutters' union said that his men now receive the same pay they received 25 years ago for the same number of hours of work.

President James E. Daly of the Steamfitters' union said that competent steamfitters receive only \$4 a day, and average less than \$2 a day, owing to irregularity of work.

"Junior steamfitters," said M. B. Madden, "receive \$2 and can get work only one-third of the time."

"Junior plumbers get just what they got 15 years ago for eight hours' work, and must pass a rigid examination to get into the union," said Secretary P. Abbott. "The men do as much as can be done right. The health of the people is more important than the profits of the bosses."

President Woodbury of the Carpenters' District Council says that Chicago carpenters work harder for the money they get than do carpenters in any other city.

President Wilson of the Lathers said that his men average about \$1 a day.

Guthrie, Ok. T., Sept. 24.—The Rogers ranch in Beaver county, Oklahoma, and the Childress cattle ranch in the panhandle of Texas, containing 200,000 acres, and upon which 300,000 cattle are now grazing, were purchased yesterday by R. L. Ellison of Fort Worth, Tex., for the Swift packing-house interests in Chicago.

Titles to three other great ranches are being examined with a view to purchase by the Swifts.

Only a few days ago the Swifts purchased the O'Keefe ranch in Gaines county, Tex., containing 18,000 acres, and it is stated that Swift & Co. and Nelson Morris, who has also invested heavily in ranches recently, will raise cattle on a large scale.—Chicago Tribune.

Wonder what the Texas anti-trust law does under such conditions.

## SUPPRESSING RIOTS ON THE AUTOMOBILE

### A Very Significant Article in a Recent Military Article.

## LETS CAT OUT OF THE BAG.

### Exposes the Way in Which the Military Power Is Placed at the Disposal of the Capitalists.

There is an article by Captain W. N. Blow of the 15th U. S. Infantry in the July number of the "Journal of Military Service Institutions" that is decidedly interesting to those who have watched the progress of the use of the military in the interest of the capitalists in labor disputes. It is an article that should be in the hands of every laborer. Its subject is the management of troops in domestic riots, and all laborers know that this means in time of strikes, and in fact the article begins by stating the commonest occasion for the use of the instructions given in the case of railroad strikes.

In discussing the preparation for such an emergency the author suggests that "All men enlisted from the city be transferred to other points, and no new enlistments be made from it." This is plainly said to be for the purpose of preventing any sympathy existing between the soldiers and the strikers. It will doubtless occur to our readers that those who have served in the Philippines will be still more heartless butchers and show a greater readiness in firing upon their brother laborers. Then there is another little detail that is at least interesting when he says that "at least two men in each company should understand how to run a locomotive." It is thus seen that from the very beginning preparations are being made to supply the strikers places with the soldiers instead of pretending to confine them to their so-called legitimate function of protecting private property. It may be said that the presence of but two men in a company would not go far toward replacing the employees of a great railroad, but the fact is that if one or two trains are run successfully it may easily have the effect (in the words of General Miles, of "breaking the back-bone of the strike."

But any idea that the army is present at a strike for "mutual protection" is disposed of in the following statements which open up a whole field of suggestion to those who have watched the progress of railroad strikes. "During strikes some of the large roads have 'riot' or 'emergency' offices. These are provided with a force of clerks, telegraph operators, etc., and are under a sort of 'strike dictator.' He is an officer of the road who has made strikes a special study, and has absolute authority in all matters concerning the existing riots. He has an organized force of armed men at his disposal, and an army of detectives and spies among the rioters. These keep him constantly informed regarding the most minute details of their movements and plans. All roads have some officer whose duties approximate to the above. A lieutenant should be sent to these offices (where he will be welcomed and all facilities for obtaining information placed at his disposal) whose duty it will be to communicate to the commanding officer all that he knows."

Is anything further wanted to slap in the face the hoary-headed falsehood told us so often by the capitalist press, that troops are only sent to strikes for the purpose of "preserving order until the dispute shall be mutually settled." Does anyone know of a labor union possessing a strike office equipped with an organized force of armed men, and an army of detectives and spies among the capitalists? Does anyone recall an instance where a lieutenant was detailed to the leaders of the labor unions to receive orders from them?

The account referred to above goes on to give a number of illustrations of how this "strike office" was used during the time of the great strike in Chicago in 1894, which opens up a flood of light on some points not brought out in the "official investigation." It shows, what everyone of intelligence knew, that the whole military force was controlled directly from the General Manager's Association office. It explains how the ranks of the strikers were honeycombed with spies and traitors and how they were frustrated in their plans by U. S. army officials.

The article was, of course, intended only for the eyes of military men. It was intended simply as a technical paper on military tactics and of no interest to the general public. Hence the writer spoke with greater freedom than he would otherwise have done and let a few cats out of the bag. Thinking that some "strike manual" might be of value to the other side this article has been written and it is hoped that some of its lessons may strike home.

Always remember that the main bulwark of capitalism is the ignorance of the workers. They are in darkness only because they do not know the way out. Are you doing all you can to show them the path?

## SOME EXPERIMENTS WITH THE NEW INVENTION IN ENGLAND.

### Some Experiments With the New Invention in England.

## IT PROVES TO BE A SUCCESS.

### Under the Severest Test the Auto-trucks Are Seen to Be Superior to Horses At All Points.

Liverpool, Sept. 9.—Whether it means the doom of the horse as a draught animal is what all this part of the world is wondering. Long ago, France, England, and finally America reluctantly made up their minds that the advance of the automobile would do away with our "gentle friend" as a motive power for pleasure and light driving. Now—on the heels of the automobile cabs and drags and runabouts and phaetons and coaches and so forth—comes the automobile truck. For some years men have believed that perhaps steam, or electricity, or condensed air, or petrol, or another wholly mechanical motive power might be properly and successfully used in light traffic, but they have looked to horses for strong hauling. Certainly the horses were never bred that could have accomplished in the same time and at the same expense what the "autotrucks" (that is the name which has been given to them) did the other day in their official trials here.

Five systems of heavy horseless vans were given the severest test possible, and they scored in consequence the most notable successes that the automobile has ever registered in all the world as an industrial agent. People said it was impossible that the mammoth autocars could ascend hills rising one foot in nine while bearing a total of more than seven tons in weight; but it was done, and one system has two gold medals to prove that the autocars can rapidly go up and down rocky steps with heavy loads, where the strongest teams of horses would slip and stall and fall.

Everton Brow is the steepest and most difficult hill in Liverpool and its equal can hardly be found in all the united kingdom. It is paved at different points with macadam, asphaltum stone and wood, all of which are more or less trying in a test of this kind on a steep gradient. In addition it takes three turns, one of them being an acute angle, and had the road been made to order as a hill-terrier it could hardly have better served its trying purpose. Three separate hill-climbing tests were made on the first of the three days' of trial.

As a starter each wagon was sent up empty and down again. Then they were loaded with a sack of corn and in each trip up and down the car was stopped by signal on the most precipitous part of the rise and descent. To add to the difficult undertaking the hill was watered in its steepest portions and on the sharpest turns. Some of the five contesting cars slewed round with their hind wheels and skidded a bit on the difficult turns and two of them had to make a double start before they got away for the climb. One of the heavy vehicles threw the spectators into a fever of excitement by a threatened bolt when on the most dangerous part of the hill, and a runaway, an upset and a steam explosion seemed imminent for a minute or two. But the driver stuck pluckily to his fractious mount and by whirling it in a backward circle was at last able to bring the vehicle under control to try again, and successfully. It was the most exciting incident of the contest and proved the value of a good man in charge of the machine.

At a whistle from the judges, the cars were stopped going up and down and the first complete arrest on the descent was made in eleven feet. The next driver kept his heavy van well in hand and pulled up in nine feet, but the Coulhard machine beat them all in its prompt response, which set the wheels motionless in six feet after the whistle sounded. It was quicker time than the best-trained team could make. On the up-grade some of the stops were made in the space of eighteen inches.

Genuine freighting loads were carried. One of the medal-winners weighed itself over three tons, upon which was loaded four tons, and a heavy trailer attached with two and one-half tons more. Yet it walked off easily with the heavy drag and could evidently have done more.

It is a singular fact that motor cars are only successful hill-climbers when well-laden. If unloaded there is not sufficient weight upon the wheels to grip the earth of a steep ascent, so that there will, for the future, be no economy in working light "to save the team."

Thirty-five miles and more was the course laid out, over all sorts of high-ways for the Liverpool country road contests. Two days were given to this under the dragging burden of heavy loads, and the engines moved steadily along the route, barring a few minor mishaps, at a speed varying from four to six miles an hour. At present the

law does not allow a greater speed to that class of engines. The judges and followers traveled by special automobiles, the freight wagons being officially stopped on several of the steepest grades, both up and down, and the time was telegraphed back to Liverpool from specified points. Besides its regular cargo of corn, the winning Thornycroft carried seven passengers, aside from its driver, and led the way throughout. All the vehicles received their stores of fuel and water before starting and were not permitted to take on more, except that water was provided at fixed points, if necessary.

Rigid tests were made at the Liverpool steamship docks on the ability of the drivers to maneuver their wagons in such necessarily small places as are met in directly loading and unloading vessels. A masked bay, about half as long again as a motor wagon, was arranged some twenty feet from and nearly opposite to a gate, into which they must back. Entrance was made successfully with two reverses by the most of the contestants, who showed their careful training as motorists.

The tendency is to make the freighting cars heavier and heavier, like the mammoth American railway locomotives, and in this way a vaster power and a greater speed may be expected to develop. At present the government lays restrictions upon the weight of autocars and limits their highway speed to six miles an hour, but a more liberal enactment is hoped for to meet the changing conditions of automatic traffic. Twenty-five tons can be moved over an average English road as readily as a fourth of that weight, and if this system of transport develops as rapidly as it promises to do there will come in some new problems in town paving and country roadmaking. It must revolutionize the present system, suited as it is to comparatively light traffic.

Last year's tests in Liverpool showed the advantages of petroleum in lighter vehicles and this year proved anew that steam is still the standard for heavy tractions. On the previous occasion the wheels and other working parts gave trouble by the severe strain and the vibration, but this year the tires and wheels were found perfectly sound at the end of the exhibitions, thus demonstrating the notable advancement made in one year.

The British government is steadily advancing in its use of the automobile for civil and military purposes. An official who witnessed the late hill-climbing and long-distance road trials said he would urge upon the war office an enlarged use of autocars for heavy artillery and campaign service, as a few hundred of these will dispense with thousands of horses and be more effective, he thinks. In the postal service motor cars have for some time been in satisfactory use and at the late Richmond show mail vans were run up and down the steep hills along the Thames at high speed. One Newcastle car dashes up hill at thirteen miles an hour. It is said the rate of travel for such heavy vehicles may be raised to four times an hour to make possible a rapid cross-country postal-delivery service. Such a one is operating now on the London and Brighton route, which needs speeding up to meet the requirements. Private motor-car stages routes are being established about the country, one of these lying between Bedford, where lived and wrote John Bunyan, and Kempston, a neighboring village. One day recently 37 passengers were carried the three miles for the regular fare of twopence, and the trade is rapidly growing.—Chicago Daily News.

## Lipton's Employees.

London, Sept. 18.—General sympathy is expressed here for Sir Thomas Lipton's work people, who have put forward today a statement of their grievances. About 12,000 persons are employed in his London warehouse. The average number of hours a week of labor, it seems, is fifty-five. The men's wages vary from 18 to 24 shillings a week, while the wages of the girls average only 7 shillings a week. Any attempt to form an organization to better their condition, it is said, is followed promptly both by the dismissal of those taking part in it and of those known as leaders among the working people. The men claim that their wages are the lowest known in the trade. Another firm in the same line of business is paying girls 15 shillings a week for forty-five hours of work. The defense of Lipton's manager is that there are plenty of unemployed persons willing to work for the same wages. Public opinion, however, does not consider that this is a sufficient answer to the complaint of the work people.—Chicago Record.

Lipton must not have his English employees so well trained as he has his American ones. His Stock Yards employees are as thoroughly oppressed as his London workers but they are better disciplined and so do not raise any remonstrance. This is fortunate, because otherwise the international yacht race might be interfered with.

Mayor Jones has issued a challenge to the other candidates for governor of Ohio to meet him in debate. Of course he was promptly accepted by Com. Rob't. Handlow and now Jones will find himself in an interesting predicament. If he accepts his freakish economic will make him the laughing stock of the Ohio voters, and if he refuses he will be branded as a coward.

Are YOU still looking for a job?

## SOCIAL EVOLUTION

### The Growth and Development of the Present Labor Problem.

## AN HISTORICAL EXAMINATION.

### How the Methods of Production and With Them the Whole Social Structure Have Been Revolutionized.

An immense crowd gathered in front of the grand stand in anticipation of the address which was to be delivered by the Rev. Charles H. Vall, of Jersey City, and formerly of Syracuse. He had taken for his subject: "The Economic Evolution, Its Consumption and Benefits." He said in part:

"Society is an organism, and as such it has passed through several stages of development. Economic conditions form the real basis of society and explain, in the last analysis, the whole superstructure of political and social institutions. The economic conditions, at any given period, are the soil out of which grows the whole life and character of mankind. A clear understanding of the various periods of the economic evolution is essential to a complete grasp of the social question. Let me point out, in the beginning, the main stages of this development."

Here Mr. Vall took up and explained at length the various stages of the economic evolution: First, the handicraft stage, the era of small industry; second, the manufacturing stage, the era of manufactures; third, the factory stage, the era of modern mechanical industry. The speaker showed how this last stage was introduced by a series of inventions and discoveries which completely revolutionized the method of production. Continuing, he said:

"Instead of the paltry productive method of a single workshop, there appeared the large factory with the combined labor of hundreds. The products of both were sold upon the same market, but the factories employing the improved machinery turned out far more cheaply and so drove the individual producers and caused them to seek employment at the hands of the enemy."

This new production, based upon mechanical invention and a far-reaching division of labor, was essentially social production. The individual production, which rested upon the individual ownership by the workers of the instruments, was supplanted by social production, resting upon individual ownership by the capitalist of the instruments of production. Private property in the instruments of production, which formerly meant private property of the producers in their own hands, came to mean, as soon as production became socialized, private property of non-producers in the tools of social labor. This private ownership of tools meant the private appropriation of the product of social labor. The method and instruments of production has changed, but the method of appropriation remained the same. Though production had been socialized, the method of appropriation preserved the era of private and individual production, in which the owner of the tools was the producer of the product.

"The contradiction between the new form of production and the old form of appropriation is the basis of the whole social conflict today. This incompatibility between social production and capitalist appropriation is the cause of the class struggle between the proletariat and capitalist classes. We find here the fundamental contradictions from which arises all the contradictions inherent in capitalism. The solution of the social problems is merely the solution of this contradiction between social production and capitalist appropriation. A clear understanding of the cause which led to this contradiction will reveal the way out.

We have seen that the change in the form of production, brought about by the industrial revolution, wrought the downfall of the small producers and reduced the once-independent handicraftsmen and small producers to the level of wage slaves. The result of this transformation of the limited implements of production into mighty powers, turned them into social implements thus precluding individual ownership on the part of the workers. The vast cost of the new machinery and the large amount of capital required for the new methods of production, gave rise to a capitalist class—the owners of the instruments of production. The laborers must have access to the means of production or starve; but this access is obtainable only through the competitive wage. The effect of this loss of control by the workers of the means of production is the direct cause of their dependence and servitude.

"Now it must be perfectly clear to all that if the laborer's servitude is caused through the appropriation by a class of the means of production, emancipation can only be accomplished by their again becoming the owners."

(Continued on page 4)

WORKERS' CALL.

Every Sunday at 25 N. Clark St. Chi... of the postoffice at Chicago, Ill., under...

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A. M. SIMONS, Editor.



The Socialist Vote.

Table with 2 columns: Category and Amount. Includes 'UNITED STATES' and 'Foreign' with various dollar amounts.

Copies sold last week 13,500.

INSURANCE OF SOCIALISM.

One of the most difficult things for... to explain who come at the social... from the ideological point of...

either act the hypocrite or else make... some immediate personal sacrifice. They have a job in connection with...

THE WINTER CAMPAIGN.

As winter comes on there must be a... change in the character of the agitation... methods. The out-door meetings must...

him with a list of the subscribers of... The Workers' Call in your city. We... will soon have the ten cent subscribers...

IOWA STATE CONVENTION.

Enters a Protest Against High-handed... Methods of Old N. E. C. At the state convention of the S. L. P. of Iowa, the following resolutions...

Comrade Editor: The Beekman street N. E. C. in submitting the San Francisco resolution...

Aside from the fact that the right of... the N. E. C. to send out such a statement... might be questioned, inasmuch as...

The N. E. C. states that it would cost... the party too much to call two conventions... between now and July, 1900.

It is not our party organs filled with... arguments pro and con instead of agitating... for the cause?

Look at the "William St. People" of... Sept. 3rd for instance (containing the... "skunk" proposition), or the issue of...

But the convention if called will accomplish... a great deal more than that. Comrades! Let us have it!

The automobile companies will not... sell the machines, but only lease them, the same as the telephone companies do...

SNAP SHOTS BY THE WAYSIDE.

And now the Cincinnati trolley men... are dissatisfied, and they are going to... be "organized" and make demands on...

THE TRANSVAAL.

Oliver Schreiner on the Prospective War... in South Africa. Manchester, England, Sept. 12.—Oliver Schreiner, the novelist, cables from...

BOOK REVIEWS.

ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLES OF... ECONOMICS. By Charles H. Chase; Chas. H. Kerr & Co.; 8vo., 405 pp. This is the first serious attempt that...

CIVIC FEDERATION.

Proposes to Extend Its Sphere of Action... to the Whole Country. It is now announced that the Chicago Civic Federation proposes to become...

EVERYONE HELP.

Ways to Help Make Your Paper a Better... One Than Now. There is nothing that will give more...

UNION LOOP EMPLOYEES.

They Complain of the Conditions Under... Which They Must Work. Station agents and platform men employed by the Union Elevated Loop...

# The Communist Manifesto.

(Continued from last week)

The bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world's market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country. To the great chagrin of Reactionists, it has drawn from under the feet of industry the national ground on which it stood. All old-fashioned national industries have been destroyed or are daily being destroyed. They are dislodged by new industries, whose introduction becomes a life and death question for all civilized nations, by industries that no longer work up indigenous raw material, but raw material drawn from the remotest zones, industries whose products are consumed, not only at home, but in every quarter of the globe. In place of the old wants, satisfied by the productions of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes. In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal inter-dependence of nations. And as in material, so also in intellectual production. The intellectual creations of individual nations become common property. National one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible, and from the numerous national and local literatures, there arises a world literature.

The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all, even the most barbarian, nations into civilization. The cheap prices of its commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarians' intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate. It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeoisie mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilization into their midst, i. e., to become bourgeois themselves. In one word, it creates a world after its own image.

Here again the tremendous sweep of the generalities in the Manifesto sums up a whole historical treatise in a single paragraph. If this statement was true in 1848 it is emphasized at every point at the present time. Today, even the smallest article lays the uttermost parts of the earth under tribute. It is one of the common illustrations of this fact to take some simple article and show how it could not be produced were it not for the co-operation of multitudes of people who never saw one another or perhaps even heard of their mutual existence. Industry today has lost all patriotism, no matter how loudly its owners may prate of that quality to their laborers. The country that can produce the cheapest can alone exist. American iron is driving the British shops to ruin. The battering down of the Chinese wall, which was then but a figure so far as at least as China herself was concerned, is today rapidly becoming an accomplished fact. No matter how much the rulers of that country may oppose capitalism, no matter how strong the legislation they pass to keep the hand of foreigners out, the fact that capitalism can with its improved methods of production produce cheaper than even the proverbially cheap labor of China is rapidly forcing "civilization" upon her. The barriers of untold centuries of customs, the protected conservatism of the most fixed and conservative of nations in the world, the fierce opposition of a fossilized feudalism upheld by countless centuries of traditions, all are as nothing before the capitalist "promoter."

The bourgeoisie has subjected the country to the rule of the towns. It has created enormous cities, has greatly increased the urban population as compared with the rural, and has thus rescued a considerable part of the population from the idiosyncrasy of rural life. Just as it has made the country dependent on the towns, so it has made barbarian and semi-barbarian countries dependent on the civilized ones, nations of peasants on nations of bourgeois, the East on the West.

When this was written it was more of prophecy than of history. Today it is an accomplished fact. In the United States, perhaps more than anywhere else in the world this movement from the country to the city has been the dominant feature of the social reorganization that has taken place. The following table gives some idea of the rapidity and extent of this movement in the United States since the time the Manifesto was written:

YEAR.	Population in cities over 5,000.	Percentage of total population in cities.
1840	17,069,453	14.53
1850	23,191,876	18.48
1860	31,443,321	25.13
1870	38,563,871	30.93
1880	58,185,783	45.57
1890	62,622,250	49.20

In examining these figures it must be remembered that the population of the United States during this time has been spreading out over a vast vacated territory in which there are still but very few large cities. If the eastern states alone are taken and especially if the North Atlantic ones, where the process of capitalist development predicted in the Manifesto has been most prominent we find that in 1890 51.53 per cent of the population resided in cities of over 5,000. Again if all cities over 1,000 population are included it is found that 41.60 per cent of the total population live in such cities, thus showing that the percentage of those actually living in the country is today very small indeed. As pronounced as this movement is here it is found in every nation where capitalism has been established and similar statistics could be quoted for every great capitalist nation.

The dependence of the less developed nations on those further advanced has also found striking confirmation since the Manifesto was written. Today Asia and Africa are practically enslaved to Europe and America. Finally these latter are further dividing until only those few nations that are the furthest developed are able to be independent and enslave all others. So far as this goes there are now three nations that dominate the entire world through their commercial supremacy. These are United States, England and

## FOREIGN NEWS.

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

Der grösste Stult im ganzen Land, Das ist und bleibt der Dönanant.

"The greatest scamp of the whole country is the talebearer." So wrote Hoffmann von Fallersleben. The couplet has become proverbial. It is supposed to be as familiar to German ears as Hamlet's soliloquy. The Vorwaerts recently used the first line as a heading for a news story, ending it with a dash. It seems that a party of sight-seers, while sitting in a beer garden at Spandau, overheard an artisan make an irreverent remark about the busts of the three kaisers, which every host, socialist excepted, places in his establishment to prove it a safe place for patriots to drink beer.

They followed the offender to the railway station and related the circumstances to the police, and the man was arrested for lese majesty—majestäts-beleidigung. The story in the Vorwaerts was substantially the same as that printed in every Berlin paper, with the exception of the heading. Now, under the press law, the newspaper must send a copy of every issue to the police, who exercise the functions of censors.

When this issue of the Vorwaerts was read there was a riot call, and a platoon of men, under a captain, was sent to confiscate the portion of the paper containing the Spandau story. The press was at a loss to understand the grounds. The editor of the paper was cited before the local court and proceedings for majestätsbeleidigung were begun.

The police explained then that they thought the words quoted referred to Kaiser Wilhelm. They had never heard of Hoffmann von Fallersleben. The court sustained the police on the ground that those readers of the Vorwaerts who, like the police, were not familiar with modern verse, would have understood that the kaiser was the greatest scamp in the whole country because he was mentioned in the story. Moreover, the court declared that the editor, in its opinion, probably intended that the quotation should be so understood. The Vorwaerts disclaimed any readers that could vie in ignorance with the police, and the states attorney wisely stopped the proceedings at once, had the complaint withdrawn, and the confiscated issue returned to the Vorwaerts.

The press of all shades of opinion expressed the sharpest disapproval of the course of the police and the court, declaring such senseless prosecutions did not increase respect for the monarch. It deserves mention that the police admitted the quotation would not have excited the least attention if it had appeared in a dignified paper like the National Zeitung, or in any conservative paper.—(Chicago Tribune.)

### German Socialists.

Berlin, Sept. 22.—In the annual report just published by the committee of the German socialist party is the following information: Cash received during the last year, \$46,000 marks; expenses, 243,000 marks. At this date there is a balance in the treasury of the party of 400,000 marks. Among the expenses are mentioned 68,000 marks loaned to supporters of the party, 53,000 marks paid out in support of the socialist press, 40,000 marks spent in general agitation, and 28,000 marks spent for expenses of members in the Reichstag.

The Berlin central organ of the party, Vorwaerts, shows an annual surplus of 65,000 marks. One hundred thousand marks has been collected for victims of oppressive laws. Members of the party paid amercements resulting from their political activity to the amount of 23,000 marks. The total punishments by imprisonment inflicted on members of the party during the year amount to seventy-four years.

### Victories in Saxony.

The Socialists probably will win the Reichstag by-election in the Plierna district of Saxony. They already have eleven of the twenty-three seats Saxon seats. The election last Monday gave the Socialist candidate a plurality of nearly 1,000 votes in a total of 4,300. The final election will be between the Socialist and anti-Semite candidates. The district was formerly an anti-Semite stronghold.

### Russian Student Persecution.

The Russian government has just submitted to the professors of the University of St. Petersburg a series of questions as to their political beliefs and as to the attitude they intend to take towards the students. The object of this examination was to ascertain in what measure the government could count upon the co-operation of the faculty in stifling the "subversive" ideas which had been propagated among the youth of the schools.

The result of the examination has been that the best and most illustrious professors of the university have been forced to resign. There are still seven men and one woman student in prison because of the last disturbance and it is thought that the disturbance will begin afresh if they are released.—Le Petite Republicque.

### End of Danish Lock-out.

At the close of the lock-out the victorious laborers held a long procession headed by coffins containing effigies of the leading representatives of the defeated manufacturers, and in the evening celebrations were held in all the various halls. All of the obnoxious de-

mands of the employers for shop rules were lost, and although the demand made by the laborers, after they had been locked out, for a nine-hour day was not secured their organization remains intact and stronger than before in preparation for a further struggle should it be necessary next year to secure this.

### Japanese Production.

Machinery was shipped this month from Hamilton, Ohio, to Yokohama, Japan, for one of the finest paper mills in the world. It will turn out a 100-inch strip of the finest imperishable book paper, 400 feet long every minute. Part of our sham prosperity is due to such orders as this. Soon, with no more orders for manufactured goods, and the Eastern people being supplied with our machinery to do their own manufacturing, "we" will be wondering where "prosperity" has gone.—Social Democratic Herald.

An instance of how far Japan has advanced in capitalism is seen in the fact that during the past week there were fourteen presidents of various boards of trade in that country visiting the United States.

### Items From France.

Last week the laborers in the French postoffice began to work under the eight-hour day secured through the efforts of M. Millerand, the socialist minister of commerce. It will be remembered that it was in this same department but a short time ago, when under the control of a bourgeois minister that the employes declared a strike, and were forced back to work by the militia and their leaders then discharged. These leaders have now been restored and the demands of the men granted without a strike.

A great departmental congress of the Socialist Party was recently held at Marseilles. Over 500 delegates were present and enormous crowds listened to the discussions. Arrangements were made for further and closer organization of the socialist forces in this department.

### England.

A recent attempt by the socialists and anti-war people of London to conduct a demonstration in Trafalgar Square against the proposed war in the Transvaal, ended in a great mob of government sympathizers attacking the speakers and compelling the intervention of the police to prevent injury being done to them.

Evidently the Englishman is anxious to fight his master's battles for some time to come. Queer scene is it not—American and British wage slaves gathering in great mobs to express their desire for a wider extension of the system that is crushing them?

### Demonstration in Austria.

The Austrian socialists recently held a demonstration at Brunn against the minister Thun with about 10,000 workers in line. The police made every effort to prevent the procession and repeatedly charged the crowd in the most brutal manner. Seven persons were arrested.—Le Petite Republicque.

### Hungary.

An active socialist agitation is being carried on among the peasants and agricultural workers in the neighborhood of Miklooz. Fifteen persons have been arrested as socialist propagandists.

### VOTE ON CONVENTION.

Section Chicago Sends in An Extremely Large Vote in Favor.

On the referendum vote as to holding an early convention Section Chicago cast 329 votes in favor and two against such a convention. As only 32 out of the 27 branches sent in their vote in time to be counted and considering that at this time of the year the attendance at business meetings are small it will be noticed that this vote exposes another of De Leon's lies where he denies the fact of Section Chicago having 500 members.

Fond du Lac, Wis., Sept. 11.—After a month in jail at this place Fred Stillman, 11 years old, was this morning taken to Green Lake county by Sheriff Merrill to be examined in regard to his stealing 85 cents worth of ice cream. Over a month ago the boy went to a dealer in Berlin and after securing some ice cream had it charged to another person. Shortly after this he was arrested and committed to the jail in Fond du Lac to await the term of court here, which meets next January.

The boy was held in jail with criminals of the worst reputation. Mr. Bishop of the state board of control saw the boy when he was looking through the jail and investigated his case. He immediately had the case opened, and will see that it is settled at once and the boy sent back to his father at Oshkosh.

But Gen. Carter, who stole a million or more from the United States government and has been convicted two or three times is still unpunished. Dan Coughlin who bribed juries for the Chicago Street Railway company is still at liberty and the authorities have so far failed to catch Graham, who stole \$35,000 from the Chicago school fund. But what are the capitalists running this government for anyway?

Chicago comrades should not forget the entertainment at Wabasha Hall Saturday evening the 26th for the benefit of the Danish Arbejdere. The paper deserves your hearty support as it is the only socialist organ in Danish published in this country.

Do not be afraid to take this paper from the mails. No bill will be sent you. Some one has paid it for you.

# Womans' Department.

In thus introducing a department it is necessary first of all to state the object for which it is begun and the policy that will be followed in conducting it.

Though designated the "Woman's Column" this must carry no false impression. Up to the present time, the fact must be recognized that few women have taken an active interest in the socialist movement, and its principles have remained vague to them. At last a time has arrived for definite participation on the part of laboring women.

For generations she has been entering the trades and later the professions. She has become a force to reckon with in the industrial world and daily with new avenues open is stepping beside man in the mines, and the factories, behind the counter, and into most of the professions. This is forcing upon the laboring class one fact, that in industry, before the machine, in the view of capitalism, men and women are looked upon merely as producers, as human attachments to the piles of steel and iron, without regard to sex.

As a means of strengthening its own bulwarks and defeating any plan for concerted action on the part of labor, capitalism has sought to divide the ranks of the workers by creating the idea of a struggle between man and woman. In this way woman's energy has been turned in the direction of a sex emancipation. The laboring man by the same means has been led, in some cases, to view the position wrongly. He has regarded woman as an enemy in the competition for labor not seeing that like himself she is forced to become a wage earner by the same system that is crushing both.

In this column, ignoring completely any reference to a so-called sex antagonism, the one purpose will be held in view to impress upon laboring women that economic development has constituted her a portion of the body of wage earners, that the interests of workingmen and women are one and require one solution, and that in the present stage of social growth there is but one point toward which all energy must be bent, the abolition of capitalism with all its means of wage system and classes.

It will aim to enable her to draw a hard and fast line against all plans and schemes that would cover up the antagonism that must, on the other hand, always exist between her interests and those of women of the capitalist class.

The fact is of vital importance to the socialist movement that here is one great portion of labor still out of its ranks. Perceiving this the "Column" will work solely to bring this movement before women and enlist them on the basis of individual WORKERS. When this is accomplished, it is self-evident, that the Column will have destroyed all reason for its existence.

The second point is that of political power. What can be her position and means of effectualness in the socialist movement which is at all times a political movement and emphasizes the fact that the laboring class will gain its freedom through the ballot? Woman has no vote to bring into the struggle, in politics she has no existence.

The laboring man fought long years for his ballot but before that was a period of inertness when he had not risen to action. Woman has long been in this state of stupor and has scarcely yet roused to an interest in obtaining political rights. Now recognizing the extent to which because of this fact she is bound, and her consequent less power to effectually aid the Socialist Revolution, socialist women will make an effort wherever opportunity is open to obtain for themselves the ballot. It is emphatically dwelt upon, however, that this must at no time give rise to a distinct "woman's suffrage movement," but keeping before themselves the end, socialism, they will take advantage of any means to that end.

Efforts have been destroyed and delayed from the fact that the idea has prevailed that since woman lacked a vote she had small part in the movement. Let us examine. It will not be denied that owing to ruling class influence a large body of the people have been kept in a state of "political childhood." Woman constitutes the greater part of this politically ignorant population, further she is far from understanding economic questions or at present handling social matters. What is to be done? Shall she enter the future socialist state in this helpless condition? The 19th demand of the Party Platform reads, "Universal and equal right of suffrage without regard to color, creed or sex." She must at some time participate in this movement. Political (or any other kind of) education cannot be provided by shutting away the source of knowledge. She must at once enter on her training and the school in which she will learn must be the socialist sections.

Woman inherits from a sense of her own ignorance. Her one remedy is to begin to think and read that she may intelligently take a part in party affairs, attend meetings and familiarize herself with the business details, master the literature of the movement, learn confidence and self-decision. Let her once realize conditions intelligently and socialism will find in her one of its strong helpers, as educators in socialist principles, as speakers and writers, and distributors of its literature.

Hence this Column has been started. The paper coming weekly to thousands of homes is read by the men but not so often by the women. For that reason at present it seems necessary that a

few words be directed to workingwomen, not as women, but as workers and members of the laboring class. It is hoped that through reading this Column she will come to read the whole and at the same time other literature on the subject.

Having thus partly outlined the policy of the Column it remains to state the character of its contents. It will in no sense contain only matter relating to women. Its object will be while giving part of its space to such contents further, articles on topics relating to the whole socialist movement and thus encourage women to look at the subject from that standpoint.

That your energy and intelligence which capitalism has either diverted into sex movements or utterly ignored may be saved to socialism; that one sex may no longer be played off against the other; that the laboring class be united; that you may recognize your class interests and the means for their accomplishment, workingwomen of all countries unite with the workingmen! You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to gain.

### Chicago Laundries.

A thorough investigation of the city laundry business shows a startling condition of labor in this industry.

The hours of work are generally stated as fifty to sixty in winter but during the summer months business increases one-third and hours increase in equal proportion. In nearly all laundries midnight frequently comes before the days work is completed even in winter.

Not a few Chicago laundries are found working their poorly paid help twelve or eighteen hours with no extra pay for overtime. Girls were no exception who had worked from seven in the morning to almost any hour at night without stopping for food after the noon hour.

Children are exploited in some of these laundries working for wages that women will not accept. They work at mangles and other dangerous machines where cards are hung up saying that they operate the machine at their own risk. Children so small that they are obliged to stand on steps to reach the mangle are found signing contracts that they will forfeit pay for work done if they leave without giving two weeks' notice and then are frequently turned out for a pretended fault and have their pay refused them under the contract.

The reckless lack of care for life or limb that capitalism always reveals is seen in the unguarded machines, belts and wheels not boxed in, and the intense heat and dampness characterizing these places.

One of these laundries located in an alley occupies a building formerly used as a stable. The brick walls within are bare of even plaster and covered with a continual drip from the dampness. Here machinery, men, women and children are packed together until it seemed marvelous that the workers moved about among the belts and wheels without being torn to pieces.

For this form of wage labor the girls receive in many cases but three and four dollars a week.

### German Trades Unions.

The following table of the membership of the German trade unions shows the extent to which the movement includes both sexes:

YEAR.	No. of Unions.	Total membership.	Women Members.
1891	62	257,550	
1892	56	244,724	4,355
1893	51	229,310	5,384
1894	54	252,044	6,253
1895	53	269,956	6,897
1896	51	335,058	10,828
1897	46	419,162	14,644
1898	57	511,242	18,481

In this connection it is interesting to see the manner in which the trade union funds are distributed. The following figures are reduced to dollars and given in round numbers:

Strikes	\$200,000
Legal advice	10,500
Law suits	15,000
Victimized members	3,800
Traveling expenses	10,800
Out-of-work benefit	65,500
Sick pay	125,000
Disabled members	19,800
Burials	19,800

All women socialists are requested to send in contributions for this department. Original articles, items of interest or clippings will be gladly received. Address all communications to this department to the editor, Mrs. May Wood Simons, 6044 Washington Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Now that it is practically decided that there is to be a convention this fall every section, no matter what its views on party matters should endeavor to send a delegate. The convention should be made as representative as possible of the S. L. P. forces. It is in this convention that the basis will be laid for the campaign of 1910 and every effort should be made to make it a success. Begin to make preparations at once to send a delegate. Discuss the matters you want him to act upon and be prepared to instruct him.

All the readers of The Workers' Call living in the northern portion of the 24th ward, Chicago, who are interested in forming a branch of the S. L. P. are requested to meet at the house of Com. M. L. Klauber, 677 68th St., 3rd fl., Sunday, October 2nd, at 3 p. m. It is hoped that as many as possible may be present at this first meeting in order that a strong branch may be organized. A. M. Simons will speak "Organization."

A sample copy asks for your subscription.

Social Evolution

(Continued from page 1.)

the instruments of the tool. But individual ownership is impossible owing to the subdivision of labor and the immense scale of production. The solution, however, is not hopeless, for the change in the nature of production gives a clue to the means by which the contradiction can be reconciled. As production has been socialized, the means of production should also be socialized. Tools used in common should be owned in common. We should make the method of ownership correspond with the method of operation. The private or corporate ownership of the instruments of production is becoming more and more incompatible with the nature of these instruments. Their magnitude and social character mark them for social ownership and control.

"Here, then, is the solution of the contradiction between social production and capitalist appropriation. The industrial revolution resulted in socializing the method of production, but the form of appropriation remains unaltered. The laborers must regain control of their economic interests. Although it is impossible for them as individuals to regain this control—for the industrial system of the future must be systematized—nevertheless they can bring these interests under collective control.

"One of the strangest things is that the people should consent to leave their industrial interests in the hands of irresponsible persons to be controlled for private emolument. The present economic rulers hold the livelihood of the people in their power and admit of no responsibility. Why should a man be deprived of a voice in the industrial group of which he is a member, more than is the political group? Economic democracy is corollary of political democracy. We should bring the industrial regime under popular government to be exercised by the people in the interests of the people. The present industrial management is despotic.

"There is no reason why we should have sovereign rule in the industrial realm more than in the political." Mr. Vall then showed that industrial democracy was in the line of evolution and was certain of attainment. Democracy having been fairly attained in politics and religion and industry, was passing through similar stages of development. Democracy, he contended, always followed despotism, and we would have an industrial republic planted upon the foundation of our political republic. Continuing, he said:

"Now is there any evidence that this ideal is nearing realization? The rapid development of modern industry evidences that the transformation is at hand. We have traced the evolution of industry from the handicraft stage of production through the period of manufactures, and on into the era of modern mechanical industry. But this last period has taken on several phases.

"In the beginning of this era there was individual ownership of social tools. But as machinery developed and the wastes of competition necessitated the massing of large capitals that production might be cheapened and rivals undersold, it became more and more difficult for the individual capitalist to furnish the requisite means, so the joint stock company arose.

"The origin of the joint stock company completed the evolution of the individual capitalist. We have seen how at first he was a manual laborer working with his men, but the possession of a little wealth raised him above manual labor and he became a mental laborer, a manager, who received wages of superintendency. But the possession of more wealth raised him above even the labor of direction and he handed this function over to a hired employe. When the corporation entered industry the two functions of manager and owner became divorced. The whole capitalist class, as such, have thus become superfluous, the services previously performed by them being handed over to hired managers. The capitalist today is purely a useless organ in production, and being such is bound to disappear. We find in all nature that as soon as an organ is redundant it is eliminated.

"The next phase of the development of modern industry was the union of these companies into a trust. Industry after industry has been fenced in by these great aggregations of capital until our economic system presents the aspect of a centralized government administered by monopoly in the interests of monopoly. There are now 353 of these great organizations and others are forming daily. The New York Journal of Commerce, a recognized authority in matters commercial, makes the statement that the trusts now control 90 per cent of the capital which the census of 1890 showed as the total invested in manufacturing enterprises.

"The choice must be made between monopoly under private control and monopoly under public control, for monopoly of some form is bound to continue. The efficiency of capital in large masses is the law of industrial gravitation. Associated capital and machinery are necessary to effective and economical production. To return to the days of competition and small things would constitute a reversal of all progress. Nothing can be more visionary than the free competition of fifty or even twenty-five years ago. That condition has been buried in the same grave with the stage coach, the hand flail and the fallow dips. To restore the era of free competition we would need to destroy all modern machinery, imprison all inventors and punish progressiveness with instant death. The death of hand labor meant the death of the old competitive system. As soon as we passed into the era of social organized labor

it was only a question of time when monopoly would rule the day. The business of the future must be done by organized capital; it is the only way the needs of the people can be met.

"The question is, shall we have organized capital in the hands of individuals, or in the hands of society? The choice is not between competition and combination for the former is rapidly disappearing. Combinations either of the few or many are inevitable. The industrial evolution has successively passed from the handicraft stage of production into the era of manufactures, and from thence into modern mechanical industry, and this era has evolved into the corporate or joint stock stage, and is now rapidly taking on the form of monopoly. But this monopolistic stage which has been entered is not the end, for as individuals have combined into corporations and corporations into trusts, so trusts must combine into a co-operative or Socialist commonwealth. In economic evolution there is no retrogression. It is only in universal combination that a complete consummation can be obtained. Trusts will combine into a great trust—the Nation. As slavery gave way to feudalism and feudalism to capitalism, so capitalism will give way to socialism."

Mr. Vall then showed that the middle class was being rapidly destroyed and that in a comparatively short time society would be divided into two classes—a few hundred prodigiously wealthy families on the one side and a great mass of propertyless proletarians on the other. He also pointed out that the destruction of the trust would be of no benefit to the laboring class. He said:

"The tools of production being social, they could only be operated by co-operative labor. To destroy the trust would not mean that the laborers could become owners of the tools, but only that the instruments of production could be owned by smaller combinations of capital. The laboring class would still be dependent upon the owners of the instruments of production. If the trust-smashing program were carried out it would only result in enlarging the number of those who live at the expense of others. Surely this would be of no benefit to the laborers. Is anyone so foolish as to contend that labor is better off by increasing the number of exploiters? What the class-conscious laborers demand, then, is not the destruction of the trust, and so the preservation of the small capitalists, but the abolition of the entire exploiting system and the turning of all parasites, large and small, into useful producers. We are not interested in the preservation of the absurd principle of industrial competition. That competition is injurious is evident from the fact that it is being supplanted by the principle of combination. The principle of combination is sound and ought to be extended to the whole social order. The only safety to society, however, is in its adoption by the whole people. When the trust, which is the embodiment of the principle of combination, is socialized, then the evils which arise from private ownership will disappear, leaving only the benefits that result from co-operation. The difference between the capitalist trust and public trust lies in the department of distribution and capacity of the people to consume their product. The capitalist trust is socialism for the benefit of a few. The public trust is socialism for the benefit of all.

"The capitalist class endeavors to uphold the trust and its private ownership. It points out the inevitableness of the concentration of industry and the advantages of increased economy and production. But it tries to obscure the fact that all these advantages are appropriated by the few. The middle class, on the other hand, sees only the evils and completely overlooks the great economy that is effected by unified industry. It remains for the class-conscious laborer, untrammelled by the interests of the other classes, to clearly point out the good and evil of concentration and show how the evil can be eliminated and the good retained. The trusts have come and come to stay. The people must own the trusts or the trusts will own the people. There is no other alternative. The trusts are systematizing and unifying industry and preparing the way for the co-operative commonwealth. Any industry organized into a trust is ripe for appropriation by society. Now what are the causes at work which will lead to the consummation? In order to answer this question we need to understand the causes that have produced the social revolutions of the past."

The speaker here pointed out the causes which led from the transformation of slavery to feudalism, and feudalism to capitalism. How in each age there is a dominant ruling class which shapes and controls the social and political organizations in its own interests, and how the economic development produces another class, whose interests are opposed to the ruling class, and as the new class are more in accord with the new conditions, it is sure to survive. He showed how the landed nobility and capitalists each performed their work in social evolution.

"We now come to the mission of the proletariat. The proletariat has a mission to perform and that mission is the abolition of wage slavery. Although the proletariat has been in existence many years the time was not ripe for it to work out its destiny until the economic evolution has expressed itself in the trust and syndicate. This condition has now been realized and the time has come for the proletariat to work out its destiny. In all previous social revolutions class superseded class. The class below overthrew the class 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 further 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 we plainly see 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 subject dependence of the mightiest of nations upon that class.

Again, through the perversion of democracy to the ends of plutocracy, labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessities of life.

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 and their energies 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 the fallacious 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 honest citizens, to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a class-conscious body, aware of its rights, determined to defend them by taking possession of the public power; 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 class 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.

Immediate 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 employees shall be discharged for political reasons.
3. The municipalities shall obtain possession of the local railroads, ferries, water 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 and other lands, and the construction of all land 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 paper, tramp, conspiracy and summary laws. Unbridled right of combination.
11. Prohibition of the employment of children of school age and the employment of female labor in occupations detrimental to health and morality.
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 services are performed.
14. Laws for the protection of life and limb in all occupations, and an efficient employer's 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 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. The public lands and other lands, and the construction of all land grants to corporations or individuals, the conditions of which have not been complied with.
22. The United States, Administration of Justice to be free of charge. Abolition of capital punishment.

ENTERTAINMENT AND BALL

For the Benefit of "Arbejderen," the Danish-Norwegian Party Paper.

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thus emancipating itself by subjecting others. But the triumph of the proletariat is necessarily the abolition of all economic servitude, for the proletariat can only emancipate itself by socializing the instruments of production and distribution. How will this final step be taken? What are the means by which the laborers will accomplish their freedom? Economic interests always find expression in political action. Class interests and class politics are inseparable. The first step is mastery of the public powers. In the political field the proletariat is supreme. As soon as the laborers have gained control of the government they will begin at once to transform private interests into socially managed concerns and the industrial evolution will be completed."

Mr. Vall then took up the benefits which would result from the new order, and concluded by an appeal to all laborers to unite for the realization of their mission and so prepare themselves for the duties and responsibilities of the final work in economic and social evolution "The consummation," Mr. Vall affirmed, "would realize the golden age, the kingdom of heaven here on earth."

Public Meetings.

- Below is given a list of the out-door meetings to be held this week. Every socialist should make it a point to attend as many of these meetings as possible to assist in making them a success.
Sunday—California and North Ave. at 7:45 p. m.
Sunday—Peoria and Madison St. at 7:45 p. m.
Sunday—63rd and Halsted St. at 4 p. m.
Sunday—89th and Aberdeen St. at 3 p. m.
Monday—Orchard and North Ave. at 7:30 p. m.
Tuesday—Hoyle Ave. and Lubeck St. at 7:45 p. m.
Wednesday—Oak and Sedgwick Sts. at 7:45 p. m.
Wednesday—24th St. and Oakley Ave. at 7:45 p. m.
Wednesday—Milwaukee and Noble St. at 7:45 p. m.
Wednesday—Adams and State Sts. at 7:30 p. m.
Thursday—Clark and Walton Pl. at 7:45 p. m.
Friday—Blue Island and Taylor St. at 7:45 p. m.
Friday—17th and Wood St. at 7:45 p. m.
Friday—55th and Ashland Ave.
Saturday—22nd St. and Commercial Ave. at 7:45 p. m.
Saturday—11th and Michigan Ave. at 8 p. m.
Saturday—Paulina St. and Milwaukee Ave. at 7:45 p. m.
Saturday—Rockwell and North Ave. at 7:45 p. m.
Saturday—Milwaukee and Center at 7:45 p. m.
Saturday—12th and Wallace St. at 8 p. m.

If you are not a regular subscriber to this paper look it over and see if it is not treating a subject in which you are interested. If so send in your subscription at once

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FIFTH WARD, 2930 Wentworth Ave.; business meeting every Monday night; Sec. Joseph Trentz, 379 24th St.

SEVENTH WARD, Workman's Hall, cor. 13th and Walter; 1st and 3rd Monday each month; Sec. Jos. Stope, 203 Forquer St.

NINTH WARD, 47 W. 18th St., every Sunday; Sec. John Deane, 65 Fish St.

TENTH WARD, 116 W. 24th St., every Friday night; Sec. R. Finstrom, 1004 S. Wood St.

THIRTEENTH WARD, S. E. Cor. Grand and Western Ave., every Wednesday evening at 8 p. m.; Sec. Aug. Klenke, 268 Grand Ave.

FOURTEENTH WARD (Danish), 739 W. North Ave.; 1st and 3rd Friday each month 8 p. m.; Sec. T. Anderson, 1619 N. Campbell Ave.

FOURTEENTH WARD, 284 W. Division St.; 1st and 3rd Sundays, 9 a. m.; Sec. E. M. Stangland, 649 N. Washtenaw Ave.

FIFTEENTH WARD, 969 N. Tolman Ave.; 2nd and 4th Friday evening each month; Sec. Adam Harvey, 932 N. Tolman Ave.

SIXTEENTH WARD, 518 Milwaukee Ave., every 2nd and 4th Friday evening.

TWENTY-SECOND WARD, 350 Latabee St.; 2nd and 4th Mondays; Sec. O. Gritchek, 64 Reese St.

TWENTY-THIRD WARD (Scandinavian), holds out-door agitation meetings; Sec. A. R. Gulburg, 135 Oak St.

TWENTY-FOURTH WARD, 67 N. Clark St.; every 2nd and 4th Wednesday evening.

TWENTY-SIXTH WARD, corner Southport and Belmont Aves., every 3rd Monday evening; Sec. Thos. Carr, 673 Osgood St.

TWENTY-EIGHTH WARD, Brett's Hall, cor. 4th Ave. and Lake St.; 2nd and 4th Thursday evenings each month; Sec. Carl Peterson, 2447 Lake St.

THIRTIETH WARD, 5439 Paulina, every Saturday night; Sec. H. Phillips, 439 Paulina.

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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. (Pulaski's Hall), 8 p. m.

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

THIRTY-THIRD WARD meets at 8412 Superior Ave. (second floor front), every 1st and 3rd Sundays at 8 p. m.; Sec. Majk Pieck.

LADIES SOCIALIST BRANCH, meets 1st and 3rd Sundays each month at 663 N. Paulina (Comrade Olski's home), 3 p. m.; Sec. M. Tylicko, 709 W. 21st Pl.

THROUGHOUT THE STATE.

PEORIA, every Wednesday evening at Mannerherch Hall, Olive St.

JACKSONVILLE, every first and third Sunday at 2:00 p. m. in Trades Assembly Hall; secretary, Val Mertis, 803 N. Prairie St.

BELLELEVILLE, second and fourth Tuesday evenings of each month, at Fisher's Hall, corner of Spring and A streets.

QUINCY, first Wednesday of each month at Fink's Hall, 613 Main street. MURPHYSBORO, every Thursday evening.

COLLINSVILLE, every first and third Sunday in the month at corner of Vandalia and Clay Sts.

MINNESOTA.

SECTION MINNEAPOLIS holds an educational meeting, for members only, at the Labor Lyceum, on the second Tuesday evening of each month.

SECTION MINNEAPOLIS holds its regular business meeting at the Labor Lyceum, 34-35 Washington avenue S., on the last Tuesday evening of each month.

SECTION ST. PAUL holds its regular business meeting at the Assembly Halls, Third and Wabasha streets, on the first Wednesday evening of each month.

MINNESOTA STATE COMMITTEE meets regularly at the Labor Lyceum, Minneapolis, on the first Monday evening of each month.

Section Minneapolis holds public agitation meetings at the Labor Lyceum, 34-35 Washington avenue S., every Sunday afternoon.

SYRACUSE NEW YORK.

SECTION ONONDAGA S. L. P., meets first Wednesday each month at Socialist Labor Party headquarters, room 14, Myers Bldg. BRANCH 1 meets 3d and 4th Thursday each month at Stauf's Hall, cor. Butternut and Knal St. BRANCH 2 meets 3d Friday each month at headquarters, 14 Myers Bldg. BRANCH 3 meets 3d Thursday each month at Haas Hall, cor. N. Salina and Ash. BRANCH 4 meets 4th Friday each month at White's Hall, Delaware and Geddes Sts. Socialist Labor Party headquarters in Syracuse are room 14, Myers' block. Open afternoons and evenings. A large stock of socialist literature and reading matter afterwards kept on hand. All interested in the study of the economic question always welcome.

SECTION PHILADELPHIA, S. L. P., Labor Lyceum, 609-17 N. 6th St. Meets every 2nd Sunday of each month at 3 p. m.; Ed. Kuppinger, Rec. Sec., 1226 Brown St.

Secretaries will please send notice of any omissions, changes or corrections to the above list, and notify the editor of The Workers' Call, 26 N. Clark St.