

THE WORKERS' CALL.

"Workingtons 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.

THE UNITED STATES

The Best Example of the Socialist Philosophy of History.

HISTORY OF CLASS STRUGGLES

How the Class Lines Have Been Shown in the History of America—The Causes At the Base of Political Divisions.

The socialist theory of the evolution of society simply expressed is this:

Since the beginning of history men have lived at different periods under different social systems. Under each social system society has divided naturally into classes, the relation of the classes to each other being determined by the system of production in vogue at the time.

Each social system has contained within itself elements which the natural laws of its development caused to grow into a force that threatened the destruction of the system.

The institutions peculiar to each social system have been those most favorable to the interests of the ruling class. Every social system has been brought about through the struggle of a class which had developed power to overthrow the institutions of the previous system, which had become a barrier to further progress, and substitute its own instead.

History furnishes many proofs of the truth of this theory; but none clearer than is given by the history of the United States.

The American Revolution free the people of the colonies from the oppressive restrictions on trade, relics of the feudal system which their British cousins had overthrown in England one hundred years before. This new society now free to develop contained already several classes. But they were not yet clearly defined and their interests seemed at first identical. There was in the large cities, especially at the north, a class of merchants and ship-owners; in the southern states there was a class of planters engaged in production on a large scale with slave labor, the mass of the people of the middle and northern states were mechanics and small farmers. All required freedom from restrictions on trade—the planters and farmers so that they might dispose of their products abroad in exchange for European manufactures and the merchants because they lived by conducting this exchange.

The planters and merchants were from the first the dominant power in government, and established the laws and institutions which their interests required.

Slavery, the institution of the planter class, had shown a tendency to die out. Slaves which at one time had been imported had now become so numerous as to be a burden to their masters, and many planters finding they could not profitably employ them set them free. But the invention in England of the steam engine and cotton spinning and weaving machinery caused a great demand for cotton and the planters went to cotton raising. Slaves again became valuable and for awhile were again imported. The planter class increased in numbers and in wealth and being in control of government used it always to protect and extend their system.

Meanwhile the northern states had been filled up by immigration from northern Europe. These immigrants coming principally from countries where manufacturing had already reached a high development and finding a country rich in natural resources entered into manufacturing enterprises; and in this way was developed a class of industrial capitalists whose interests required protection from foreign competition so that they might have the home market to themselves.

Every social class, even though not clearly conscious of its interests, turns instinctively to government for the realization of its purpose.

The industrial capitalist class through the Whig party appeared in congress as early as 1810 calling for protection to American industry and internal improvements to facilitate commerce. They bitterly fought the planter class under the title of the Democratic party gaining many concessions until in 1825 the first truly protective tariff law was passed.

The slaveholders meanwhile had developed their resources to the limit. Slaves by their natural increase had become so numerous as to threaten the safety of their system. The industrial capitalist class was gaining in political power. They sought relief in extension. By extending slavery into new territory they would gain an outlet for surplus slaves and by adding new slave-holding states they would increase their power in Congress. They attempted to annex Missouri to the union as a slave state. The plan was violently opposed by the Whig party and the struggle threatened to result in disunion. Thomas Jefferson, then an old man living in retirement, wrote a friend "The discussion over this question falls on my ear like the sound of a fire-bell at night, pregnant with warn-

ing of coming disaster." The controversy ended in the famous "Missouri Compromise" by which Missouri was admitted as a slave state, but slavery was limited in future to the extreme southern states and the first protective tariff was conceded.

Thus we see the slave-holding class in danger of destruction by the natural development of its own institutions trying to save itself by extension while by its side has grown up another class having opposing interests and already powerful enough to check its further advance.

With the extension of its institutions into the vast territory west of the Mississippi the slave-holding class received a new lease of life. With the arrogance of superior political power the law limiting the extension of slavery, the storm-center around which the "Missouri Compromise" was effected, was repealed the hostile sentiment of the northern people was excited by the passage and enforcement of tyrannical fugitive slave laws, and in 1855 a further attempt at extension of the institution of slavery was made by attempting to annex Kansas as a slave state. The attempt was frustrated by the efforts of northern capitalists who paid the expenses of colonists enabling them to locate in Kansas and insure a majority in the territory opposed to slavery.

Texas, then Mexican territory, had been settled by Americans, who having similar interests, were in sympathy with the slave-holders. They had rebelled successfully against the Mexican government and now appeared for annexation to the United States.

So promising an opportunity for further extension of economic and political power was not to be lost, and Texas was annexed and a dispute over boundary made the pretext for a war in which the planter class hoped to effectually secure its domination by the extension of its institutions and the prestige of military conquest.

But the territory acquired proved unsuited for the extension of slavery. The soldiers who attained prominence were of the opposite political party, and the imperialism which was the evident object of the annexation and the war aroused intense hatred of the slave-holding class. The reaction which ensued was hastened by the outrages committed under the fugitive slave laws and by the agitation of the abolitionists.

The Whig party had outlived its usefulness. The Whig statesmen who had led the industrial capitalist class so far upon the road to power were not the men to become servile tools of that class in the days of its power. A new arrangement of parties was in progress which in 1852 began to gather all the interests opposed to the slave-holding class under the leadership of the Republican party. By declaring firmly for non-extension of slavery and nominating men well known as vigorous opponents of the institution, the sentiment of hatred which the abolitionists had aroused was given a chance for expression, and in the Republican vote for president in 1856, the slave-holders saw the doom of their social system.

Checked at every point at which they had sought relief they had yet recoiled from thought of secession and had vaguely hoped for safety in nullification. But the election of a republican president in 1860 left no other alternative. The slave states withdrew from the union. The Southern Confederacy was formed and preparation made to defend their interests by force of arms, which ended in utter ruin and complete subjection.

Thus the first ninety years of United States history is the record of the struggles of two contending classes. We have seen a class having distinct and peculiar interests gain control of government and use it to extend and maintain its institutions; then threatened by destruction by forces which were the natural result of its development and for which it sought relief in extension; and finally foiled in every attempt to save itself from falling, give way to the class which is to supersede it.

W. E. White.

It is remarkable how easy a thing is after you once get used to it. Three years ago, when the American capitalists were busy in exploiting the remnants of the American frontier and had not yet awoke to a full realization of the fact that that frontier was gone never to return, any suggestion that the United States government should purchase islands or acquire them in any way would have been dismissed as "un-American and immoral." But in these latter days when the appearance of the trust and the disappearance of the frontier have made necessary expansion to afford a market for the increased product, a little matter of buying a few islands and several thousand new "citizens" is scarcely worth a notice. That is how it happens that the proposed purchase of the Danish West Indies by the United States is dismissed with a half dozen lines in the daily press, whereas a few years ago it would have been a large enough question to have constituted an "issue" on which to divide the laborers at election and keep them amused while they were being exploited.

MAKE THE BALL A SUCCESS!

ON THE TRUST PROBLEM

SMASHING TRUSTS THE STEEL TRUST

Some Little Fellows Beating Their Brains Out. One of the Things the Convention Will Be Up Against.

BLINDNESS AND IGNORANCE. THE STRENGTH OF FACTS.

A Gathering of Dupes, Small Capitalists Together With Politicians to Stop Social Progress.

The Anti-Trust outfit are arranging to hold another "conference" in Chicago during the month of February. At this gathering all those who imagine they have a grievance against the trusts will be allowed an opportunity to give vent to their feelings. We suppose this will be some consolation to them and for that they should be truly thankful.

Then there will be Billy Mason and Billy Bryan who will have an opportunity to explain what dreadful things they would do to the trust if the people would only be so kind as to elect them to office once more. And we have no doubt but what there will be a lot of laborers who will fall in with their plan and cast their ballots for the aforesaid gentlemen on the strength of their anti-trust position.

When a future historian shall write of this period he should have the humor of a Mark Twain to adequately describe the antics of such people as this anti-trust conference will call together. In spite of the fact that the trust has made it possible to perform the work of the world with infinitely less labor they will cry out for its abolition in order that more people may work. Notwithstanding that every law that middle class muddledom could devise has been tried in the restriction of the advance of capitalism and no more effect has been produced than by the blowing of a child's breath against a Kansas cyclone, still these pocket-bragging fools will raise a yell for some new laws.

And if anyone should be so bold as to tell them that when a new power of production is discovered the thing to do is to use it and not try to kill it they would ask what that had to do with trusts. And if he should show them that the co-operative nature of the management and operation of the trust pointed logically to its co-operative ownership they would cry "Socialist" and flee like one pursued. Meanwhile the trust owner smiles and sees nothing to mar his enjoyment save the little cloud of socialism that is now gathering upon the horizon, but which he fears will spread until it will cover the whole country and shut out the minds of the workers from his control and lead them to work together to a common utilization of the trust and all the other marvelous powers of production that have transformed the earth during the last century.

SOME MORE WARDNER.

Suppression of Free Speech in the Coal Mines of Kansas.

John P. Reese made a speech to some coal miners at Ft. Scott, Kas., at a meeting held off all property of the coal company and he has been sentenced to three months in a jail which is designated as a "hog-pen" by those who have seen it. This was because he had "intimidated" the miners into quitting work. The New York World, in reporting the case, says, "The evidence was that his remarks were not inflammatory, but several hearers testified that in every meeting he advised against any overt act and counseled an ingratiatory attitude toward the non-union men as a means of inducing them to join the union."

The discipline of the "Bull Pen" is spreading. It is evident that Rockefeller does not propose that anyone shall earn donations for Chicago University and the Baptist Missionary society who is not willing to be not only a humble slave but to always admit his condition when asked. When will the laborers of America know enough to unite and elect their own men to office and organize themselves to secure their own interests through the powers of government? The laborers of Germany have just secured the right of coalition after defeating a bill to abolish that right. American laborers are apparently going to allow their right of organization to be taken from them through the courts without an intelligent protest. But then the German workers are socialists while the Americans are —, well it is pretty hard to tell what many of them are without using language too forcible for polite society. But every day that passes shows that a few more of them are waking up and there is nothing like such decisions and Wardner Bull Pen to make them think.

VICE CRUSADE.

Admission of the Necessity of Criminal Districts Under Capitalism.

The periodical "crusade against" vice is just about to start in Chicago. There have been two or three more than ordinarily flagrant crimes committed and the order has gone out to "clean up the levee," as the district is called in which the outcasts of our present social order are herded together. On this point the Chicago Tribune makes the following editorial observations:

The Mayor and the Chief of Police do not seem to be of one mind as to the "levee" question. The latter talks as if he intended to drive all the disreputables out of that plague spot of the South Division. The policy of the former seems to be to subject the "levee" to more rigid police control and punish those of its inhabitants who are guilty of flagrant offenses against laws and ordinances.

An "Asiatia" which decent men have to traverse on their way to and from work or to and from a number of railroad depots, is something which all would like to see wiped off the map if it can be done without doing more harm than good. In other cities when the law-breaking inmates of a tough district have been ordered to move out en masse they have not reformd, but they have gone somewhere else in the same city. They have scattered often, and the inhabitants of respectable sections have been compelled to move on themselves in consequence of an invasion of the evicted inmates of the tough district. What has happened elsewhere would almost certainly happen here were the "police power" to be used to purge the "levee."

Therefore, while it is to be regretted that the headquarters of Chicago vice and crime are where they are, the "levee" policy of the Mayor is better than that of his Chief of Police. It is in the power of the municipal authorities to maintain such a rigid police surveillance in the infected district that vice will be less conspicuous and crime less audacious. The district cannot be made decent, but it can be made to be less flagrantly and openly indecent. When the tough saloonkeepers and tough characters generally understand the police are in earnest they will be much better behaved than they have been.

What a strange thing it is that "in other cities when the law-breaking inmates of a tough district have been ordered to move out en masse they have not reformd." That these poor creatures of capitalism who have been denied all right to existence in what our present morality pleases to call a "respectable" way did not at once proceed to "reform" when ordered to "move on" is remarkable. What should they do? Where would they go? How can they live so long as the opportunities for existence are closed to them? Do you think that any babe was ever born a criminal unless its parents had been driven into such a life? More than that, it is a grim fact that while the labor market is as crowded as it is at present it is well for the "respectable" element that some poor creatures will live in these loeking hells we call "Levees, Tenderloins, Rat Rows," etc. If they did not they might get some of the places now held by the "moral" people and these latter might find it still harder work getting a living.

But what is to be said of a system that openly admits that whole sections of its cities must remain such sink-holes of humanity and that all that can be done is to make "vice less conspicuous and crime less audacious?" Yet this is precisely correct. While society is divided into two economic classes, one of which is in industrial slavery to the other, the enslaved class must pande to the passions and vices of the master class. While profit is the guiding force in industry there must be a continual overproduction of humanity that must become predatory upon all society. To state the case plainly, while economic conditions forbid marriage and starve women, prostitution will flourish; while human beings are shut out from economic opportunity they must steal to satisfy the first law of nature—self-preservation.

The socialist alone has an answer to this problem. Giving all an opportunity to use the tools of production he shuts out all involuntary suffering, removes the incentive to theft and robbery, and then by making woman the equal of man and removing marriage from the field of economic bargaining and making it possible to all he abolishes all possibility of prostitution.

If after twenty years of experimenting with the Interstate Commerce Commission Mr. Stickney, an old railroad president testifies before the Industrial Commission that it has never accomplished anything, what hope is there that the establishment of a similar commission, as proposed by President McKinley in his message, will be able to control the vastly stronger trusts of today. To be sure the socialist has all along known that these commissions are only appointed because of their well-known inability to do anything, but some laborers do not seem to have grasped the fact and continue voting for old parties in order to abolish the trusts.

WHO ARE DREAMERS?

Are the Socialists Really the Ones Who Are Utopians?

THE GROWTH OF SOCIALISM.

The Story of the Spread of the Gospel of the Proletarian Revolt—The Defender of Capitalism the Real Dreamer.

"You socialists are a lot of dreamers and will never get the workers to do anything," says one after another of the wisecracks of the present day. Let us see if there is anything to be encouraged about the progress of socialism. Let us see who are the dreamers. Is it the one who thinks that capitalism has a long life before it or the one who thinks that the time of socialism is near at hand?

The man who predicts the continuation of capitalism must show that concentration of wealth will cease, that the constantly recurring panics will leave industry intact, that the ever dividing classes of laborer and capitalist with opposite interests ever growing more acute will at last unite in brotherly love, and that 90 per cent of the population will meekly consent to remain forever in economic slavery.

The socialist knows that capitalism has existed in a developed form for scarcely a half century. He has seen the philosophy of socialism, which was born contemporaneously with capitalism and which but forty years ago was represented by only a little handful of suffering enthusiasts in London and Paris—here and there a stray follower in Germany whom the police had not been able to locate, with its doctrines untested by time or experience, its tactics indefinite, its press non-existent—he has seen this apparently insignificant germ grow, develop and spread until today it is the most powerful organization the world has ever known. He has seen its doctrines, then confined to a few pamphlets, grow into a widespread literature, counting its volumes by the millions and embracing every language known to modern man. He has seen the socialist press sprout from the irregular "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" of Marx until today were all the socialist publications of the earth to be assembled their combined issues would reach well into the millions and would certainly be greater than those of any other single political organization known to history. He has seen the doctrines of that early time pass from prophecy to history and develop and spread into all lines of scientific research until today they pervade every realm of knowledge and command their followers the greatest intellects of the foremost institutions of learning of the world.

Casting its first vote as a political party in Germany in 1867, it is today the strongest political party in Germany, France and Belgium, and counts its votes by tens and hundreds of thousands in almost every nation of the world. Casting its first Belgian vote in after a hard struggle for the right of suffrage in 1894, today victory seems within its grasp. Hunted down by laws of exception in Germany but a dozen years ago the socialist party there has within the past few years defeated the forces of German imperialism at every point and turned a back to suppress labor organizations by one permitting them.

In France they cast their first vote less than fifteen years ago and today they hold the destinies of the French Republic in their hands and a half million laborers march in a single socialist celebration in Paris while they count their votes by the million.

No, it is not the socialist who is the defender of capitalism who is a dreamer. The few and scattered socialists of America know this with each recurring year the progress of socialism becomes more rapid as they are resting upon the solid ground of scientific certainty when they await the downfall of capitalism within the very present future.

DAVENPORT, IOWA.

Heavy Increase in the S. L. P. Vote in Alderman.

At a special election for alderman in Davenport, Iowa, Com. J. W. Wellesbach received 256 votes against 238 for the successful Republican candidate and 245 for the Democratic. As the highest vote ever polled by the Socialists in this ward heretofore was 111 will be seen that the comrades there are doing some excellent agitation, as a capitalist local paper remarks "The fact argues the decline of the Democratic party in the Third ward. It is only one more instance where the line is being drawn between capitalism and socialism."

Do not fear to take this paper from the office. Some one has paid for it you have not and no bill will be sent. Watch the wrapper to see when subscription expires, and if it has you be ready to renew.

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EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS.

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

A. M. SIMONS, Editor.



The Socialist Vote.

Table showing the Socialist Vote in the United States from 1890 to 1896. The vote numbers are: 13,704 (1890), 10,662 (1891), 12,111 (1892), 25,668 (1893), 30,090 (1894), 34,859 (1895), 55,550 (1896), 82,204 (1897).

Copies sold last week 8,900.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

Perhaps the first impression which might be gained in reading through the great mass of words that make up the annual statement of President McKinley would be one of admiration at the skill in using so many words and saying nothing. But a closer examination will see that the coconut contains considerable milk, but it is all for the class that elected McKinley and to whom he owes allegiance.

Perhaps an interesting feature to the average man as any is that portion where he discusses trusts. It is absolutely necessary for political purposes to make some sort of a "crack at the trusts." So McKinley does it. He points to their "dangers" and declares that "There must be a remedy for the evils involved in such organizations." Then he tells what Cleveland and Harrison said about it (which by the way sound much like his own sentiments), and then throws out a series of hints as to possible regulative and restrictive legislation in the most blissful unconsciousness that in the paragraph just above he has himself shown that there are at present laws on the statute books covering almost every point he suggests and of which he has just said that this legislation "failed to accomplish anything." But then the most of the voters who will read the message are a lot of "absent-minded beggars" and will forget the first sentences before they read the last and forget the contradictions, if they ever see them, before next election.

But the key of the whole message is found in the opening paragraph on the tariff exposition. Here is laid down the foreign and internal policy of capitalism, as interpreted by its American mouthpiece. The quotation runs as follows:

In this age of keen rivalry amongst nations for mastery in commerce, the principle of evolution and the rule of survival of the fittest must be as applicable in their operation as they have been in the results they bring about. The place won in the struggle between industrial people can only be held by unremitting endeavor and constant advance in achievement. The present extraordinary impetus in every department of American exportation and the corresponding increase in the volume and value of our share in the world's markets may not be attributed to accidental conditions.

The reasons are not far to seek. They are deep in our national character and expression year by year in every branch of handicrafts, in every new device whereby the materials we so abundantly produce are subdued to the artisan's will and made to yield the largest, most practical and most beneficial return.

Here is the socialist doctrine of the concentration of industry and international competition justified from the lips of the representative of the foremost capitalist nation of the world. Conventions and improved organization of industry by the laborers must be attained to their fullest extent to cheapen price that new markets may be reached and the whole force of government must be utilized in the interest of the owning class to secure markets for the goods produced by those laborers. All advance is to be purely for the benefit of the owning class because production is for sale and not for use.

And this is the thought that runs through the whole message. It is a repetition of the motto of the truth of the statement in the Manifesto, "The ex-

ecutive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie." In China we are congratulated because "American capital has sought and found opportunities of competing in carrying out the internal improvements which the imperial government is wisely encouraging, and to develop the natural resources of the empire." In Belgium and Germany we hear of efforts made in behalf of American exporters of embalmed beef. In Alaska the government is working in the interests of the fur-traders and fishing companies. The ports of Turkey are being forced open to the products of the flour trust and Japan has agreed to give general admittance to surplus values filched from American laborers by American capitalists.

But how about the laborers? Has he nothing to say concerning the great majority of the population who have produced all this wealth for which the nations of the world are fighting? Yes, he has exactly eight words thrown in parenthetically in the midst of a long sentence on the money question to the effect that one of the attendant features of the general prosperity is "a larger employment for labor at higher wages." And this we are asked to take on trust forgetting the multitude of drummers, clerks, overseers, and workmen in small factories thrown out by improved organization of industry; forgetting Wardner, the Illinois coal mines, forgetting Cleveland and the Kansas mining outrages on free speech, forgetting all the things which the laborer has always shown himself so willing to forget.

This oversight is in spite of the fact that a commission was appointed by the Colorado miners to visit him and were promised an investigation of the Wardner outrages. But the laborers are beginning to learn the lesson he is trying so hard to teach them that they have nothing to expect from a government of their masters and are preparing to organize under the banner of socialism to end all class government.

IMMEDIATE DEMANDS.

Would it not be well at the coming convention to discuss the question of getting rid of some of the tape-worm list of "Immediate Demands" that are hitched on to our present platform? It is not to secure those demands that the Socialist Labor Party is organized but to secure the victory of the laboring class at the polls, that they may enact their interests into laws instead of the interests of the capitalists.

What the details of such enactments will be we do not know and why we should attempt to include a bunch of probable laws in our platform is hard to understand, except on the principle that we are trying to ape the capitalist politicians and include everything that each division of the voters may want in the hope of thus getting their votes. In the end it generally results in simply supplying our opponents with ammunition. They call attention to the fact that they are also in favor of municipalization, eight-hour legislation, small parks, etc., and then ask why we do not support their candidates who will be much more likely to be elected and thus be in a position to give us what we want. Then we are driven into long discussions in which we are on the defensive, to show how our particular brand of municipalization, etc., differs from the capitalist brand.

Not but what it is possible to show this difference and not to say that there actually is not a very great difference, but in such explanation it is at least debatable if we are using our efforts to the best advantage in the propagation of socialism. The shorter and simpler the platform is the more plainly it is seen to be peculiarly socialist. A simple demand that the laborers use their political power to place the representatives of their own class in power, that they may thereby secure possession and access to the means of production and distribution, will never be stolen by any capitalist party, no matter how hard up they are for "thunder."

Such a position will at once and forever differentiate us from all other parties. It will carry the revolutionary principle upon its face. To be short, easy of comprehension, capable of infinite elaboration if necessary and an easy test for admission into the ranks of socialists.

Let local bodies elaborate "Immediate Demands" to suit the local conditions which they have to meet, deducing all positions from the principle laid down in the national platform. When particular "issues" arise the attitude of the party can be determined from the logic of its program and not from the fore-ordained set of rules. This will effectually exclude "reformers" and "one issue" men who seek to make single planks more prominent than the principle from which they are derived.

Did you ever notice how it is in every line of socialist work there are always one or two who are forced to do all the work? Even in the simple, but most extremely valuable work of getting subscribers, there are but a very few who do anything. It is safe to say that 75 per cent of the subscriptions to The Workers' Call have been secured by less than fifty comrades scattered through the country. Yet there is not a comrade who could not send in at least one club of ten every month. And if this were done it would mean the social revolution in 1899. If you think this is fantastic, do a little figuring. But while you are figuring do not forget to send in your club at least.

We would call the attention of the members of Section Chicago, and other cities where the plan may be found practicable to the possibility of circulating The Workers' Call through the newsstands. Now that the cold weather has come on most of the branches have stopped taking bundle orders because of the lack of opportunity to sell them without the outdoor meetings. But if a small bundle is taken each week to the nearest newsstand and agree to receive back all copies left over and to see that he is kept supplied it is easily possible to work up a good circulation. We are having some neat attractive signs printed to assist in this work and will send them whenever they can be used.

Blatchford and Jingoism.

The old "narrowness" of the socialist position has once more been justified. Over and over again Robert Blatchford, the author of Merrie England, has been cited as one who preached socialism without the narrowness of the class struggle. But recent events have shown that his lack of knowledge of the fundamental principles of socialism has led him into a position of complete hostility to the working class interests, contrary to the whole socialist position and in exact accord with the most developed capitalism. He has developed into a pronounced jingo against the Boers and is touting for English imperialism.

The Workers' Republic of Dublin gets after him in this fashion:
"Mr. Blatchford's effort in the 'Clarion' to justify the ridiculous and anomalous position taken by him with regard to Anglo-Boer war is as weakened as it is audacious, and instead of serving to justify him in the eyes of the socialists of the United Kingdom, it compromises him irretrievably, and can only be regarded as the crowning point of his defection from the basic principles of socialism. In this article of his entitled 'Socialism and Cant,' he says: 'I begin to have grave doubts as to whether I am a socialist at all! We are very glad to hear this; we have had very grave doubts ourselves as to the genuineness of his socialism, but our doubts at least are resolved now, and in future we may be excused if we regard Mr. Blatchford as a recalcitrant labor man, masquerading under the garb of socialism.'
In order that those of our readers who do not, happily for themselves, patronize the 'Clarion,' may not lose the treat furnished by the argumentative (sic) style in which Nunquam defends his rabid jingoism, we venture to quote the following passages, before the logical force of which the fires of Aristotle's finest pieces pale:
"Most of those who have written to me about my attitude on the Boer question are simply drunk on cant; their letters reek of it."
"I know the war is due to the ignorance and arrogance of the Boers."
"I cannot understand the vicious, angry preference of some socialists for foreigners against their own people."
"The Boer method of fighting is not that of reckless, gallant, untrained peasants. No: it is that of the bandit, the redskin, and the Afridi. They select a strong position where they are well hid, and they keep up a deadly fire on the exposed enemy. If the enemy retreats it is a Boer victory, and they (the Boers) swagger and brag about it. If the enemy advances they put it him until he reaches their position, and they then run away. If any fail to escape they surrender. Then they go home and lie about their number and losses."
"It remains for the socialist papers only to sneer at the British soldiers; for the apostles of universal love to liber their own soldiers."
"When I think of their (the British officers) fine breeding, their noble sacrifices, their perfect modesty, and then compare them with the noisy, self-sufficient, self-righteous, mean-spirited, vulgar Chadsbands of socialists."

But why go on? These passages speak for themselves. No wonder some English socialists already propose a boycott of the 'Clarion,' but possibly a falling off of socialist subscribers will be amply made up by the custom of the roughs and knife throwers of Trafalgar Square.

We have only to add one word more. It is this: That the revolutionary movement for the reorganization of society on a socialist basis should not tolerate any freaks, professing sympathy for it, either inside or outside its ranks; they should be swept ruthlessly aside in order to clear the ground for the ultimate struggle between Capital and Labor—the portentous sound of which already strikes ominously on the human ear." X.

The new pamphlet by Rev. Chas. H. Vail is now ready and can be secured as a premium with The Workers' Call. It is entitled "The Mission of the Working Class" and is one of the most valuable propagandist pamphlets in existence.

MAKE THE BALL A SUCCESS!

SNAP SHOTS BY THE WAYSIDE.

For the past week the "moral" readers of the morning papers have been swaying between hope and doubt. One morning they are informed that the entire "leave" district is to be cleaned out and that all the disreputable and vicious resorts would be compelled to move south of 16th street, to the great joy of those "moral" property owners in that district, and particularly by those who have been tormented by the possession of small store property which has remained empty of tenants during the past year or so of unexampled "prosperity."

Next morning these hopes would be rudely shattered by a quasi-denial of what had been published on the preceding day. The "leave resorts" were to remain undisturbed, and consequently the prospect of "good times" south of 16th street vanished once more to be revived again in next morning's daily paper.

But the interests of the "community," which in this case means owners of "leave" property, found a champion in the redoubtable Alderman "Johnnie" Powers, a public official whose high sense of rectitude and honest methods is universally acknowledged. This incorruptible citizen headed a delegation to his Honor the Mayor, to protest against the indiscriminate use of the "moral" broom north of 16th street.

His Honor the Mayor promised to give the matter due consideration, and he will now have an opportunity of examining the city laws and ordinances which he and his police officials have sworn to enforce, and discover if they contain anything which would warrant the opinion that what is an abomination north of 16th street may be quite tolerable south of it.

As the "leave" and its objectionable occupants are a direct product of that capitalist system which these "reformers" so energetically defend, and as it grows in exact proportion as that system develops, it will soon become necessary for "reformers" of this particular evil who believe in the "move on" method, to take measures in the future for driving everybody out of everywhere.

An enterprising Chicago jewelry firm puts forth the following attractive advertisement regarding their wares: "Diamonds are the personification of Prosperity and Prestige." "To be successful, look successful, wear diamonds." It is a pity that this excellent solution of the great problem, "How to be Successful" comes too late. The war in South Africa having cut off the supply of diamonds from Kimberly, the working classes are not in a position at present to profit by the adoption of this idea. Of course we have the "prosperity" all right, but lack the diamonds which are its "personification." Until this cruel war is over we will therefore have to content ourselves with the "gold bricks," "silver crosses" and other political jewelry which is the stock in trade of Republican Democratic office seekers.

Mr. John Wanamaker the department store Colossus of Philadelphia gave some evidence before the Industrial Commission at Washington in which the petty retailer might read the death warrant of his class as an economic factor, that is if the aforesaid petty retailer were not hopelessly blind. Amongst other things John tells a plain story as follows:

"What are the creative forces of the modern retail store. It is not the invention of any person or group of persons. It is a natural product, evolved from conditions that exist as a result of fixed trade laws. Cheaper capital, better transportation, more rapid communication make the modern retail store possible and natural, therefore inevitable."
"Economy in the expenditure of money, time, and effort measures a department store's success. Just in proportion as those ends are reached is it popular, powerful and prosperous."

It might be imagined from reading the above that Wanamaker is a socialist, so correct is his summing up this phase of modern production. But a little further on his evidence John enters the realm of romance and disabuses our minds of any such preposterous idea, by declaring that in a department store any employee who lies to a customer is promptly discharged.

Well, John, how about the fellow who drafts the full-page department store advertisements for the daily papers? How about those pants at \$1.98 which were never sold at wholesale for less than \$4.50? How about that "gigantic scoop" on ladies French kid gloves at 35 cents, which our rivals cannot duplicate at double the above prices? How about those enormous bargains in men's shoes at \$2.49, worth \$6? Looks as if somebody was lying when all the "rivals" sing a similar song.

But as Mr. Wanamaker has a national reputation for piety and is also said to be the superintendent of the largest Sunday school in the world, we have no hesitation in acquitting him of the sin of bearing false witness against his neighbor in the same line of business. It must be those envious rivals who are so anxious to secure to themselves the profits which legitimately belong to John, that are guilty of pervariation.

Congressman Roberts of Utah has not been allowed to take his seat in the national assembly pending the investigation of the charge of polygamy brought against him by a large number

of "moral" property owners led by the immaculate Helen Gould. Roberts at least acknowledges his three wives, but it is doubtful if his persecutors would be quite as candid in acknowledging the sources and methods from and by which their "property" was accumulated.

But it is not too much to say that the system by which the "property" of these champions of "social purity" was accumulated, has entailed upon men and women more degradation and prostitution by a thousand fold than Mormonism could accomplish in twenty centuries. Compared with a mean, sordid, heartless business reptile like Jay Gould, Roberts, even with his three wives, appears to enormous advantage.

That sturdy capitalist organ, the Chicago Tribune, is discussing in its editorial pages the very interesting subject of Jonah and the Whale, as to whether it was an allegory or a literal fact. The Tribune no doubt feels that the interests of McKinleyism and the good standard are sufficiently secure at present and can therefore relax its vigilance somewhat, to dabble in the "higher criticism."

It is said that "Jove sometimes nods" but the Tribune is wide awake. Its feeling of security is no doubt greatly enhanced by the publication of an announcement that that unutterable idiot, "Coin" Harvey is about to inflict on the public another free silver volume of the same stripe as the "Financial School."

Lances, bayonets, sabres and dum dum bullets are performing their legitimate functions in South Africa in a very satisfactory manner, and "our special correspondents" are busily engaged in delivering themselves of columns of sentimental bosh regarding the "inhumanity" and "brutality" of such proceedings. "May the Lord deliver us from Cant."

There is much said at present of the decadence of France as a nation and as a world power; but the France that is generally meant is not the whole French people but the miserable irreligious capitalist factions whose utter villainy and rottenness is swiftly preparing their downfall as a ruling class. The France of the workmen, the Socialist Republic, will soon emerge, and if France is destined to take the initiative in the great Social Revolution as appears likely, she will become the world power which will compel the overthrow of capitalism in all other communities.

That ridiculous band of "reformers" known as the "Consumers' League" are now in the midst of their busy season doling out their "moral" platitudes and fatuous advice for the benefit of the "people" who are about to perform their usual Christmas shopping. At their meeting last Sunday the sentimental bosh and economic blatherskite so dear to the heart of the "reformer" poured forth in torrents, chiefly from ladies who through sheer idleness have taken up what they are pleased to call "social reforms" as a fad. But what is a man like Rev. Jenkin L. Jones doing amongst these freaks?

The Rev. Jones told his audience that "to buy in the cheapest market and sell in the highest, is the devil's maxim." Very good, Mr. Jones, but if you really believe that why are you not a socialist. What are you doing amongst a crowd that fight tooth and nail to uphold that blessed privilege which you say is a "devil's maxim"? Your congregation also insist upon the cheap buying and dear selling principle, and you are a servant of those who serve the devil by carrying out his "maxims." Do you really believe that the profit system is an evil, or are you merely dealing in words! words! words!

As for the others, they are about as effective as the fly on the coach wheel. All this bosh about "the desecration of the season of the Christ child," "era of the producer," "era of the consumer," "ethical spending of money," "stand-ard stores," etc., is merely "Tales told by idiots, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing." Yes, the wealthy classes will do anything for the poor—anything—everything—except get off their backs.

The Chicago Record's staff correspondent at Dawson reports that a rush to Cape Nome is depopulating the Klondike country. The inclination to leave Dawson has been increased by the introduction of expensive thawing machinery that requires much capital and little labor for its management. This machinery enables corporations to get possession of nearly all the placer areas that are worth working. Miners have thus been thrown out of employment and the country about Dawson has been so thoroughly prospected that the man without a claim or a business occupation has nothing to do.

The poor devils that thought they had escaped capitalism by fleeing to the Klondike have been brought to a realization of the fact that there is no corner of the world too remote for the system of exploitation to find its way.

Good bye little fellows in the tobacco business. The trust has decided to give a rebate of 10 per cent to those dealers buying over one million pounds a month. All others pay full price. Now if we just had Bryan's license scheme in operation all this would be stopped?

BOOK REVIEWS.

SOCIALIST CARTOONS AND COMMENTS, by Fred D. Warren; Warren Bros., publishers, Rich Hill, Mo.; paper, 16 pp., illustrated, 5 cents.

This is a series of rather clever criticisms of present society illustrated by some cartoons which are decidedly bright in their point of view. One would wish that the author had been somewhat more definite in his idea of socialism so that his pamphlet would not have so much of a tendency to leave the reader "up in the air" so to speak.

THE COMING CIVILIZATION, by C. A. Hedrick, same publisher as the above; paper, 32 pp., 10 cents.

Here again we have this same indefiniteness of which the quasi-socialist movement of America is so prolific. A person who had read this would probably be left in much the same condition as the author seems to be—hopelessly muddled economically, considerably stirred up in a sentimental way and a prey to whatever political trickster might come along. There is not the slightest conception of any of the fundamental principles of socialism, such as the materialistic conception of society, monistic philosophy, the class struggle, the proletarian development, and independent political action. He appeals to "leaders," (p. 22) and all through proceeds upon the basis of the individual philosophy of capitalism. This is none the less harmful in that it appears to be unconscious. One cannot but feel that when those who aspire to write the literature of socialism are so hopelessly ignorant it is not to be wondered at that the mass remain slaves. And if the author would reply that he is not teaching socialism, then we ask him what he is teaching and what he expects to accomplish by such glorious indefiniteness.

GIBSON'S POLITICAL ECONOMY; International Publishing Co., San Francisco, Cal.; 29 pp., paper 25 cents.

This pamphlet bears a most pretentious title—"A Correction of the Economics of Karl Marx and the International Socialist Labor Party," but it falls far short of the title. In fact it is simply a conglomeration of bad grammar, poor economics and farcical reasoning that we are surprised at its being published by a house whose name has always been hitherto a warrant of clear socialist economics. The writer has not the slightest understanding of the man he undertakes to criticize and only makes himself ridiculous by his so-called correction.

WAS IT GARCIA'S FAULT; Chas. H. Kerr & Co., paper, 28 pp., 10 cents.

This is a series of observations by different persons upon a poem entitled "Garcia," by Frank Everett Plummer. The poem is one that deals with social questions and these observations are discussions of the problems arising in connection with the plot of the poem. They turn mostly upon the sex problem and present the views of the individual writers upon that subject. Those who are socialists give their idea of what socialism would have to say upon these subjects and these opinions must be taken to be those of the author's and not of the socialist philosophy or of any body of socialists.

THE COMING ENTERTAINMENT

Let Every Chicago Comrade Get in Line and Hustle.

Section Chicago is arranging for a ball and entertainment for Christmas evening for the benefit of The Workers' Call. Two separate halls have been secured and in one a continuous entertainment will be held while in the other the dancing can go on without interruption. Now the degree of success which is to be attained at that ball will depend upon the way the Chicago comrades take hold of the matter. If every single member of the S. L. P. takes hold and assists in the distribution of tickets and the advertising of the festival there is every reason to believe that enough can be secured to not only put the Call on a perfectly secure foundation for all future time, as no help will probably be needed after the next few weeks, but also to secure a good-sized sum for the general agitation and convention fund. The Polish and German singing societies will be present to assist in the entertainment and an extremely interesting program has been prepared. The Committee have done and are doing their share. Now let the rank and file take hold and boom things.

The situation in the building trades in Chicago remains unchanged. The contractors are demanding the abolition of sympathetic strikes and threatening a universal lockout unless their demands are acceded to. As this would simply mean the breaking up of the laborers into a lot of disconnected bodies it is of course impossible of consideration. Nearly all the laborers in the building trades see this plainly. They propose to stand together across trade lines in defense of the wages they now receive. Yet it seems impossible for them to learn the larger lesson that they must stand together with all other laborers at the polls if they would be truly effective.

The piano-workers are still out and there seems no sign of a settlement. The piano manufacturers are talking about removing their establishments to other places but no definite move has been made as yet.

Sell tickets to the ball to "all your friends."

Socialist View of Ethics.

MAY WOOD SIMONS.

(Continued from last week.)

It remains finally to consider what we have called the constant term in the question, that is the motive force in man. This, whenever he has been free to act, has been invariably his self-interest merged in the interest of his tribe, clan or class.

This position, which will be denied by those permeated with present capitalistic ethics and designated by them as appealing only to the "lower" side of man, requires only a close study of the physical sciences and an unbiased investigation of historical development by a student who comes to the question without prejudice and bound by no ruling class interests to establish its truth.

Viewing first the lower forms of life we become aware that every organism is provided with a system of nerve centers and nerve fibers more or less perfectly adapted to perform the office of guard for the body.

Take the simplest form of animal life, and apply any stimulant that effects the nerve fibers painfully and at once the animal will make every effort to escape from the painful position. This is an old fact in physical science and is recognized as the safeguard nature has provided that species shall not be destroyed, and that, therefore, makes for the preservation of the race.

Such a one may through sentiment, or prejudice, avoid this fact, nevertheless, this law that an organism shuns pain and seeks pleasure applies to man as well as to any other animal, intellect only acting the part of a guide with him.

Thus it becomes plain that those men or tribes of men who best observe this principle and profit by experience have avoided pain, have been the ones who survived and fitted themselves to their environment. Not only was their existence determined by this but as shown by Spencer the state of existence as well since every pleasure increases vitality while every pain decreases vitality.

Such is today the position taken by scientists and writers on sociology, such as Spencer and Ward. Under ethics this same principle is known as self-interest and appears as the moral sanction for man's actions. But since the individual can at no time be considered apart from the society in which he is placed we find this self-interest in every case influenced under tribal society by the interest of the tribe as a whole while with the introduction of classes the interests of each individual were not identical with all of society but were determined by the interests of his class. Unconsciously he performed those acts that furthered the material interest of his class, with which his own good was inseparably bound up.

While this was true of all dominant classes, the subservient class, not economically free, could only follow the course marked out for it by its rulers.

This advocating of self-interest as the ultimate sanction is in no way a retrogression or a return to 18th Century philosophy. Beginning with Bentham, James Mill and Ricardo we find predominating the idea of self-interest in the sense of regard for material prosperity, and the common assumption of the infallibility of the individual where the individual's interests are concerned. At the same time they pointed to happiness—the avoidance of pain and seeking of pleasure—as the moral sanction.

But they assumed that each individual had an equal opportunity to exercise his self-interest. At no time did they ever catch a glimmer of the fact that society with its class divisions provides only for the unrestrained self-interest of the ruling class. This is a vital point of distinction and explains some of the contradictions they sought to clear up.

We have nothing to do here with the later changes which have been introduced into utilitarianism by J. S. Mill who himself recognized that the system was unworkable in present society.

Many of the later ethical writers appear to expect a more favorable state of society in which ethics will develop into a "higher" form. Patton speaks of passing from a pain to a pleasure economy; Mill plainly indicates a new stage where utilitarianism will be possible. It is here that we differ with Mill who would rest the realization of this new period of society upon the advance intellectually and who would neglect the economic change that must precede all other changes. Loria speaks of "final ethics," while Spencer and Ward describe present ethics as in a pathological state and refer to absolute ethics as contrasted with the relative ethics of today.

The terms used by the latter seem however not to express the true conception of society. The socialist holds that the ethics prevailing today since they are the outgrowth of the economic conditions—capitalism—are not pathological but suited to the time. An economic change is now at hand which is to destroy the present conditions and with them much of the ethics of today. This change will mean an advance but on the other hand we can not speak of the socialist regime as "final" since society will continue to evolve and advance.

What form then will ethics take under socialism and what is a more definite conception of the term self-interest as used by the socialist?

That self-interest will constitute the ultimate sanction among a race of economic equals is unquestionable. It remains, therefore, to define the term

self or ego. At first thought this may appear to include not only the person but much more. According to Prof. James of Harvard, "In its widest possible sense a man's 'me' is the sum total of all that he can call his."

One of the most frequent examples used by dualistic philosophers as an illustration of pure altruism is the case of the mother willing to sacrifice herself for her child. Analyzed in the light of the above definition of the "self" it becomes evident that the child is psychologically a part of her and she still acts from self-interest.

From savagery to civilization the "self" thus becomes psychologically enlarged and more huxterically interlarded with other persons. Sympathy likewise, though much too extended a subject to analyze here, may be explained on the same basis. According to Leslie Stephens "whether sympathetic motives are implied or not I do the things which my feelings prompt me to do which are pleasurable to myself." Thus sympathy is found to arise from the same feelings that prompt any other action. It may be prompted by the pains and pleasures of another but none the less they must first become my pains and pleasures.

So philanthropy, which is spoken of as unselfish, when traced back to its ultimate motive is found to proceed from this same self-interest. Those of the dominant class who are given to deeds of philanthropy either find in it a pleasant and "moral" way of spending their leisure, or in some cases see in philanthropy an escape from troublesome feelings as they spend the thousands labor has produced for them, while still others seek to perpetuate their name by acts of charity.

This interpretation of human motives is neither inconsistent or unsupported by facts. Dualistic philosophy with its egoistic and altruistic motives has left ethics in a chaos of contradictions: It is only by thus proving and accepting one fundamental motive force—self-interest—that controls man's acts that ethics can be removed from the fantastic dilettant treatment it receives for the most part, and put upon a scientific basis.

If in a society of economic equals we find each individual following his self-interest what, it will be asked, will we have to assure us that one will not infringe on the rights of others. Under capitalism we see one class of society following egoism as an ultimate sanction. While they were the organizers and promoters of industry their acts made for the good of society. Now that their function is performed and society ready for a change these acts are detrimental to society as a whole. They have become a useless organ and nature must throw them off. The producing class will take their place, organize society without class distinctions and the interests of the individual will become identical with those of society.

Under class rule the dominant class could perform any act of aggression without fear that the helpless subservient class could retaliate. The only restraint to excessive self-interest on their part was the point where the serf, slave of wage-earner might be forced to rebel.

With economic equality any injury committed against another would provoke retaliation which would then be possible.

More than this the individual will recognize that his self-interest and that of society are inseparably connected and that he can best accomplish his self-realization by doing those things that make for social welfare. Hence such acts will survive while the others will be weeded out.

Finally the problem, the reconciliation of the good of the individual with that of society, so long discussed by philosophers and never settled since they did not admit the existence of class rule, will be possible of realization.

(Concluded.)

ARMOUR.

His Value As a Supervisor of Industry Exposed.

P. D. Armour has just passed through Chicago on his way from a health resort where he has been staying nearly all summer, save for a few weeks at his country place in Wisconsin, to another health resort in California. We suppose that his packing houses will now be able to run the rest of the year since his "supervision" during this visit. You know he has always been one of those to whom the moralists pointed with pride as a capitalist who worked sixteen hours a day and earned all he received. We would like to know just how much smaller his income was while he was in Europe, Wisconsin or Pasadena.

But if anyone should suggest that Mr. Armour's employes, who have run the business these many years might be able to run it even if they received all the product instead of the less than existence wages they are now receiving, the person so suggesting would be a dangerous and half-brained agitator and unworthy of all confidence. And the first to call him such would be those same fellows who are doing the work for Armour.

Which is the "foolest," McKinley's "Commission" or Bryan's "McKense" as a means of meeting the "trust problem"? We give it up and pass it on to the American laborers to be thinking over between now and next election.

FOREIGN NEWS.

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

Comrade Pablo Iglesias, one of the leading socialists of Spain, writes in "La España Moderna" on the socialist movement in that country. He shows that, while the progress of socialism there has, owing to the undeveloped condition of the country, the strength of Clericalism, and the ignorance of the population, been very slow, yet it is steadily advancing. Spain, so long bound to the feudal traditions of the middle ages, is now gradually developing a capitalist system. The natural result is the rise of socialism.

The socialist party was called into existence by a few earnest men in 1878; but it remained an obscure body, giving practically no signs of life until 1885, in the beginning of which year the weekly organ, "El Socialista," was started, and a tour undertaken in Barcelona for the purpose of arousing the working classes. The program adopted was essentially the same as that of the socialists in other countries, with whom the Spanish socialists have always worked in harmony.

In 1888 they were strong enough to hold a congress in Barcelona, at which it was decided to form local branches wherever possible. At that time they were able to form sixteen branches. Three other congresses have been held since that date, the number of branches continually increasing. At the present time the number is fifty.

The socialists have made it a rule to keep absolutely apart from all other parties or groups, and any member found guilty of voting for bourgeois candidates or otherwise falling in his duty is immediately excluded from the rank of the socialists. They have run their own candidates for parliament, and although hitherto unsuccessful, the total number of votes steadily increases, and there is reason to hope that they will succeed ere long. In 1891 they obtained 5,000 votes only; in 1893 there was an increase to 7,000, while last year that number was raised to 14,000. In the municipal elections they have been still more successful. In 1891, owing to the fact that the bourgeoisie underestimated the strength of the new party and did not trouble to vote in their full strength, the socialists secured four seats; these they lost at the next election, because their opponents were alive to the position, yet the socialists polled more votes than before. In 1895 they won four seats; two in Bilbao, one in Mataro, and the fourth in El Ferrol.

The socialist party works in harmonious relations with the trade unions. On several occasions the socialists have been able to prevent strikes that did not promise success. But whatever strikes occurred, they were supported by the socialists to the extent of their ability.—The People.

FRANCE.

The great General Congress of the socialists in France is just now in session and all accounts of its proceedings as given in the capitalist press indicate that there is no general sentiment of deviation from the revolutionary class-conscious position adopted by the socialists of the world. A resolution was adopted by a very large majority declaring the opposition of the party to any participation in the management of bourgeois governments. This means that the general sentiment is against socialists taking office in bourgeois governments as was done by Millerand. That this might not be considered as a direct personal rebuke of Millerand, another resolution was adopted intending to cover his particular case and declaring that this rule might be abrogated under certain conditions.

This fact in connection with the complete repudiation of Bernstein by the German Social Democracy ought to close the mouths of those would-be socialists in America who are always telling us that the European movement is growing less revolutionary. The simple fact is that as the party has grown strong, bourgeois elements are attracted by that strength and require continual suppression, and up to the present time they have always received this promptly.

It should be said in extenuation of Millerand personally that he has lost no opportunity to exercise the power that he received in the interest of the workers and the last news concerning him is that he had secured the enactment of a much more efficient factory inspection than had hitherto existed.

HOLLAND.

The Social-Democratic party has taken the initiative in a movement for universal suffrage. At a meeting of delegates held lately in Amsterdam, a national committee was formed for the purpose of promoting universal suffrage. Two hundred delegates were present. The committee is composed of representatives of the Social-Democratic party, and also of the Socialist League, the Radical League, the Woman Suffrage Association, the Cigar-makers' League, the Typographers' League, etc., while various trade unions will no doubt follow. It is resolved to develop a suffrage organization with this end in view, for the elections of 1901.—The People.

GERMANY.

The Vorwaerts speaks of the continual rumors that the government is considering the advisability of dissolving the Reichstag and ordering a new election, and while they do not think such a move probable they warn the German proletariat to be on their

guard that they may not be caught unawares in case such a step should be taken.

In the Reichstag they have secured the enactment of a law legalizing the coalition of laborers. This, of course, is a double victory as the government was seeking to have a law passed (the famous "Penitentiary Bill") making any combination of laborers a felony.

At a recent election in Bremen three new districts were won to the socialists. At the same time three country districts in the same province were captured out of four in which elections were held and two of these were for the first time.

ITALY.

The exposure of the connection of the Italian government with the Mafia is rapidly progressing until there is now every reason to believe that it can be shown that the Crispi ministry was involved in the wholesale murders perpetrated by that organization and that it was "one of the regular means utilized to maintain the capitalist government of Italy."

The obstructionist policy still continues in the Chamber of Deputies and the socialists seem to be able to prevent any action being taken to further perpetuate the abuses under which Italy has so long suffered.

HUNGARY.

The correspondent of La Petite République at Budapest reports that the Hungarian government has forbidden the entrance into Hungary of the Bohemian socialist paper, Pravo Lidu (The Light of the People). This measure was taken because of the attacks by the socialists upon the game that were actually the government of Hungary.

LAST GREAT FIGHT OF ALL.

O my people! O my brothers! Ye who love the Lord of Hosts! Men of might and high learning, fearing not the Dead Past's ghosts! Ye who in the painful present daily sow the future's seed And who march forever onward through both soul and body blood!

Ye who held the plow of progress firm in Error's stubborn soil! While Truth's furrow, growing Godward makes a path for those who toil Through life's rough and rocky desert toward the mountain of the dooms. Where, enshrined beneath Peace's ensign sits enthroned the man of love.

O my people! O my brothers! Though it seem that evil wins And Right's armies flee forever, beaten by the hosts of Sin! Lo! the God of Gideon liveth yet within the azure sky! Still he sees the falling sparrow and will some day hear men's cry!

Ye! He long hath heard their wailing, but hath waited for the time When the cold hearts of their rulers should freeze men's fears to rime. For his anger riseth slowly—long he suffers and his kind— But woe unto the sinning crew who think that he is blind!

So today his fiat saith that Apollyon's reign shall cease When once more the myrror of blood shall dye red his flag of peace. For in every clime and country they who sorrow, serve and slave! Soon shall swear to find their freedom or to fill a patriot's grave!

Though the pass is more than mighty, their oppressors, blind and weak, Smiling, wait the fatal moment when they know their guns must speak. Knowing not that fear or Mammon can not swerve the sons of God? Who have sworn to free his children from their iron ruling rod.

Careless of the vengeance coming, like Belshazzar at the feast, Still they lust, oppress and worship at the altar of the beast! But their day of doom approaches, for in words of living fire Upon the walls of their banquet hall there flames the message dire:

O ye who have ruled to men's ruin, who have worshiped not me, but the purse! Ye have twisted my truth to a falsehood and made of my blessing a curse.

Ye have shorn my ewes in the winter, ye have starved the lambs of my flock. Ye have made of my cross right's gibbet, of my sepulcher door—love's block!

The kindly crosser that turned my sheep when unwitting they went astray Ye have straightened and sharpened into a spear wherewith thou'st lambs to slay!

The power that I gave for the good of all ye have used for yourselves alone! Ye have robbed as ye have ruled, but ye have not been come, for your sins ye must now atone. For, lo! my wrathful sword of flame for the last time I unsheathe, And when again I scabbard it no evil brood shall breathe!

O my people! O my brothers! Arm ye, yird ye for the fray! Watch and wait and pray and ponder till at last there comes the day. When God's fearless chosen warriors bear their heavenly war Lord call. To the field "of Armageddon for the last great fight of all!"

When all hell born legions rally for their final fatal stand Ere the earth becomes the heaven that our Father-Mother planned, Where the workers reap the harvest that their toiling hands have sown And oppression, wrong and evil are to man no longer known.

Where no neighbor was with neighbor and mankind, through spirit birth, Bring God's kingdom that we pray for to all dwellers on the earth! Then, oh, then Mars' mighty war trump shall no more the echoes swell, Nor earth's smills by bloody battle change into the smill of hell.

On the field of Armageddon, slain by Love, lo! Hate shall die! There his cowering conquered legions shall to Love allegiance cry. And the sword and scales of Justice, mightiest angel of God's throne, Shall forever under sunset on the crumbling tomb of Wrong! — Clarence Ladd Davis in Assayer.

Send in a club of ten three months subscriptions and get ten copies of "The Man Under the Machine."

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, 6044 Washington Ave., Chicago, Ill.

THE WOMAN PROBLEM

Its Place As a Part of Social Evolution and Its Final Solution Through Socialism.

Perhaps the most important development of the Nineteenth century is the new conception of womanhood. What raises the world's ideal of woman effect, more changes in business, or science, or education, or government, or philosophy, or religion; it affects the home, life, love, character, everything. Only when we recall the ideas of the last century do we realize what progress has been made. In 1762 Jean Jacques Rousseau wrote in his Emile:

"Women are specially made to please men. . . . All their education should be relative to men. To please them, to be useful to them, to make themselves loved and honored by them, to bring them up when grown up, to counsel, to console them, to make their lives agreeable and pleasant—these in all ages have been the duties of women, and it is for these duties that they should be educated from infancy. . . . Being incapable of judging for themselves (as to religion) they ought to accept the decisions of their fathers and husbands like that of the church." (Emile, ch. v.)

In 1791 Charles Fox said in a speech: "It has never been suggested in all the theories and projects of the most absurd speculation, that it would be advisable to extend the elective franchise to the female sex."

It were scarcely possible to show more clearly, how different are these ideas of woman from those we hold today. Yet are we satisfied? Are women satisfied? Study the facts, as they affect women or are affected by them, that gather round the cradle, the market and the home.

1. THE CRADLE.

The cradle in educated society is going. Much is written and said today about true motherhood. We have mother's circles and maternity lectures; yet the bald fact remains that maternity itself seems going out of fashion. Children are not allowed only in strictly limited numbers. Except among the very wealthy and the very poor (notice the economic fact) where are the families of ten or twelve, of the bygone century? We have changed all that.

In Massachusetts and many portions of the United States, in "advanced society" the birth rate does not equal the death rate. In most of our states were it not for the "unadvanced" portions of society and for immigration, population would be on the decrease. Even in England there is a tendency to defer marriage and marriages are growing less prolific. Doctors of medicine protest and doctors of theology scold, but the fact remains and the effect on the bodies and souls of men and women can only be known in the hospital, the insane asylum and the future. We are not now discussing, but stating facts.

2. THE MARKET.

Women are discharging men and lowering wages. Many men that are not discharged remain only by doing men's work at women's wages. Between 1880 and 1890 women gained on men in every occupation except three. In three occupations only did the proportion of men gain on women. These were as laundrymen, domestic servants and sick-nurses. In almost every employment bureau in the United States it is harder to find work for a man than for a woman. Women are in demand in factory, store and office. In 1890 679,509 women in the United States were engaged in agriculture, fishing and mining; 3,888 men were described in the census as "seamstresses."

And women are lowering wages. Women's wages are usually "supplementary" wages. She usually earns to eke out the income for a family, to add to the earnings of a father, husband or brother. Where as a widow, or alone, she battles her way in the world, she has to compete with and accept the wages of women whose wages are supplementary to those of some man and the average fixes the price. Hence women's wages are lower than can support life. Her rent is usually paid by father, brother, husband and in a growing number of cases by some "friend." Hence girls in stores work often for \$2 per week and not infrequently for less. On the average women are not paid a dollar per day. Those women who are not aided by some man therefore have to starve on less than what supports life, or have recourse to doubtful ways of living. Professional women are an exception, but these in 1890 were not 1 per cent of the whole number of women earning incomes.

In order to sell at all under competitive "prosperity" producers must sell cheap; to do this they must pay the lowest wages for which they can get the requisite quantity and quality of work done. Here man's strength and centuries of experience count for much, but women and machinery are steadily replacing men. Women's wages too only begin by being "supplementary;" they end by being taken out of a husband's or brother's wage. If a man finds that his wife or daughter can earn, he finds that the family can be supported though he earn as much less as his wife or daughter bring in. Hence under competition, to hold his "job" he

can consent to a cut in his wages and pretty soon he has to and the wife and daughter are earning what the father does not. There are temporary and a few permanent exceptions, but this is the rule. In occupations where men's wives habitually work, as in the cotton factory, men's wages are usually low; mechanics whose wives do not habitually work for wages usually get higher wages. Women are thus entering industry, discharging men and making both work for woman's wage.

3. THE HOME.

The home like the cradle seems going. Young men are less sure than formerly of being able to earn and therefore are learning not to marry. Some Massachusetts towns are called "she towns" because the men make the shoes; the men are wending their way to the "stag camps" of the west. A few men in the "she towns" run the business and a few women in the stag camps serve the men. In England about 20 per cent of the women are unwedded, in Belgium 44 per cent, in Europe 33 per cent, in the United States nearly 60 per cent (including girls).

Marriage is decreasing. But divorces are increasing. France in 1867 had 2,218 divorces; in 1886, 6,211 (including legal separations). In England and Wales there were 130 divorces in 1867, and 277 in 1886. In the United States there were in 1867 9,637; in 1886, 25,545. Business, too, leads an increasing number of men to leave their homes to find work.

Various substitutes for marriage and the home are therefore appearing. The rich man's son and the poor man's daughter are becoming "friends," as the theater over-dressed young man meets under-dressed young women in office, hotel restaurant over-paid and over-fed young men find young women under-paid and under-fed. Of more gross, but more demoralizing evils, it was said at the National Purity Congress in Baltimore that the number of prostitutes in the United States was 230,000, which would mean perhaps 1,150,000 prostituted men which is probably far under the truth.

WOMAN UNDER SOCIALISM.

We answer: It would go far to cure these ills. It would solve the problem of the cradle. When fathers are secure that they can feed those already born, they hesitate about new responsibilities; when mothers think of what they can do for the child that may be born their hearts grow sick with them. This is the main cause of the increasing birth rate, not that mothers are growing selfish and fathers heartless. If clergymen and physicians would study economics, not theology, they would talk more wisely upon the subject. Socialism, with its guarantee of support to any who are willing to work, would make parenthood positive and abolish undue care. Socialism, which guarantees support to maternity would provide trained nurses to care for the babe, during at least some portion of the day, that the mother might escape a little to read and grow wiser, better mother. Socialism would make the possibility of ideal motherhood a childhood. Nor would socialism be over-production. Today over-production brings distress mainly upon private household. Under socialism it would affect everybody by reducing the share of each. Hence a social program would restrain over-production, and John Stuart Mill (Political Economy, Book II, Chap. 1):

"Communism (and this applies to socialism) is precisely the state of things in which opinion might be expected to declare itself with greatest impartiality against this kind of selfish indulgence. . . . The communistic sense, instead of being peculiarly open to objection drawn from danger of over-production, has the commendable tendency in an especial degree to the prevention of that evil."

Socialism would solve woman's position as a worker. Today she is on the market as man's rival, rejected him because she is cheap. Under socialism every man and woman can be sure of work and a fair share of product. Men secure of work will not fear women as a foe, but welcome her as co-operator in what she can best, to increase the product and the share of each. This would make home economically secure. Women can care in an honest livelihood without marriage would only marry for love. They would cease to sell themselves for money in or out of the marriage. All divorces that grow out of quarrels or the economic separation of the husband would disappear. A fiction would not come, but permanent homes would be possible to every honest heart. Marriage would no longer be a profession, nor woman a child-bearing machine. In the home of the professor, in politics and the woman would be man's mate. Socialism would make possible ideal womanhood, ideal motherhood, ideal childhood, ideal business, ideal home, would free women and make men—freedom.

Among the other countries that "awakening" just at present seems to be attracting the most attention. Already this development has reached the point where it no longer pays the capitalist class of Russia to use it as a penal colony and we soon expect to hear that the system has been discovered to be just and immoral."

MAKE THE FALL A SUCCESS.

A STATEMENT.

Members of the Illinois State Committee on the Party Trouble.

Members of the Illinois State Committee on the Party Trouble. We are pleased to announce...

Members of the Illinois State Committee on the Party Trouble. A few words of explanation of the attitude of the Illinois State Committee...

Members of the Illinois State Committee on the Party Trouble. The outbreak of July 19th found the Illinois State Committee without any...

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The idea that these men were guilty of having blown up the Sullivan Hill Mine works, the fact is that even those that were brought to trial were NEVER EVEN ACCUSED OF HAVING ANY CONNECTION WITH THIS EXPLOSION.

There is one fine thing about this from the socialist point of view. In order to carry it through it was necessary to have the assistance of Democratic, Republican and Populist officials...

BOOK OFFER.

With the first of December the book offer which we have been making comes to an end. We shall no longer give books with single six months or yearly subscriptions...

POCKET LIBRARY OF SOCIALISM. 1. Woman and the Social Problem. By May Wood Simons. 2. The Evolution of the Class Struggle...

FIVE CENT BOOKS. Kautsky—The Proletariat. Kautsky—The Capitalist Class. Kautsky—The Class Struggle. Kautsky—The Co-operative Commonwealth...

TEN CENT BOOKS. Merrie England—Blatchford. Communist Manifesto—Marx and Engels. Outlook for the Artisan—Putnam. Socialism. What It Is and What It Seeks to Accomplish—Liebknecht...

TWENTY-FIVE CENT BOOKS. Woman in the Past, Present and Future—Rebel. Modern Socialism—Vail. History of the Commune of 1871—Benham. President John Smith—Adams. Kreuzer Sonata—Tolstoy.

No books other than those upon this list can be sent as premiums. No premiums will be MAILED in Chicago. The reason for this is that many of these books go as second class outside of Chicago and so can be sent at pound rates...

The Boers seem to be making it decidedly interesting for the English for a longer time than even their friends thought possible. When the war first began there were the usual stories of Boer atrocities...

To the socialist it seems perfectly natural that the same power, which, at home, kills and maims workers in factories and workshops, poisons them in chemical works, cripples them on railroads, starves them in sweat shops, and asphyxiates them in coal mines...

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...

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...

ENTERTAINMENT AND BALL

by Section Chicago, S. L. P., assisted by the Socialist Sangerbund.

THE WORKERS' CALL

ULRICH'S HALL, 27 N. Clark St. Afternoon and Evening, December 24th, 1899.

All readers of The Workers' Call and their friends are urged to be present. Both halls are hired for this occasion and a continuous entertainment will be given in one while the ball will go on without interruption in the other. One ticket admits to both halls.

Admission 25 Cents a Person.

crop. So the devastation of capitalism is the necessary preparation for socialism and how long its wasteful cruelty must go on before the ground is ripe for the sowing of the new crop depends upon the intelligence of the laborers of the world.

Do you know anyone whom you think is "coming our way"? Send him The Workers' Call for three months for ten cents and hasten his approach.

"ARBEJDEREN." Danish-Norwegian Party Organ of the Socialist Labor Party. Only paper giving News of the Movement in the West. Will tell you What Socialism Is; What It Is Doing, and How to Bring It About.

Books for Socialists

December is the time when, if ever, people think of adding to their home libraries or of sending presents of books to their friends. On this account we use our space in this number of 'The Workers' Call' to describe some new and standard books for the holidays...

THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN AND THE SEXUAL RELATIONS. By Karl Heinzen; a standard work of 400 pages by a German-American socialist, treating delicate questions in a sensible manner; cloth \$1.00, paper 50 cents.

FREDERICK ENGELS, HIS LIFE, HIS WORK AND HIS WRITINGS. By Karl Kautsky, newly translated by May Wood Simons. So closely interwoven was the life of Engels with that of Marx and the early organization of socialism that this might almost as well be called a history of socialism or a life of Marx. Ready Dec. 15; price 10 cents; cash orders received in December will be filled at the rate of 20 copies for \$1.00, or 100 copies for \$4.00, postage included.

POCKET LIBRARY OF SOCIALISM. Beautiful booklets, each 32 pages, with handsome cover; single copies 5c, ten for 50c, forty for a dollar. During December only we will send 500 copies to any address for \$7.50, assorted as desired; a new number each month; nine now ready.

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AHEAD OF THE HOUNDS. By Lydia Platt Richards. A novel, describing the life of a tramp on his way from Michigan to California—a graphic picture of capitalist society seen from underneath. Cloth \$1.00, paper 50c.

GRACIA: A SOCIAL TRAGEDY. By Frank Everett Plummer. A thrilling story in verse of one who loved not wisely, with eight exquisite engravings from art photographs; a beautiful holiday volume; cloth, \$1.25.

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