

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. 35.

CHICAGO, ILL., NOVEMBER 4, 1899.

PRICE ONE CENT.

JUST FOR A STARTER

A Little Reasoning Together With the Workers.

SOMETHING YOU SHOULD READ

Story of the Development of the Laborer and the Machine—The Evolution of Classes.

When the capitalist class first began to rule they really organized a directed industry. The owners of the great factories were the ones who gathered the laborers together and drilled them in working co-operatively. These owners collected with each other to find new and improved methods of production and aided greatly in the advance of industry. But in so doing they were not acting as CAPITALISTS but as LABORERS. The fact that sometimes the same men did the work of both classes did not do away with the fact that the capitalist, as such, was doing no useful work.

Little by little the smaller firms were forced to go out of business because the larger ones could produce cheaper. The income from these great plants was so large that the owners no longer needed to act as their own overseers and superintendents. So they chose from among the laborers, the brightest and sharpest men and set them to work to control, and organize their fellow workers.

Then the corporation came in. The stockholders in a corporation do not need to know anything about the business in which they hold shares and never have anything to say about its actual management save indirectly and at long intervals, and only then if they have a majority of the shares.

Then the trust comes and its stockholders often do not even know where the plants are located in which their wealth is produced, and not infrequently they are paid on condition that some mill stands idle.

The capitalist class have become a class of owners pure and simple. They have nothing to do with the production of goods. But they still take nearly all the product created by the laborer. They can do this because of the laws they have received the laborers into allowing them to make.

There are signs that the laborers are beginning to think about changing these laws. They have long been trained to think that things must be right as they are and that change would be wrong or impossible. But every day that passes is showing them that this position is not correct. Their very work is making them think.

When the machines were first used the laborers were an ignorant mob, who had not yet learned to work together. But their work was training them to act together. Their sufferings soon taught them to rebel together.

At first they joined in trades unions and for a long time there was a hard fight to get the right to have such unions. The capitalists did all they could to stop them and imprisoned and tortured those who dared to unite in their own interest. But by taking advantage of the fight which was still kept up between the old landlords and the capitalists the laborers at last got the right to organize.

Then they were able to struggle as a body for the wages the capitalists should pay them. In this way the few laborers who were inside the unions were able to get a little better terms. Although, at no time were there more than a very small percentage of all the workers able to get into the unions still it was there that they learned how to fight as they worked, unitedly. Here the first beginning of the lesson was taught them that the great body of producing workers had different interests from the small powerful body of owning capitalists.

As more and more perfect machines were made there became less difference between trades. The shoemaker, the weaver, the blacksmith, ceased to exist as tradesmen and all became machine tenders. Men could easily go from one trade to another, and unskilled men and even women and children could work at many trades. So it became harder for the union to protect its membership and keep their wages up.

But the trust has brought in other changes that are still harder to guard against. The reason why strikes could be won was that the employer struck against always feared that his competitors would get his trade if his mill stood idle. But with the trust there are no competitors, and if the employees strike the public must wait for the product until they are ready to go to work again. Finally unless the strike is universal it can shift its work around among its different plants and run one while the other is idle until the workers are forced to submit. The Standard Oil, and the Tobacco and Steel trusts have recently given some examples of these very principles.

All this forces us to the conclusion that something different from the trade

union must be employed if we will fight the battles of the whole laboring class. For the trade divisions the union will always prove the best weapon with which to secure a few more pennies from the individual employer, but it has no answer to the problem of how to save the laborer from his slavery to his tools. It will never get the man out from under the machine and make him the master of his own life.

The laborer must find a weapon that all his class can use at once. He must find a ground upon which he can unite as a body against those who oppress him. He must seek a battle ground where numbers count against wealth, and where men not millions rule. That battle ground is found at the polls, that weapon is the ballot.

The capitalists have given up all connection with industry. They have turned all the work, whether with hand or brain over to wage slaves who have been drilled, organized, trained to work as solid disciplined bodies in the production of goods. Let the laborers carry this same principle into the political field. Let them organize as one solid body of suffering workers demanding that they shall rule instead of the owners. With their overwhelming numbers they can easily make themselves the ruling class in place of the idlers who have so long governed society at every point.

When they have done this then they can organize industry in the interest of the workers not the idlers. They can then say to everyone, including the former owners, "Come and use these instruments of production and create wealth, which shall be for the benefit of all who toil." We will take the mines, the machines, the land, the railroads and all the things that are necessary to the production and distribution of wealth and we will say that these things shall belong to all in common since they must be used in common. We will make the ownership fit the users not the non-users. Just as when each producer worked individually, the tools were owned by the individuals so now that the tools are used collectively they must be owned collectively so that there will be no division of product between the workers and the owners, because all will be workers and all will be owners.

Goods will no longer be sold for profit but will be distributed among those who make them for use, and as there can never be any overproduction so long as there is an unfilled want, and when all wants are filled there will be no suffering. Anyone who wishes to work can use the tools which he owns in common with everyone else and be sure that he will get what he produces. When a new machine is invented that saves labor it will not mean that a few must work for longer hours while a great number starve for lack of an opportunity to sell themselves. Instead each new invention will mean that all those who have been doing the work that it will do, will work shorter hours at easier work and have more time for leisure, education and amusement.

Only the best of machines, located in the best places will be used and nothing will be wasted in running more plants than are needed or in trying to sell goods. So we can produce many, many times what we are producing today and no one need want for anything.

The soldiers, and policemen and lawyers, with the drummers, the sign-painters and bill-stickers will be given a chance to do something that will help to make people warm, and well and happy, instead of being forced to do things that do nobody any good. All this will mean that it will be easy to make so many things that all can live in pleasant homes with all that they need to eat and drink and wear and have most of their time to think of other things than their merely animal wants.

There can be no city slums, no crises, no strikes, no lockouts, no unemployed, no beggars, no charity, no starving, no cringing slaves, no idle masters.

Laborers, these things are for you to do. No one else can do them. No one else should do them. No one else has so much to gain from them. Your class is the class that today have the skill and training to operate industry, you have the common interests upon which to build a firm society, and you alone have the numbers with which to gain the victory at the polls.

You have long been tied a helpless slave to the machine at which you toiled. It has crushed your children, your family, your life beneath its ceaseless advance. It has been the means of your enslavement. It should be the means of your liberation. Are you men enough to seize your opportunity? Will you in these closing years of this most wonderful of centuries, when the long battle of man with Nature is at last over and man, through the machine, has conquered at every point—will you now permit that the very instrument of conquest shall be held by another class and used to crush its creators? Or will you gather with your fellows at the polls and declare that you will no longer be misled by the idle tales of your oppressors who bid you meekly follow false leaders to the puppet parties of your masters?

Every socialist should always have one of our subscription cards in his pocket with which to take ten cent subscriptions.

The most pleasing single feature of Friday's fight on Glencoe's Hill was the fact that the Irish Regiment led the charge and distinguished itself. No better rebuke to the disloyal Irish could possibly have been hoped for.

A regiment of Irish blockheads hired to fight their masters' battles is a "rebuke" to Irishmen who fight for their own interests! A "pleasing feature" indeed for the masters!

(Continued on page 2.)

HOW WILL YOU VOTE?

Where Will You Make a Cross Next Tuesday?

A FEW THINGS TO THINK ABOUT

Where the Interests of the Laborers Lie and How They Can Vote to Secure Them.

Very many into whose hands this falls will go to the polls next Tuesday to cast their ballot. Now how do you expect to cast it? What will be the reasons that will cause you to mark a cross in some particular blank place on that ballot? Will it be because you have always placed it in the same corner? Will it be because some smooth politician has been making up your mind for you? Will it be because you have been told that if you did not vote that way you would "throw away your vote"? Or has it been because you have thought the matter over and decided that you will place your vote where it will really express the best interests of yourself and those who are the nearest to you?

If this latter let us see if we cannot reason a little with you on this line. Let us make sure what your interests are and how they can be best expressed at the ballot box.

In the first place if you are really doing any useful work either with your mind or body you are probably employed by someone. You cannot live unless you find some person who will buy your labor power. You may change from employer to employer but you cannot change your position as a wage slave. The reason for this is that the employer, or capitalist class own all the things that you must work with.

They have made laws saying that the land, the tools, the machines, the mines and everything else from which or with which the things are made which people need to eat or drink or wear, shall be private property. Then they said that the division of these articles should be by free contract and free competition. But the trouble is that as soon as anyone has any more of these things than another the competition is no longer even and free as the one who already has property has a great advantage. In a few generations society becomes divided into two classes one of which has all the property and the other having none. As the property in the hands of the owning or capitalist class grows larger it becomes more and more difficult to get into that class. So it happens that the majority of the people are never able to own anything.

But if they do not own any tools with which to work or land upon which to produce they must find someone who has these things and who will let them use the tools, land, etc. Now the capitalists are very willing to let the laborers use the tools and produce with them because they know that with the improved machines of today he can produce much more than will keep him and his family from starving, and they know that he will have to work for just this living and they can keep all the rest.

This is just what happens all the time, and it is the men you, with the other laborers of America, have elected to office that made the laws saying this thing shall be so. Now the capitalists say that the laborers ought to own the land, machinery, etc., themselves collectively, and keep all the product themselves. They say that since they do all the work and are the only ones who use the machines they are the ones who should have all the product.

None of the old parties believe this. They all declare that private property and the wage system shall remain. But so long as it does remain all these things go with it. So the laborer has no interest in any party except the socialist. If he votes his ticket he shows that he understands his position and knows the way out. No matter whether that ticket will be elected or not, he has still voted for what he wants. And if he does that he is a long ways ahead of the man who votes for what he does not want because he expects to get it. If you thought you were going to be hung would you be most apt to escape by discussing the shape of the scaffold or by strolling how to get out? At least be man enough to say you do not like your slavery instead of helping to rivet your chains tighter.

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MOTIVE TO ACTION

Neither Justice Nor Reason But Self-Interest.

THE CLASS THE UNIT TODAY.

How the Fact of Class Rule and the Class Struggle Point the Way Out for Society.

Revolutionary socialists do not rely on the justice of their cause, though their cause is just. Observation has taught them that, however a few philanthropic individuals may act taken separately, bodies or classes of men do not act from a sense of justice. If they did we should have had socialism a long time ago. A class exists for the common benefit of its members. It is like a corporation: it has no soul. Anything that is opposed to the common interest of its members must be resisted, whether just or unjust. In fact from the standpoint of the class member, that only is just what benefits the class; unjust is that which injures the class. A true system of ethics would make the individual the unit of society and would make society include all individuals and would call that just which benefited this all-embracing society. But our present society is not a society of individuals nor even of families. It is a society or association of classes. The individual is zero; the class is the unit. What benefits one class injures another. What is just to one class is unjust to another. The individual has no connection with society except indirectly through the class to which he belongs. Where a class does an act of apparent benevolence or justice to another class it will be found to be only in relation to some small matter not vitally affecting the supremacy of the class. The capitalist class being now supreme it is clear that socialists cannot hope to overthrow it by relying on justice, either class justice or universal justice.

Neither do the socialists rely on reason, though their cause is reasonable. The advantages of socialism have often been described. Eloquence and enthusiasm find a fruitful field in holding up to view the socialistic millennium where a rational and peaceful system of production will take the place of the present anarchy and waste; where the co-operation of laborers on the largest scale and under the most advantageous circumstances will increase production and lighten labor almost beyond our present powers of conception. Oh, if men would only be reasonable! But men never were reasonable, are not reasonable now and probably never will be reasonable. Otherwise we should have had socialism long ago. And if this is true, with few exceptions, when speaking of individual men, it is still more true, without any exceptions, when referring to bodies and classes of men. Classes of men do not exist for the purpose of acting according to reason. They make no pretensions of doing so. As they have no soul so also do they have no reason. They are organized and operated for pecuniary profit. The capitalist class, being now supreme, will never abdicate through the arguments of reason. A commercial crisis and financial panic are certainly very unreasonable, but if they cannot be abolished without overthrowing the capitalist class, they will never be abolished by that class, no matter if they come here after every five years instead of every ten years as heretofore. Socialists therefore cannot rely on the reasonableness of socialism, though it is reasonable.

We must fight the devil with fire. If justice and reason will not prevail we must try what virtue there is in other remedies. Self-interest is a powerful lever which moves bodies and classes of men to act. Self-interest will never allow the capitalist class to abdicate. It must be overthrown by some other class moved by the same powerful lever, i. e., self-interest, and not relying upon justice and reason. The only such class that exists is the laboring class. Its interests are directly opposed to the interest of the capitalist class. The common interest of the laborers, whether mental or manual, is the only bond that can bind them together into a class capable of withstanding and overthrowing the capitalist class and establishing a system of production in which all may take part and from which none will be excluded. This will make the interest of every one a common interest. Thus incidentally will justice be established not simply for one class but for all, for justice and self-interest will then coincide. The socialist's proper field of agitation, therefore, is the laboring class and his weapon is not a plea for justice and reason and the so-called advantages of socialism; let the Christian socialist preach justice; let the academic socialist lecture on the advantages of socialism; but the text of the revolutionist is

self-interest. He can bestow nothing upon the wage worker. He can only arouse him to see his own interest; to see that by himself the worker is helpless; that his interest is the same as that of his co-workers and opposed to that of the capitalists; that it can be promoted only by united action and only then by means of a political party. If the workers are not yet able to see where their own interest lies the socialist must not be disappointed, but must patiently wait till they have been kept in the school of economic experience a little longer. Industrial conditions in this country will soon enable them to see it. When the loaves of this doctrine begin to work, the mass of wage earners now so inert will become permeated with a new spirit which will spread with accelerated speed gathering strength as it goes. Then will come a real revolution, an elemental upheaval as irresistible as the tide of the ocean. Marcus Hitch.

HOW ITS DONE.

How is it kings and emperors
Are worshipped by the crowd?
The nobly-born are stiff with scorn,
The bishops slick and proud?
How is it that the working class
So meekly drag their chain,
And scarce dare call their soul their own?
Perpend! And I'll explain.
The facts are very simple, thus:
The "lower class" we take
When every young, and in their heads
Some little holes we make
And pump into their craniums
A substitute for mind—
We call it "education."
The it's nothing of the kind.
To hypnotize their intellect
Is easy. In their youth
We fill their heads with precious lies
And scraps of garbled truth;
We teach them to abuse themselves
Before the rich and great,
For meekness and humility
Befits their humble state.

We bid them be industrious,
For idleness is sin;
And only Thrift—and Godliness
True happiness can win;
But if they toil contentedly
And live on "humble pie,"
And do as they are told, they'll be
Rewarded—when they die!
We teach them not to covet wealth,
For poverty's a crown;
That the meek shall be exalted,
And the mighty ones cast down.
We bid them reverence the great,
For Heaven wills it so—
Which is slightly contradictory,
But the beggars never know,
We frighten them with bogies,
And we threaten them with hell,
Unless they do as they are told,
And do it very well;
We bid them not with reasoning
The humble brains to fuss,
But love the State, obey the Laws
And leave the rest to us!

And then we send them out to work—
Poor chaps, they think it's fine
To earn a scanty living
In a factory or mine;
And some are sent to plow the land,
And some to plow the waves,
And some are clerks or counter men!
But all of them are slaves.

We find them with their opinions,
And they learn 'em off by rote,
We tell them who they ought to cheer,
And how they ought to vote;
We praise their "independence"
Their humble brains to fuss,
And they seem to think we mean it
For they're innocent and dense.

Sometimes they cut up rusty,
But they never make it pay,
For they haven't sense or courage
A determined game to play.
They cannot trust each other,
So their efforts come to grief,
And they quail before a bully,
And pay homage to a thief!

So by dint of careful training
We can feed them—upon chaff,
Till they kiss the hand that strikes them,
And adore the golden calf.
Why the scheme should work for ages—
All exploiters hope it may;
But if our dupes begin to think,
There'll be the deuce to pay.
—J. Milton Bloggs in London Clarion.

Another Leisure Maker.

Ashtabula, O., October 28.—One of the greatest and most important inventions of the age has just been completed at Conneaut (Ohio) Harbor. Its general adoption along the Great Lakes will revolutionize the ore-handling business. For years prominent men in the iron and marine world have prophesied that a successful automatic ore unloader would yet be invented, while some declared it an impossibility. The new invention is the fulfillment of the optimist's prophecy. Like the majority of new inventions, it is a labor-saving machine and will throw hundreds of men out of employment. Four machines will be used in the average large ore steamer. This number of machines will employ according to present calculations 24 men, 6 to a machine. These men working with the four machines will do the work of 500, if not more, under the present system of unloading. It is impossible to compute how much hard work this represents. Of the six men employed in connection with each machine, three are in the hold of the vessel and three on the machine. This machine is a massive structure. It is the only one of its kind, in fact, the only automatic ore unloader in the world. Its total weight is 400 tons, its height 55 feet.—Cincinnati Enquirer.

Do not neglect to read the new book offer in this number. Ten three months subscriptions and 50 cents worth of books for \$1.00. Can you not send the dollar today?

INVENTOR'S REWARD

How Capitalism Encourages the Discovery of Improvements.

AS SHOWN BY THE LINO TYPE.

An Example of How Socialism Would Stop All Inventions and Destroy Ingenuity in Industry.

Ottmar Mergenthaler, the inventor of the machine that should bear his name has just died. His death brings to mind many thoughts on the way capitalism treats those who add to the world's wealth. It is one of the favorite objections to socialism to say that we would have no way to reward inventors and is one of the regular questions in defense of capitalism to ask of its enemies if a man who has made a great invention which has added millions to the world's wealth is not entitled to those millions.

Let us put all these objections into the form of a series of questions and see what there is in them. In the first place would there be inventions without socialism? Second, are the great fortunes of today traceable to inventions. Third, do inventors receive great rewards under capitalism?

Let us answer these in the opposite order to what they are asked. Let Mergenthaler answer the first. We quote from his letter to the company which manufactures his machines:

"To deprive a man who has given to the world one of the most important inventions of the age—the credit therefore by discontinuing his name seems to me unworthy of the stockholders, who have been so greatly benefited by my labor, and doubly so, if that act comes coincident to the doubling of the capital stock of the company. From an original investment of no more than \$1,500,000 the company has prospered until it is now proposed to pay interest on \$10,000,000, and on the eve of this event, and as a fitting reward for my labors, you propose to strike my name from the title of your company."

It looks as though someone else besides the inventor is getting both the millions and to honor in this case.

Now as to whether the great fortunes of today are traceable to inventions. To merely suggest that question is to answer it. It is safe to say that there are not a half dozen millionaires in America that can even remotely trace their fortunes to any inventions they have made, while with none has this been the actual base. Edison has often said that as an inventor he made nothing and that it was not until he was a capitalist that his inventions were of value to him.

Finally would there be any inventions without capitalism? Well if capitalism starves its inventors and gives its rewards to others, one might rather ask, how is it that there are any inventions with capitalism? One thing is sure and that is that socialism could not reward inventors any worse than capitalism while on the other hand it is certain that inventors do not work because they are assured a pecuniary reward.

THE SONG OF THE TRUST.

Said the monster trust: I am born of lust
And a lustful horde I lead,
My dam was desire, and my lawless sire
Is known in the world as greed.
At the hour of my birth there was sorrow on earth;
Toll covered her face and wept,
And progress stood back as I rushed down the track,
And blindered justice slept.

As I roll on my path I have sorrow and wrath,
Poverty, hunger and cold,
But the millionaires laugh and a bumper they quaff
To the trust, the great monster of gold.
But they push me too fast, and the many at last,
The many who curse and rave,
Shall seize me and bind me, and lol
They shall find me—
A willing and competent slave.

Like a mountain of snow I grow, and grow,
As the millionaires push me along—
They sink at their labor and crush their neighbors.
Down under my weight with a song,
For the little men must make room for the trust;
They must give us the right of way,
It is folly to fight with a thing of such might,
And a thing which has come to stay.

Though I flatten the purses and win the purses,
Of thousands as I roll by,
Yet the time draweth near, when in love, not in fear,
Shall the laborer look in my eye,
For the people shall claim me and men shall rename me
Though born and begotten of greed,
I shall yet befriend them, I shall yet defend them—
Since only God's purpose can speed.
—Ella Wheeler Wilcox in "Freedom."

The elections of the Landtag of Oldenburg have just taken place. The composition of the assembly has not been changed except on one important point. For the first time since the existence of the Landtag a socialist will have a seat among its members.—Le Petit Republicain.

THE WORKERS' CALL.

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Special rates if ordered by the hundred. Orders for current issue should reach the office by Tuesday evening.

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

EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS. To secure the return of unused manuscripts postage should be enclosed.

The fact that a signed article is published does not commit The Workers' Call to all opinions expressed therein.

Contributions and items of news concerning the labor movement are requested from our readers.

A. M. SIMONS, Editor.

The Socialist Vote. UNITED STATES.

Table with 2 columns: Year, Copies Sold. 1900: 13,704; 1901: 16,552; 1902: 21,513; 1903: 25,588; 1904: 30,020; 1905: 34,889; 1906: 34,275; 1907: 55,550; 1908: 82,204.

Copies sold last week 11,700.

PRESS CENSORSHIP AT HOME AND ABROAD.

Now it is from the Transvaal that there comes a cry of "doctored" dispatches, and fixed up "news." For a long time the American people have been forced to realize that in matters that concerned the Philippines they were only allowed to know the things that the present administration thought it to its interest to let them know.

Now the same story is being repeated by the British and another mighty howl is going up. The Boers are "routed in confusion" by the Husars one day only to learn a few days later that in this "rout" the Husars were taken prisoners and have not yet escaped.

In both England and America the "political purity" crowd, the "reformers" and "antis" have raised a rather large howl about this censorship. They quote liberally from the "blessed words" of Magna Charta and the Declaration of Independence and call names vigorously.

When he sees the anti-trust crowd saying because their little business is going to be taken from them and they be left to starve he thinks of the time the machine was taking his "property" in his trade away and says consolingly, "Never mind, you will be all right in the long run, and besides it is all in the way of progress. This is true for you told it to me."

A NEW PAMPHLET.

Send in An Order As Soon As You Read This.

From present orders it looks as though the larger part of the first issue of 10,000 copies of the pamphlet "The Man Under the Machine," which will consist of the articles now running in the Call under the title of "Just for a Starter," will be ordered before it comes from the press.

It is hoped that it will be ready for mailing by the first of November, it having been hurried through to meet special election orders, but the special offer will remain open until the 15th as announced last week.

There is not an individual in the party that cannot afford a hundred at this rate as it will take but a few minutes to dispose of enough to pay for one hundred and the rest be left to give away. Remember that it is not a leaflet but a neatly bound pamphlet of 32 pages, and giving in simple easy language the main points in the social-

than in the Philippines or the Transvaal.

The machinery here is much more complex than in the foreign colonies, because it has a much greater task to accomplish. But capitalism has found a way to accomplish its end. In most lands the ruling class are in the main satisfied by the automatic action of the law of the market, by which they depend upon only those periodicals being purchased or patronized by advertisers, and hence allowed to exist which are in the interest of capitalism.

The extent to which the information upon which the American public must base its conclusions regarding the world around them is controlled by the Associated Press has been exposed many times and yet few ever take any notice of its existence when they are reasoning upon the supposed happenings of the day.

This organization has its correspondents in every corner of the world and is able to gather news infinitely more efficiently than any single paper could do with the same expense. Hence it is well nigh impossible to publish a daily paper without its consent.

To be sure there are continual attempts to break down this monopoly and there are many newspapers without such a franchise, but they labor under such tremendous disadvantages that it is but a short time in every instance until they either disappear or if they actually build up a strong corps of correspondents and a large circulation the combine breaks its rules and admits them.

Now the Associated Press is absolutely directed, controlled and managed to its every detail by men whose minds are attuned to catch the slightest hostility to capitalism. Long experience has built up for them an army of correspondents trained to know exactly what their employers consider "good stuff," and who will send in nothing else.

In the midst of this a few socialist papers are doing their best to bring out what few facts can be brought to their notice with their limited facilities. They realize full well that this very machinery of news gathering and suppression has set a standard which they cannot hope to attain as to amount of matter gathered and hence the socialist press of America labors under a burden unknown to the comrades of other lands.

SOCIALIST BOOKS FREE.

A Special Limited Offer to Those Who Are to Do a Little Work for Socialism.

The notice in The Workers' Call of two weeks ago concerning the financial situation of this paper has brought out a variety of results. Both friends and enemies have been started into a sudden activity and we are glad to say that the friends have been most active so that we received the largest income during the past week we have for many months.

On the other hand several DeLeonites, notably Frank McDonald of Stoneham, Mass., sent us in a sort of literary scalp dance, illustrated with the choicest DeLeon English glorifying over our supposed downfall. There are a few such persons in the country who are so close to their master's throne that we can always be sure that they will jump at the first intimation. The Chicago comrades would be much disappointed if we did not have a letter from one of these half dozen ardent disciples always lying on the desk for their amusement when they drop in and we sincerely hope that the senders will not cease to sneeze for our benefit whenever their supreme lord and master takes snuff, because otherwise we would never know they were alive.

But just for the information of our friends and the comfort of the DeLeonites, we will inform them that there is no prospect of the Call having to suspend publication. On the other hand we are now making arrangements to enlarge to seven columns in the near future, have subscribed to several foreign periodicals and secured a number of others as exchanges and made arrangements for at least two foreign correspondents and hope to secure others soon.

THE FOURTH CLASS.

The Triumph of the Working Class is the Abolition of All Classes. But here, in the domination of the fourth class comes to light this immense difference, that the fourth class is the last, the outside of all, the disinterested class of the community, which sets up and can set up no further exclusive condition, either legal or actual, neither nobility nor landed possessions nor the possession of capital, which it could make into a new privilege and force upon the arrangements of society.

We are all workmen in so far as we have even the will to make ourselves useful in any way to the community. The fourth class in whose heart therefore no germ of a new privilege is contained, is for this very reason synonymous with the whole human race. Its interest in truth is the interest of the whole of humanity, its freedom is the freedom of humanity itself and its destination is the domination of all.

Whoever therefore invokes the idea of the working class as the ruling principle of society in the sense in which I have explained it to you, does not put forth a cry that divides and separates the classes of society. On the contrary, he utters a cry of reconciliation, a cry for doing away with all the contradictions in every circle of society; a cry of union in which all should join who do not wish for privileges; and the oppression of the people by privileged classes; a cry of love which having once gone up from the heart of the people, will forever remain the true cry of the people and whose meaning will make it still a cry of love, even when it sounds the war cry of the people.

The ten cent three months trial subscription plan in clubs of ten, which the Call was the first to inaugurate, and which has now been taken up by all the party papers with so much success has made possible the reaching of thousands of non-socialists. Now we have another offer to add to that. We will, from now on give any fifty cents worth of books from the following list to each person sending in a club of ten ten-cent subscribers.

For each six months subscription sent in we will give twenty-five cents worth of these pamphlets and for each yearly we will give the whole fifty cents worth. If you are already a subscriber you can have your subscription extended and secure the books but if you do this be sure to state in your letter, as otherwise you will receive two papers. This offer will remain open only until the first day of December, as we then hope to enlarge to seven columns and will not probably be able to make so liberal terms. If this offer is taken hold of as every other offer we have made has been it should roll in 5,000 subscribers at the very least in this time and will mean that over 10,000 pamphlets will be distributed preaching clear class-conscious socialism.

The following is the list from which the selections must be made: 1. Woman and the Social Problem, by May Wood Simons. Shows that the emancipation of woman will only come with the emancipation of man through socialism. 2. The Evolution of the Class Struggle, by William H. Noyes. A historical study showing how socialism is coming.

SYRACUSE ATTENTION!

Threats have been made by democratic heesters that the S. L. P. watchmen would be thrown out of the polls and the vote suppressed. On the other hand the republicans have hinted that the S. L. P. vote would be simply ignored. It is just as important to see that the votes for the S. L. P. are counted as to cast them, and we therefore request all those who conveniently can go to their polling places as spectators to do so, in order that they may act as witnesses in case the old party heesters try any crooked work. If we have eight or ten witnesses who vote our ticket in each polling place we can make it pretty hot for any crooked politician when the case comes to the courts. Comrades in other cities might also take the hint. The presence of socialists in a polling place will make the officers more careful and there will be less mistakes. The reports of the watchers will be received in the Myer's Block.

Do not neglect to read the new book offer in this number. Ten three months subscription and 50 cents worth of books for \$1.00. Can you not send the dollar today?

SNAP SHOTS BY THE WAYSIDE.

The British government is buying mules for use in the Boer war, and in consequence the price of these animals has increased considerably. It is satisfactory to note, however, that the supply of asses (two-legged ones) required for the same purpose, can be procured as easily and cheaply as heretofore.

The Chicago Tribune of October 25th in its dispatches from South Africa has the following: "The pinch is felt at Mafeking. Orders have been issued limiting the meat ration to one pound daily per man."

THE VANDERBILT ESTATE.

The Vanderbilt estate has at last been divided. What have they divided? You, you foolish workmen. Those immense millions in themselves would be nothing were it not for their power to appropriate the surplus value which your labor produces.

Our comrades in Spring Valley have won a great victory. Our newly organized section has worked nobly to compel the recognition of the union, and their action will do more to destroy the influence of the labor fakir than the attempts at disorganization of the Hijckays and Keeps.

Mergenthaler, inventor of the Linotype machine, is dead—died in poverty, too. An admirable and not uncommon example of how capitalism rewards genius. The products of the brains and hands of the workers are alike the legal plunder of the capitalist class.

The beef for the British army in South Africa is to be largely supplied from the Chicago Stock Yards. If there is any "moral sympathy" for the Boers amongst our liberty-loving packers, it could be effectively materialized by working off large consignments of the familiar "embalmed" article upon John Bull. It would be an expression of sympathy for "republican institutions" and a brilliant stroke of "business" at the same time.

CAPITALIST SOLIDARITY.

United States in a Robbers' League with England as to Expansion.

New York, Oct. 24.—A special to the Herald from Washington says: "Clifton R. Breckinridge, United States minister to Russia during the second Cleveland administration, in an interview stated that in case any nation or combination of nations should attempt to embarrass England in the present war in South Africa it would be the imperative duty of the United States to take the part of Great Britain and sustain her with our whole moral and material strength. He said: 'Great Britain's action in South Africa is in line with the duty and development of the Anglo-Saxon race. In her present struggle she deserves the unanimous support of the American people. In case other European nations should, through international jealousies, attempt to retard her in the clear and simple duty she is performing at this time the conduct of the United States should be determined by considerations mightier than mere political expediency or political precedents. We should be enjoined by every sentiment of patriotism and every tie of racial kinship to stand shoulder to shoulder with our brethren across the sea.'"

Sir "Tea" Lipton has finally decided not to visit Chicago, and the local "400" who were eagerly waiting an opportunity to toady around the noble "Sir," are greatly disappointed. But even if Lipton cannot be with us in person his presence will be continually felt in other directions. He does not intend to forego his dividends from the packing house in the Stock Yards and therefore Chicago will still occupy a prominent place in his affection. The interest he takes in us is exactly balanced by the "interest" he takes from us.

Under these circumstances those who work for HIM can go right on voting with the republicans and democrats, and continue to give up the greater part of the product of their labor to the genial Sir Thomas, so that he can have another "challenger" built for "America Cup." Shakespeare said, "What fools these mortals be," and an impartial observer might say today, "What asses these workmen are."

Los Angeles.

The following circular has been issued by the Los Angeles comrades:

To the City Central Democratic Committee: Gentlemen:—Our attention has been called to the plan for the solution of the trust problem recently formulated by that distinguished champion of the Democratic party, Colonel William J. Bryan. As it is a matter of general consent that the Democratic party will adopt in its next platform a plank on the same lines, and inasmuch as such a plan for a solution is to our mind utterly impracticable, unscientific and visionary, we are moved in the interest of truth and the public good to initiate a discussion upon the subject.

We therefore issue to your body a challenge to a public debate. As the challengers we agree to pay the whole of the expense of hall rent, advertising, etc., and will furnish Elk's hall any Sunday night you may choose to nominate, preferably next Sunday week, the 15th inst.

Broadly speaking, the Democratic party states that the trusts are an illegitimate offspring of our industrial system, and should be destroyed, while the Socialist party declares the trusts to be legitimate, and that they should be preserved, but owned by the general government.

Committee Socialist Labor Party. H. G. Wilsnre, Secretary. 636 S. Broadway.

THE ITALIAN MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR.

Gen. Pelloux is preparing a modification of the election law by which he hopes to check the growth of socialism. The law provides that five year's continuous residence in the electoral district is required of each voter as a condition of the franchise.

Do not neglect to read the new book offer in this number. Ten three months subscription and 50 cents worth of books for \$1.00. Can you not send the dollar today?

The cigar makers have still another job on hand. They are going to fight the trust. Good Heavens! Are we to be dragged into the Altdorf-Bryan

WHAT IS YOUR BRANCH DOING?

What is your branch doing that is of interest? Drop us a note about it so we can tell other comrades.

The Communist Manifesto.

(Continued from last week.)

"You are horrified at our intending to do away with private property. But in your existing society private property is already done away with for nine-tenths of the population; its existence for the few is solely due to its non-existence in the hands of those nine-tenths. You reproach us therefore, with intending to do away with a form of property, the necessary condition for whose existence is the non-existence of any property for the immense majority of society.

"In one word, you reproach us with intending to do away with your property. Precisely so; that is just what we intend.

"From the moment when labor can no longer be converted into capital, money, or rent, into a social power capable of being monopolized, i. e., from the moment when individual property can no longer be transformed into bourgeois property, into capital, from that moment, you say, individuality vanishes!

"You must, therefore, confess that by 'individual' you mean no other person than the bourgeois. In the middle class owner of property. This person must, indeed, be swept out of the way, and made impossible.

"Socialism deprives no man of the power to appropriate the products of society; all that it does is to deprive him of the power to subjugate the labor of others by means of such appropriation.

"It has been objected, that upon the abolition of private property all work will cease, and universal laziness will overtake us.

"According to this, bourgeois society ought long ago to have gone to the dogs through sheer idleness; for those of its members who work, acquire nothing, and those who acquire anything, do not work. The whole of this objection is but another expression of tautology, that there can no longer be any wage-labor when there is no longer any capital.

"All objections against the socialistic mode of producing and appropriating material products, have, in the same way, been urged against the socialistic modes of producing and appropriating intellectual products. Just as, to the bourgeois, the disappearance of class property is the disappearance of production itself, so the disappearance of class culture is to him identical with the disappearance of all culture.

"That culture, the loss of which he laments, is, for the enormous majority, a mere training to act as a machine.

"But don't wrangle with us so long as you apply to our intended abolition of bourgeois property, the standard of your bourgeois notions of freedom, culture, law, etc. Your very ideas are but the outgrowth of the conditions of your bourgeois production and bourgeois property. Just as your jurisprudence is but the will of your class made into a law for all, a will, whose essential character and direction are determined by the economical conditions of existence of your class.

"The selfish misconception that induces you to transform into eternal laws of nature and reason, the social forms springing from your present mode of production and form of property—historical relations that rise and disappear in the progress of production—the misconception you share with every ruling class that has preceded you. What you see clearly in the case of ancient property, what you admit in the case of feudal property, you are of course forbidden to admit in the case of your own bourgeois form of property."

"Abolition of the family! Even the most radical flare up at this infamous proposal of the Socialists.

"On what foundation is the present family, the bourgeois family, based? On capital, on private gain. In its completely developed form this family exists only among the bourgeoisie. But this state of things finds its complement in the practical absence of the family among the proletarians, and in public prostitution.

"The bourgeois family will vanish as a matter of course when its complement vanishes, and both will vanish with the vanishing of capital.

"Do you charge us with wanting to stop the exploitation of children by their parents? To this crime we plead guilty.

"But, you will say, we destroy the most hallowed relations, when we replace home education by social.

"And your education! Is not that also social, and determined by social conditions under which you educate, by the intervention, direct or indirect, of society by means of schools, etc.? The Socialists have not invented the intervention of society in education; they do but seek to alter the character of that intervention, and to rescue education from the influence of the ruling class.

"The bourgeois clap-trap about the family and education, about the hallowed co-relation of parent and child become all the more disgusting, as by the action of modern industry, all families are among the proletarians are torn asunder, and their children transformed into simple articles of commerce and instruments of labor.

"In no country is this so true as in the United States. The great extent of the country and its diversity of industries with comparatively easy means of communication have made it possible to break up the proletarian family to an extent utterly unknown in other countries.

FOREIGN NEWS.

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

We have the "she-towns" of the New England factories and the "stag-towns" of the western mining camps, railroad constructors, and cattle ranches. Even in the cities the proportion of "deserted wives" is something enormous. While perhaps but a few blocks away are hundreds of thousands of homeless men. A recent investigation in Chicago gave 200,000 as the number living in the "lodging houses" in the worst part of the city. Even where the form of the family is still preserved everything else is gone. The wife, if she is not a direct bread-winner is only a servant, on a very small salary, who sees her husband only at short intervals at night and morning. The father scarcely gets acquainted with his children, while the latter themselves, as soon as the law permits must enter the field as assistant bread-winner.

Moreover the constant shifting and moving that takes place among the laborers removes all sense of a permanent location with its associations and customs that used formerly to make up much of what the bourgeois is really talking about under the name of home. Investigations have shown that nearly the entire laboring population move at least once each year. Their "homes" for which the bourgeois shed so many tears is but a camping ground in a vermin-infested, disease-breeding tenement where insufficient and ill-cooked meals are served to a group of individuals, driven together by economic necessity. Truly a valuable thing to preserve. The socialist would take out the economic motive, make the union rest on love, give leisure for mutual companionship and abolish the servitude of women and the ignorance and degradation of all concerned. If this endangers the family, it is past salvation.

"But you Socialists would introduce community of women, screams the whole bourgeoisie in chorus.

"The bourgeois sees in his wife a mere instrument of production. He hears that the instruments of production are to be exploited in common, and, naturally, can come to no other conclusion than that the lot of being common to all will likewise fall to the women.

"He has not even a suspicion that the real point aimed at is to do away with the status of women as mere instruments of production.

"For the rest nothing is more ridiculous than the virtuous indignation of our bourgeois at the community of women which, they pretend, is to be openly and officially established by the Socialists. The Socialists have no need to introduce community of women; it has existed almost from time immemorial.

"Our bourgeois, not contented with having the wives and daughters of their proletarians at their disposal, not to speak of common prostitutes, take the greatest pleasure in seducing each other's wives.

"Bourgeois marriage is in reality a system of wives in common, and thus, at the most, what the Socialists might possibly be reproached with, is that they desire to introduce, in substitution for a hypocritically concealed, an openly legalized community of women. For the rest it is self-evident that the abolition of the present system of production must bring with it the abolition of the community of women springing from that system, i. e., of prostitution both public and private.

"The Socialists are further reproached with desiring to abolish countries and nationality.

"The workmen have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got. Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself THE nation, it is, so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the word.

"National differences and antagonisms between peoples are daily more and more vanishing, owing to the development of the bourgeoisie, to freedom of commerce, to the world's market, to uniformity in the mode of production and in the conditions of life corresponding thereto.

"The supremacy of the proletariat will cause them to vanish still faster. United action, of the leading civilized countries at least, is one of the first conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat.

"One of the most farcical things to be met with in our press; society is the way in which the average laborer responds to appeals to his patriotism. A man to whom his country has always meant but a place to toll for another, whose government has been but the means whereby the products of his labor has always floated in defense of all that he should abominate, will go into hysterics when accused of lack of patriotism. The laborer who has been driven from Russian tyranny, or German militarism, or Irish landlordism, only to find himself beneath the keener pressure of American capitalism, will shout himself hoarse in praise of "Old Glory," the emblem of the weight that is crushing him. Capitalism, however, no matter how much it loves patriotism in the worker, will have none of it for itself. The world is its country. China, Japan, India, Siberia, Cuba, or the Philippines, all are its "fatherland," and all are defended with exactly the same zeal when it suits its purpose. Even when fighting its own wars, its individual members will feed rotten beef to the workers who are foolish enough to fight for it and will plunder the commissary department and exploit every financial arrangement made without regard to its effect on their beloved country. When proletarians learn the same lesson there will be an end of capitalism. But this the capitalists will know and so "treason" is placed high up in the category of crimes.

(Continued on page 4.)

bered that among the points on which these two "experts" were in agreement was that it would help to the formation of a union between the bourgeois Radicals and Social-Democrats. Mr. Stoffer was of opinion that this especially had aroused the ire of those purblind dogmatists, the orthodox Marxists, who feared that when once this party was formed their influence would be gone; but that, luckily for these Marxists, just when there was a chance of doing this, when public opinion inside the Social-Democracy was preparing for change, a foolish government, blind to all the good advice Mr. Stoffer was prepared to give it, introduced the Penal Servitude Bill. I am afraid, however, that neither of these two worthies would have much relished the off-hand manner in which Volmar, the leader of the Bernstein section, dismissed these proposals, stating that he did not agree with Bernstein here, and surmised that Bernstein was looking through English spectacles. I am afraid after that, that Volmar will not rank as an expert in Fabian circles. To return, however, to the debate, the really most marked feature was that it showed the weakness of the dividing forces in the party. It was hard at any rate for me to see that there was any essential difference of opinion in the party, and that opinion, I found, became more and more general the more the congress progressed. There were differences of opinion, of course, and these were sharply expressed at times, but these were mainly unimportant, and nothing arose to show that the unity of the party was in any way endangered by them. The well-known lady members were, as usual, to the fore, though chiefly by the attacks of the Bernsteinites. Frau Rosa Luxemburg being especially honored in this connection, and her well-known articles in the Leipzig "Volkszeitung" received an amount of attention which was intentionally complimentary. Otherwise both Frau Zetkin and Frau Rosa astonished everybody by their moderation. In fact, everything pointed the other way, and while it would have been quite possible, I have no doubt, by clever quotations from many speeches to have depicted the party as on the brink of a split, etc., the impression made on the present writer of the strength and unity of purpose of the German party was most inspiring. Nothing showed this more clearly than the fact that the Bernsteinites accepted the resolution of Bebel, which was passed by 216 against 21 votes—fortified as that resolution was by amendment, accepted by Bebel, which accentuated the repudiation of Bernstein's views even more clearly—in fact, the resolution was as clearly anti-Bernsteinite as it was possible to make it without mentioning Bernstein's name. Why Bernstein's supporters accepted the resolution I need not stop to enquire. They did so. The second point I referred to mainly concerned the personal conduct of a member of the Reichstag in publishing an anonymous attack, in a manner which his own friends could not defend, on the attitude of the party towards militarism, and of having misquoted Engels in a manner which left no room for doubt. His defense was enough to condemn him, and a resolution, moved by Comrade Luxemburg, was passed referring to him by name expressly condemning the form and repudiating the matter of the article—also affirming socialism to be unconditionally opposed to militarism as we know it. Other matters were discussed, and a most successful congress closed, after a week's hard work at 3 p. m., on Saturday.

J. B. Askew.

In Justice, London.

Austrian Socialist Congress.

The annual convention of the Austrian Social Democracy opened in Brunn, September 24. The report of the executive committee points among other things, to a healthy growth and increase of the circulation of the socialist press.

That socialism is not an altogether harmless pastime in Austria can be seen from the fact that during the past year our Austrian comrades have undergone imprisonment amounting to a total of forty-five years and fourteen days.

One of the most important questions which came up before the convention dealt with the political situation in Austria and the tactics of the party in that connection. The debate on the subject was opened by Comrade Victor Adler who pointed out in a long report on the party tactics in the last two years that the Social Democracy is the only party in Austria which had a steady and definite course laid out, and which champions the interest of the whole of the working class and not of separate and small sections differing in language and nationality.

"In these exciting times of fierce struggle between nationalities," he said, "the Austrian Social Democracy has stood the crucial test; she had shown her ability to serve the common interests of all nationalities and protect the separate interests of each."

In conclusion he said: "We shall follow in the future the same tactics that we have pursued in the past. The Social Democracy knows no interests except those of the working class. But the political, economic, and intellectual interests of the proletariat are the same in all nationalities. That is the reason why we can pursue a uniform social-democratic policy in this country which is so much torn asunder by dissensions."

The speech was followed by a lively debate, in the course of which the executive committee was reproached for not having taken a more aggressive stand and utilized the situation to the

(Continued on page 4.)

Womans' Department.

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 for this department to the editor, Mrs. May Wood Simons, 6944 Washington Ave., Chicago, Ill.

ANOTHER ECONOMIST.

Professor Hadley Gives His Views on the Trust Question and Speaks for the Good of "the Public."

A fortnight ago Prof. Hadley of Yale university was formally inaugurated as President Hadley. A week later appeared the November Scribner's, with an article by President Hadley on "The Formation and Control of Trusts." The wide-spread interest in the earlier event draws added attention to the article which followed. Rarely in the history of Yale has the advent of a new president been hailed with such enthusiasm. The stately scenes of the inauguration recall to mind—by their occasion, if not by their manner—the wild rejoicings of the students when they finally reached them last spring the announcement from the board of trustees that their favorite professor was to become the head of the university.

The history of Prof. Hadley is such that one might well hope from his pen for something of unusual strength and clearness. The author who has won an international reputation for his writings on financial subjects, and who, at twenty-nine, was acknowledged as the leading authority on railroads, the professor of economics whose classrooms have been crowded with eager listeners, the teacher whose splendid manhood and personal winsomeness have commanded the friendship of all who knew him—this man might surely be expected to bring to the study of current economic problems courage and insight as well as knowledge.

The article in the current Scribner's is characterized by the Chicago Tribune as "reasonable and considerate." Certainly no article could be more reasonable or considerate if its object be to show the relative value of different forms of securities, to indicate the futility of prohibitive legislation as directed against the trusts, and to point out directions in which stockholders may be saved from loss of dividends or "the public" from a sudden rise in prices.

But President Hadley has another object in view. In his opening paragraphs, after pointing out the marvelous development of trusts during the past two years, and particularly in the last six months, he says: "Under such circumstances, the question of industrial consolidation becomes one of pressing importance. Is this a transient movement, or is it a manifestation of permanent tendencies? How far is it likely to go? To what limits, commercial or legal, is it subject? How are its evils to be avoided? Is it, as the socialists claim, a stepping-stone toward a new organization of industry under government authority? These are the questions which must be asked and answered." And in his closing paragraphs, after having dealt with strikes and tariffs and boards of directors, he pertinently remarks: "But there is a still deeper question which many are asking and to which not a few are giving a radical answer. Will such monopolies be long allowed to remain in the hands of private corporations at all? Is it not rather true that this consolidation is in the direction of state ownership of industrial enterprises? Is not a grave crisis at hand in which there will be a decisive struggle between the forces of individualism and socialism, of property and of numbers?"

And what are President Hadley's answer to these far-reaching questions? Does he show the inevitableness of such a struggle? Does he point out the unreasonable and permanent impracticability of the control of the entire industrial world in the interest of one small fraction of its population? Does he urge the wisdom of a peaceful consummation of the coming revolution—the folly of resistance to the next step in a necessary economic development?

By no means! He tells us that the whole question is likely to soon disappear from public interest. He intimates that the entire matter is one of the relative advantages of "a private business which pays less than four per cent" and "a public business which must pay more than three." Naturally he is able to add that "Under these circumstances . . . it makes comparatively little difference to most of us whether an enterprise is conducted by our voters or by outside financiers."

As one reads again the closing paragraphs to discover by what amazing process these conclusions are reached, he is struck by the confusion of thought in the author's mind between "state ownership" and that which the socialists know as socialism. Surely Dr. Hadley cannot be ignorant of the bitter feud which exists in Germany between the so-called "state socialists" and the members of the Social-Democratic party. Otherwise he might have expected to find August Bebel the unwavering upholder of the policy of Princes Bismarck, or the present emperor the admiring friend and co-worker of the socialist Liebknecht. If socialism means nothing more than "state ownership" and the control of large enterprises by "public officials," then Bismarck and William II should

be reckoned among the great paces of socialism.

The socialism does mean something more. If Dr. Hadley will turn to the platform of the Socialist Labor party adopted at New York in 1896, he will see that the fundamental demand of that body is the CONTROL BY THE WORKERS AND IN THEIR OWN INTEREST of the process of production. When this platform states that "our despotic system of economics is the direct opposite of our democratic system of politics" and that to this fact can plainly be traced "the existence of a privileged class, the corruption of government by that class . . . and the abject dependence of the mightiest of nations upon that class," when it calls for "the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of lawless 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,"—something quite other was in the minds of the framers of this platform than something "less than four per cent" as compared with a little "more than three."

Let us examine a little more closely the argument of President Hadley. He tells us that it is quite possible that "many of these enterprises may pass into government ownership in the immediate future; but it is highly improbable that this tendency is increasing the dangers of a conflict between individualists and socialists. Its net effect is to diminish these dangers by making the question of state ownership relatively unimportant to the public as a whole." But who are "the public as a whole"? Since the truth of the entire statement depends upon the meaning of this phrase, it is interesting to note President Hadley's answer. It is contained in the succeeding sentence: "There has been of late years . . . an approximation in character between private and public business . . . Private business can do little more than pay interest on the capital involved, because of the increased intensity of modern competition. Public business can not do less than pay interest on the capital involved, because of the increased vigilance of the taxpayers." These, then, constitute "the public"—the investors and the taxpayers!

Laura Willard Taft.
(Concluded next week.)

Some Tragic Truths.

John was one of those boys of long ago who went through the daily ordeal of toeing the crack in a district school, and to use his own braggardly expression, "Gettin' a leekin'."

"Finally he made up his mind that he would be dogged no more, at least he told his comrades that he had arrived at this wise conclusion. The next time he would do the licking, just for a pleasant variation of the daily program.

Evening of the next day came, and with it as usual the trying moment. The other boys waited around on various pretences. John was called to the test in the same old manner, manfully held out his hand, and courageously took his medicine.

"I thought—" the other boys began as soon as they reached the school yard. "Ah, she didn't lick me long enough," John explained boastfully. "If she'd give me one more crack, I would have lammed her good."

Workingmen, you have been beaten at the polls every year of your lives, beaten by your own acts. Every year at the appointed time you toe the crack and take your medicine. Every year when the sting of your beating subsides, you say, "I will show the capitalist class next year what is what."

The next time you say with John, "Oh, they haven't hit me long enough. I am waiting to let them strike another blow."

Well, keep waiting. Certainly no one else can complain about your condition if you are perfectly satisfied. Some day, you may by good luck awake to the conclusion, evident to any thinking mind, that you and your class have already endured to the end of virtue.

A wise bear, wishing to obtain the honey from a bee hive, laid himself down in front of it and overturned it with his paw. "Now," said he, "I will let the bees sting me until they are exhausted and powerless. The honey may then be obtained without opposition." And it was so obtained but by a fresh bear, the other being dead.

You workingmen who believe that your rights can ever be obtained without fighting for them, fighting desperately and continuously, just lie down beside the capitalist class and let them wound you to their hearts content. Your rights will be obtained later on, there is no question about that, but they will be obtained by another set of men. You will have passed beyond the Jordan before that day of grace arrives.

Catherine A. Tierney.

Italy.

At the provincial elections which took place in Carrare for the two vacant seats in the council, two socialists were elected—Comrades Fusani and Bertolucci.

In the commune of Montecatini Vald Cecina the entire socialist ticket was elected at the communal elections.

Are YOU still hustling for subscribers?

Communist Manifesto (Continued from page 2.)

In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end.

The charges against Socialism made from a religious, a philosophical, and generally, from an ideological standpoint are not deserving of serious examination. Does it require deep intuition to comprehend that man's ideas, views, and conceptions, in one word, man's consciousness, changes with every change in the conditions of his material existence, in his social relations and in his social life?

When the ancient world was in its last throes the ancient religions were overcome by Christianity. When Christian ideas succumbed in the eighteenth century to rationalist ideas, feudal society fought its death battle with the then revolutionary bourgeoisie. The ideas of religious liberty and freedom of conscience merely gave expression to the sway of free competition within the domain of knowledge.

Undoubtedly, it will be said, religious, moral, philosophical and juridical ideas have been modified in the course of historical development. But religion, morality, philosophy, political science, and law, constantly survive this change.

There are besides eternal truths, such as Freedom, Justice, etc. that are common to all states of society. But Socialism abolishes eternal truths, it abolishes all religion and all morality, instead of constituting them on a new basis; it therefore acts in contradiction to all past historical experience.

What does this accusation reduce itself to? The history of all past society has consisted in the development of class antagonisms, antagonisms that assumed different forms at different epochs.

But whatever form they may have taken, one fact is common to all past ages, viz. the exploitation of one part of society by the other. No wonder, then, that the social consciousness of past ages, despite all the multiplicity and variety it displays, moves within certain common-forms, or general ideas, which cannot completely vanish except with the total disappearance of class antagonisms.

The Socialist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas.

But let us have done with the bourgeois objections to Socialism. We have seen above that the first step in the revolution by the working class is to rise the proletariat to the position of the ruling class; to win the battle of democracy.

class distinctions have disappeared and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another. If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organize itself as a class, it, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms, and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class.

Austrian Congress (Continued from page 2.)

fullest extent. In conclusion, a resolution was adopted endorsing the policy pursued by the executive committee and pledging the party to a continuation of the struggle for universal and equal suffrage in all the state and local elections and to the defense of the interests of the working class, in and out of parliament.

Among the other questions discussed at the convention the one in the International Social Democracy and the racial war in Austria was disposed of after a long debate by the following resolution:

Whereas, The racial strife in Austria, extends the tide of political progress and cripples all intellectual development of the nationalities comprising it, and

Whereas, This strife is primarily due to the backwardness of our institutions, and

Whereas, The continuation of this strife between nationalities is one of the means by which the ruling classes secure themselves in power and prevent the people from asserting their real interests; therefore, be it

Resolved, By this convention, that the final settlement of the nationality and language question in a manner to afford equal rights to all is a matter which more than any other involves the further development of the people and is of vital interest to the proletariat. Such solution is possible only in a truly democratic community, based upon direct, equal and universal suffrage, because only in such a community will the working class which, in truth, is the majority of the state and of society, be able to express its will. The preservation and the development of the national characteristics of all the nationalities in Austria is possible only under equal rights and with the absence of all sorts of oppression, and therefore the system of bureaucratic centralization and feudal privileges must be done away with. Only under such conditions will it be possible in Austria to establish order in place of the everlasting national strife.

After enumerating in detail the leading principles along which the reform of the Austrian state is to be carried out, the resolution proceeds as follows:

The convention, as the organ of the International Social Democracy of Austria, expresses its conviction that on the basis of the principles mentioned a mutual understanding between the nationalities is possible; it solemnly declares the right of each nationality to a national existence and a national development, but at the same time it asserts: that all progress can be attained by the various nationalities only in close solidarity with, and not in petty strife against one another; that the working class of all tongues, especially, holds fast to the international militant fraternity, both in the interests of each separate nation and in the collective interests of all; and that it intends to wage its political and trade union struggle in closely drawn ranks.

Socialist Labor Party of the United States.

PLATFORM. The Socialist Labor Party of the United States, in convention assembled, re-affirms 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 we trace 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.

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 cooperatively under the control of the Federal government and to elect their own superior officers, but no employee shall be discharged for political reasons.

FREE SOCIALIST BOOKS... For subscriptions to THE WORKERS' CALL. FIFTY CENTS WORTH OF BOOKS FREE WITH EACH CLUB OF TEN THREE MONTHS' SUBSCRIBERS. TWENTY-FIVE CENTS WORTH WITH EACH HALF-YEARLY SUBSCRIBER. FIFTY CENTS WORTH WITH EACH YEARLY.

FIRST GRAND ANNUAL BALL Seventh, Eighth and Nineteenth Wards Branch, Socialist Labor Party BENEFIT OF SOCIALIST AGITATION LESSING CLUB HOUSE, 445-47 W. Taylor Street, ON SATURDAY EVENING, NOV. 25, 1909. GRAND ENTREE 8 P. M. Tickets 25 cents a Person.

"ARBEJDEREN." PATENT'S Danish-Norwegian Party Organ of the Socialist Labor Party. We are engaged in The General Practice of Law, and attend to All Legal and Business Matters in America and Foreign Countries. 70 Dearborn St., Room 328-330 - CHICAGO.

"ARBEJDEREN," LECTURES! Given by the FIFTH WARD BRANCH, S. L. P., 2930 Wentworth Ave. SUNDAY, "The Present Class Struggle," BY R. BERLIX. SUNDAY, "The Last Development of Capitalism," BY A. M. SIMONS. ADMISSION FREE.

There will be a grand rally of the socialists of Pullman and Roseland held in Roseland Hall, 111th street and Michigan avenue, Saturday evening, November 4th. Comrades Morris, Washburn and Simons will speak. All readers of The Workers' Call in the vicinity are urged to be present. Take notice of the book offer in this number.

SOCIALIST BOOKS

The publishing house of Charles H. Kerr & Company has long been known as the place to buy books of social reform. The course of events has convinced us that half-way measures are useless, and our future publications will be in the line of scientific socialism. We also propose to keep at our office, centrally located at 56 Fifth Avenue, Chicago, an assortment of all important socialist books and pamphlets.

- 1. WOMAN AND THE SOCIAL PROBLEM. By May Wood Simons. 2. THE EVOLUTION OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE. By William H. Noyes. 3. IMPRUDENT MARRIAGES. By Robert Blatchford. 4. PACKINGTOWN. By A. M. Simons. 5. REALISM IN LITERATURE AND ART. By Clarence S. Darrow. 6. SINGLE TAX VS. SOCIALISM. By A. M. Simons. 7. WAGE-LABOR AND CAPITAL. By Karl Marx.

- OTHER FIVE CENT BOOKS. Kautsky-The Proletariat. Kautsky-The Capitalist Class. Kautsky-The Class Struggle. Kautsky-The Co-operative Commonwealth. De Leon-What Means This Strike? De Leon-Reform or Revolution. Gronlund-Socialising a State. Engels-Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science. Lafargue-The Religion of Capital. Henry George-Moses. Benham-The Crimes of Capitalism. Benham-The Red Flag. Connolly-Erin's Hope. Hall-Place of Individualism. Kropotkin-Appeal to the Young. Sanaia-The New Trusts. Sanaia-Territorial Expansion. Socialism and Anarchism. Watkins-Evolution of Industry. The Machinery Question. Marx's Analysis of Money. Catechism of Socialism.

- TEN CENT BOOKS. Merrile England-Blatchford, Communist Manifesto-Marx and Engels. Outlook for the Artisan-Putnam. Socialism, What It Is and What It Seeks to Accomplish-Liebkecht. Kingdom of Heaven at Hand-Woodruff. Socialism-McClure. In Hell and the Way Out-Allen. Drift of Our Time-Parsons. Uncle Sam in Business-Bond. Scientific Socialism-Beresford.

- TWENTY-FIVE CENT BOOKS. Woman in the Past, Present and Future-Bebel. The Juggernaut of the Moderns-Rosa. Dave the Tramp-Laura H. Abbott. Eighteenth Brumaire-Marx. Modern Socialism-Vall. Evolutionary Politics-Mills. History of the Commune of 1871-Benham. President John Smith-Adams. The Pullman Strike-Carwardine. The Silver Cross-Eugene Sue. Only a Woman-Rudolph Leonhart. Kreuzer Sonata-Tolstol. History of the American Tariff. French and German Socialism-Ely. History of the Paris Commune-Bax.

- FIFTY-CENT BOOKS. The Rights of Woman and the Sexual Relations-Hobbes. Socialist Almanac-Sanaia. Looking Backward-Bellamy. The Co-operative Commonwealth-Gronlund. Elsie, from the Norse of Kjelund. A Story from Pullmantown. Prisoners of Poverty-Belen Campbell. Ahead of the Hounds-Richards. The Pure Causeway-Evelyn H. Roberts.

- SOCIALIST AND ECONOMIC WORKS. Bax-Religion of Socialism..... 1.00 Bax-Ethics of Socialism..... 1.00 Bernstein-Ferdinand Lasalle as a Social Reformer..... 1.00 Dawson-German Socialism and Ferdinand Lasalle..... 1.90 Del Mar-History of Monetary Systems..... 2.00 Ely-Socialism and Social Reform..... 1.50 Edgerton-Voices of the Morning..... .75 Gibbins-Industrial History of England..... 1.20 Herron-Between Caesar and Jesus Hobson-Evolution of Modern Capitalism..... 1.50 Hoffman-The Sphere of the State..... 1.50 Hyndman-Economics of Socialism..... 1.20 Letourneau-Property, Its Origin and Development..... 1.25 Lisagary-History of the Commune of 1871..... 1.00 Lloyd-Wealth Against Commonwealth..... 1.00 Loris-Economic Foundations of Society..... 1.25 Marx-Capital..... 1.75 Marx-Revolution and Counter-Revolution..... 1.00 Rae-Contemporary Socialism..... 1.50 Ruskin-Crown of Wild Olive..... .40 Redbeard-The Survival of the Fittest..... .50 Sombar-Socialism and the Social Movement in the Nineteenth Century..... 1.50 Sothen-Horace Greeley and American Socialism..... .35 Sprague-Socialism from Genesis to Revelation..... 1.90 Vall-Principles of Scientific Socialism..... .25 Zenker-Criticism of Anarchy..... 1.50

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THIRTIETH WARD No. 1, German, meets 1st and 3rd Monday each month at 4:37 S. Ashland Ave.; Sec. H. Steiner, 240 W. 46th Pl. THIRTIETH WARD, Scandinavian, 1145 63d St. 2nd and 4th Fridays; Sec. A. Rasmussen, 6947 Ada St. THIRTY-FIRST WARD, 6750 Sangamon St., 1st and 3rd Fridays each month; Sec. J. Washburn, 6629 Aberdeen St. THIRTY-THIRD WARD, room 19 Commercial Block, Cor. Commercial Ave. and 92nd St., South Chicago; 1st and 3rd Mondays each month; Sec. M. H. Taft, 7919 Edwards Ave. THIRTY-FOURTH WARD, 118 S. Michigan Ave., every 2d and 4th Sunday, 8 p. m.; Sec. G. F. Denne, 1437 Parry 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. (Pulaski's Hall), 8 p. m. FIFTEENTH WARD, meets 1st and 3rd Saturdays each month, at Cor. Levitt and Hubbard Sts. (Sobieski's Hall). SIXTEENTH WARD, meets 1st and 3rd Saturdays each month at 1571 Noble St., 8 p. m.; Sec. 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JEWISH BRANCH-1st and 3rd Fridays, 8:30, 5th St. THIRTY-NINTH WARD, Social Labor Club-1st and 3rd Mondays, 8 p. m., 225 South 7th St. TWENTY-EIGHTH WARD, Social Labor Club-1st Friday, 8 p. m., 25th and York St. NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH WARDS, Socialist Labor Club-SW cor. 9th St. and Columbia Ave.; 2nd Tuesday, Discussion Meeting; 4th Tuesday, business meeting. TWENTY-FOURTH AND THIRTY-FOURTH WARDS, Social Labor Club-2nd and 4th Mondays, 8 p. m., Lincoln Hall, 4639 Lancaster Ave. SYRACUSE, N. Y. General Section meeting every Wednesday evening until election, at Staub's Hall, corner Kagel and Butterant Sts. BRANCH 1 meets second and 4th Thursdays at Staub's Hall. BRANCH 2 meets 2nd Tuesday each month at Haas' Hall, corner N. Salina and Ash. Subscribers for The Workers' Call and orders for literature promptly attended to by F. H. Horton, 112 Alexander St.