

# 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. 42.

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PRICE ONE CENT.

## MEN OR PRINCIPLE

### The System to Be Changed Not Leaders.

## FALL OF "GOOD MEN" IDEA.

### Not Great or Good Leaders That Are Needed in the Politics of Today but the Abolition of the System.

By all means let us have a "color line in labor. Anything which will divide the laborers is equal to toast and champagne to their exploiters. This is in no sense a defense of the importation of colored scabs to settle coal mine strikes. A nigger scab is no better than a white scab, but laborers of all color, thoroughly organized at that, are to obtain their rights.

If the intelligent Journal compositor does not quit playing "horse" with my name "Big Eddie" will slide into Spokane on a break beam some of these fine days and "there'll be a hot time," etc. Such familiarity with both my Christian and family names would not be utterly inexcusable were they not common and my "hand write" plainer than print.

And now the K. of L. has gone into politics, to the great sorrow of the plutocratic editors, whose single thought is the welfare of the laboring man. They view the organization of labor with great equanimity, so long as they feel certain of its disorganization upon election day.

"There are good men in all parties." But there are not. Such mouthings do very well for republican and democratic leaders; blind leaders of the blind, on the dead road for the inevitable ditch, or knowing captains of exploitation, marshaling their hosts for still another sham battle, the only principle the question as to which side shall fatten at the public crib for yet a while longer.

"Everything goes" in their propaganda, and there is no earthly reason why it should not. But once a person realizes the iniquities of the present system and the crying need of its overthrow he must, it seems to me, question either the intelligence or integrity of members of any party whose avowed principle is the perpetuation of that system.

If we are going to carry on a campaign that is to result in the overthrow of the enemy, think we need more effective ammunition for our guns than taffy.

If there are "good men in all parties" then must it be that all parties are good, for surely a good man would not belong to a bad party, if he knew it, and if he didn't know it he would not be good, being, as you may say, a fool. There is nothing more distasteful to me than senseless acrimonious abuse of opponents, political or otherwise. Even a little harmless taffy slinging is better than that. But the art of endowing a man with a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde character, ay, worse, the faculty of conceiving of a good man, heartily, even enthusiastically, engaged in mighty bad business, is past my limit.

I would feel as if I was throwing away my time were my political opponents ready to attest with tongue and pen to my worth. Were it not that every now and then some of them bear witness to my mental, moral or physical infirmities I should feel inclined to beat my pen into a mallet and embark on the benevolent assimilation of our rebel Philippines, lately known as the insurgent patriots of Spain. (Makes head difference whose government anyone is fighting against.)

I suppose I am tolerant and bigoted, hope so anyway, but this "peace conference" kind of war doesn't seem to possess any particular charm for yours truly. Don't imagine that I wish to charge everyone who differs from me politically with all the crimes in the calendar. A man may be a republican and not beat his wife; a democrat and not "shake his mother." He may have the direct legislation fever so had that all other issues "look alike" to him, and not rob hen roosts. Some of my personal friends are lost in Stygian political darkness and yet possess many excellent characteristics. But they are not good men, by a town site. I tolerate their political degeneracy on account of their other virtues, but they would be just that much better if they agreed with your servant on matters of public policy.

So long as the "best of motives" continue to produce the worst of results I shall pin my faith to results rather than "motives," and I emphatically decline to endorse either men or parties which continue to uphold principles the effects of which are evil.

It would be very pleasant if political warfare could be conducted with horrid phrases and an interchange of taffy. It would be equally nice if Uncle Sam and the Maylays could settle their little differences with quill popguns loaded with potato wads. But, deluded brethren, it can't be done. People who differ cannot expect to get along nicely. At least they ought not. Whence has

been gained in educational, religion or invention has been won by discussion. I don't want to "compromise." I want to keep a throwing it into the fellow who disagrees with me till I convince him. If the truth makes him hot under the collar, let him get hot. Maybe he'll get a better fitting collar. Maybe I am narrow minded. I don't want to be so broad-minded that all the creeds and equally acceptable to me. I am not so dad-binged liberal that I am willing to let every one "think as they please" if they please to think what appears to me wrong. "Ain't it about time we are making an aggressive campaign? Defensive warfare beats none all to pieces, but they have never properly put us on the defensive. As for myself I have long since "turned my other cheek." Farther than that, my Bible gives me no directions. So "look out for ducks." I'm bigoted, intolerant and narrow-minded. I'm on the trail in full war paint. I don't believe there are "good men in all parties" and haven't a great deal of use for anyone who does. But then, no one thinks so. "The boy lied." Big Eddy.

In Freeman's Labor Journal.

## DEMOCRACY OF SEX.

### The Breadth of Walt Whitman's Idea of Equality.

Walt Whitman's democracy did not end with sex. Man is not always a logical animal. Most of the practical democracy of the world has stopped with men, and generally with white men at that. The political equality of woman has only barely been considered; the still more important question, her economic independence, is yet a far-off dream. But Walt Whitman knew no limit to equality. With him equality meant equality. It could mean nothing else.

I am the poet of the woman the same as the man. And I say it is as great to be a woman as to be a man. And I say there is nothing greater than the mother of men.

Probably Walt Whitman would not have raised his hat to a woman on the street, nor given her his seat in a car, simply because she was a woman. Both these may be well enough, but they grow from false ideas of women and of course through these false ideas, women lost the most. Injustice and oppression can never be made up by chivalry and pretended courtesy. And the evil always is and must be the false relation which these create. Men expect to pay women for their political and economic freedom in theater tickets and by taking off their hats in public, and in the end women become willing to receive this paltry and debasing bribe.—A Persian Pearl, and Other Essays by Clarence S. Darrow.

Selfishness and love are two things which people generally think are opposed to each other. In fact many people recognize that men are born selfish and they always use that as an argument against the socialist, saying that if the socialists ever wish to succeed they will have to change human nature. In fact many so-called socialists fight against selfishness and tell their fellow men that if they only would be unselfish they should in return get heaven right here on earth. Under the present system of capitalism people are forced to abstain from many things that the human body desires and just live on the necessities of life. The working class has believed in this and now reap the consequences in form of misery and hard times. The teachers of capitalism yet tell the people to be more unselfish and save, be cause only through honesty and abstinence "they say" can anybody ever expect to get rich. The capitalist class has profited by the ignorance of the working class and while they have taught the workers to be unselfish, they themselves have been selfish and understanding human nature they have fooled the workers out of their product; and have got through selfishness what the workers never will get through being unselfish. The scientific socialist recognizes that human nature is selfish and instead of opposing it, they have built the foundation of their teaching upon the same. The scientific socialists claim that it is only through giving away their rights that the workers have been fooled, and that the cause of all their misery lies in the ignorance of their self-interest. If one child is born rich and another poor, the rich has an advantage over the poor and there is no equality. If the working class want to have equal rights they must abolish the present system and inaugurate a system of equality, but before doing so, we must teach the people to be class-conscious and having done so they will understand that their interest is to get everything they produce and as production is carried on collectively the distribution must also be carried on likewise. This being the case the interest of one will be the interest of all. Because then, only through helping others can we help ourselves. Selfishness rightly understood is the essence of love, because when we love something we have a desire to possess the same.

Herman Almbiad.

Its a poor ticket seller that cant get rid of twenty tickets. Want to see the ball a success? Then sell lots of tickets.

## IMMORALITY OF CHARITY

### The Curse of Our So-called Benevolences Set Forth in Plain Language.

### HOW THE SYSTEM REALLY WORKS IN OUR PRESENT SOCIETY.

### Creates Its Own Victims Then Exploits Their Misery for Its Own Glorification Without Diminishing the Sum Total of Suffering—Some Illustrations of These Facts.

I suppose it seems like a strong assertion to say that the institution of charity is foolish and immoral. But I not only freely and frankly make that assertion, but I believe that a generation hence there will be found quantities of people who will indignantly deny ever having had anything to do with it. Of course, I do not mean to say that individuals are deliberately guilty of foolish and immoral conduct when they contribute to or engage in charitable work. But I dare to say that the institution of charity today is not only foolish but immoral. I believe that it is a source of degradation not only to those who are its beneficiaries, but equally so to those who are its agents.

Think for a moment of this great system of charity which has grown to such tremendous proportions in our country. You must remember that it is a comparatively modern invention. Fifty years ago Charles Dickens, then on a visit to this country, remarked upon the total absence of extreme poverty in New England, and Wendell Phillips has borne testimony to the same fact. A tramp was something unknown to our grandfathers, little known to our fathers. The tramps of today are not at all descendants of tramps. They are a distinct product of the system which has been growing up in this country for the past hundred years. There is today an institution undreamed-of to the people of a century or two ago. It is that which is called "Associated Charities." Charity has become a fad with no small number of people. The wealthy family today which is not connected with some sort of charity work is entirely out of style. Indeed, it would not be far from the truth to say that failure to engage in some such kind of work causes a person to lose caste in the best society.

Great meetings are held in different parts of the country, and methods of administering our tremendous charity funds are discussed by bejeweled ladies and well-dressed men. Our churches have more calls for gifts to charity than they can respond to. We hold fairs and balls and carnivals and end-of-entertainments for the raising of money for a thousand different kinds of charity. We publish our impressive figures before all the world to show how much we are doing "for charity's sweet sake." Impassioned ministers from gorgeous pulpits in cultivated speech and with moving eloquence call attention to what Christianity has done in the multiplication of charities. Now, I want to say that in my judgment whenever a man does that sort of thing, he glorifies in the shame of the church and the infamy and disgrace of organized Christianity. If a man proposes to exhibit proofs of the virtue and beneficence of Christianity, let him keep silent on the subject of charity. The religion of today gains nothing in the esteem of any thinking man or woman from an exposure of its attitude on the subject of charity. It is an extremely foolish and undecorous generation which gives a higher place in its esteem to the man who discovers some temporary palliative for a dreaded disease than to that man who finds the secret by which the disease may be eradicated and made no longer possible.

What is the purpose of charity? What are the problems with which it has to deal? I think we shall agree that its chief problem is poverty. Whatever other things there be which concern this institution, they are all corollaries of this problem of poverty. Not one of them can be touched effectively until this one is reached.

Right here I propose to relate an incident which came under my observation recently, and which will serve to emphasize what I want to say on this subject. It is but one of thousands of similar incidents which are occurring all the time in every large city in this and other "Christian" countries. Between twelve and one o'clock, the night before election, a young woman came to the home of a friend of mine in the city of Rochester, and asked if she could stay over night. Admitted to the house, she told her story. She had engaged lodging earlier in the evening at a house near by, and had then gone to a distant part of the city to get some clothing from her trunk, which was at the home of a friend. There she found the house locked and was

obliged to hunt a long time for some member of the family in order to get into the house. For that or some other reason she had failed to arrive at what she supposed was to be her lodging place for the night until a very late hour. Everyone had retired, and no one responded to her repeated knocking. (The landlady next day informed my friend that she did not think it wise to admit the girl, because she had three grown sons in the house.) She tried other houses in the neighborhood and finally succeeded in arousing the friend to whom I have referred. The young woman was not at all prepossessing in her appearance. She looked "tough," and yet she was not dissipated. My friend could not feel that that was any reason why she should not give her shelter, and she did exactly as I think Jesus would have done in her place. She gave the stranger a good, clean bed to sleep in, and a breakfast in the morning. She was a young girl. There was no good reason for supposing that she was unworthy of being entertained. I must frankly say that there cannot be any good reason why any person who is able should refuse to do all in his power for a fellow creature, regardless of appearance or facts. I can easily conceive it possible for any of us to become as seedy and repellent as the worst, if we were reduced to the conditions which surround many of our fellows. It seems that this young girl had been working in Kimball's tobacco factory, had lost her position, and was reduced to very straightened circumstances. I have nothing to say against this particular factory or any other, so far as the personal question is concerned. One factory is as good or as bad as another, and all of them are bits of the fair face of the earth in every sense of the word, under the existing economic system. But the proprietors and stockholders of this concern, are, no doubt, as virtuous as the rest of us. The girl had lost her position, for what reason I am unable to say. And it is not of the slightest consequence or pertinence to any phase of the question.

There are positions in many of our factories, there are jobs which men and women are holding in this country, which no more permit them to be good or virtuous, than it is possible to maintain a small heaven in the middle of hell. Indeed, there are no positions of any sort whatever today in our whole industrial system from the top to the bottom in which there is the remotest possibility for any man to be just or loving or good. Every position that can be named is nothing but an agency of injustice and evil and prostitution. It is a constant wonder to me that humanity can remain sane, even, under the economic conditions which prevail.

This girl had lost her position, and it remained for her to drop to a much lower one. It is fair to assume that she had not been receiving a high rate of wages, and it is absolutely certain that neither she nor any other person plodding along the treadmill of our capitalist slave-pen had received or is receiving a fifth of the value to which her labor justly entitled her. The new position in the same factory now open to her yields the enormous wages of two and a half dollars a week! Inasmuch as her board and lodging would cost her at least three and a half dollars a week it was a difficult problem in mathematics, and one a million times more important than was ever embodied in a text-book on arithmetic or discussed in a college classroom, how that girl was to live. She has no one but herself to depend upon—What is she to do? My friend advised her to find some other kind of employment, to seek a position as servant girl. But she cautioned her above all not to tell any one she was from Kimball's factory, since in that case she would not be wanted anywhere. A fine recommendation of a factory! And it will apply with equal force to quantities of other factories where girls are employed. It is a great pity that our factories do not advertise the human product which they are throwing out on the market, even the best of them. If once the world could be made to see that side of the question, the hideous system would not stand six months.

So this young girl, your sister and mine, if what we have been saying in these Christian churches all these

years is not the veriest blasphemy of hell, this girl who is as closely related to every man and woman of us as any other human being that walks the earth, went out of this temporary home to face the world with one cent as her whole available capital, and with the hate and contempt and scorn and curse of this rotten and corrupt civilization that presumes to add insult to injury by applying to itself the term "Christian," resting like a load of lead on her soul. In other words, she went to hell, the hell which our sanctimonious hypocrisy which calls itself religion is doing all in its power to maintain. She had already tried to get into the Y. M. C. A., but she found, as I could have told her, that there was no room for her there. There is not a man or woman in the city of Rochester that does not know that Mary Magdalene would herself be turned away from the doors of the Young Women's Christian Association in disgust, as she would from every other Christian institution of the city, and Jesus would be arrested and brought before the police court for vagrancy.

Now, what is going to happen to this girl? That is an easy one to answer. And when we answer it, we answer the same question for tens of thousands of other young women like her in this country of ours. That young woman is going to be grist for our charity mill. Her life and career is a fair illustration of the beauty and beneficence of our highly artistic religion. This young woman is headed for a place which our holy religion has kindly prepared for her, the home for fallen women. It is certainly a beautiful arrangement which exists whereby the industrial and the religious systems of the present time complement each other. One of them furnishes the material, the other furnishes the receptacle. And that is where this poor sister of ours is going. There is no other place for her, except the river. No matter what she is. No matter what her parentage. No matter what she would be like. There is but one thing she can possibly be. We know what that is.

Now, I do not care to enter into any discussion of the depravity of human nature. That sort of thing would have been exceedingly interesting, no doubt, a few centuries ago, and it may be today to some people who are still residing in the sixteenth century, though claiming a vote in the nineteenth. But it is like the Ptolemaic astronomy today. It has no place in rational human thinking. It is an insult to intelligent men and women to talk any longer about depravity. We have here a condition in which nothing but utter ruin is possible. Fathers and mothers, just imagine for a moment your daughters reduced to poverty. Imagine them deprived of their homes, their parents dead, their friends all gone. Imagine them under immediate necessity of earning a living. Imagine them for one reason or another compelled to take a position in Kimball's tobacco factory. Imagine them obliged to take what they can get in the way of lodging. Imagine them even reduced to the necessity of working for wages insufficient to pay their living expenses. Will you tell me what their fate will be? Perhaps you will not dare to say it, but you and I know perfectly well what their fate is sure to be. There is no choice for them, except shame or starvation or suicide. We have wasted a great deal of valuable time in discussions of the doctrine of a future hell. No picture of a future hell has ever been drawn or can be drawn which approaches in hideousness the prospect which this young woman today faces in the city of Rochester.

"But," I hear you say, "think of the lovely provision that Christian people have made for such poor unfortunates as she. Think of the blessed charity which has established houses of refuge where she can be taken care of by ad by, when all hope of happiness or a clean life has been blotted out of her soul. Think of the money which the good people of our highly moral city are expending every year to maintain these institutions where such as she can be taken and given a chance to be converted and filled with the hope of a crown of bright jewels in the sweet bye and bye. Think of the good and virtuous people who are working day and night to help these poor creatures." Yes, I think of them all, and I hate the whole devilish system with all my soul. I think of their blood-stained money, wrung from the very hearts of men and women, and then some small portion of the stolen wealth devoted with fictitious piety to publish to all the world the ruin of those poor victims, ruin which this system has itself consummated.

What is it that this girl wants? Does she want your charity? Not at all. She wants nothing so much as to be saved from your charity. She wants deliverance from the hell of a Christian civilization. She wants emancipation from the slavery which is decreed for her and for millions of others by the stupid folly of deacons and elders and clergymen and other representatives of a thing which bears no more resemblance to the religion of

(Continued from page 1.)

## HONOR FOR IDAHO

### Capitalism Glories in Its Own Shameful Acts.

## COMPARISON WITH JEFFRIES.

### The New York Sun Exalts in the Brutality of Wardner, Idaho, and Praises the Defenders of Capitalism.

When we say the following is from the New York Sun everybody will believe us:

### HONOR FOR IDAHO.

It is satisfactory to know that against lawless assaults of the Miner's Union in the State of Idaho upon the mine owners and their employees in the Coeur d'Alenes, not one public official charged with responsibility for preserving order and protecting men in their rights failed to perform his duty. The governor of the state, Stuenkel, himself a trade unionist, the other state officers concerned, the military commanders called upon in moments of emergency, and the bench have stood unflinchingly by the law.

We take from the St. Paul Pioneer Press the Idaho Supreme Court's remarks upon the pernicious sympathy aroused by these malefactors among officers concerned, the military commanders called upon in moments of emergency, and the bench have stood unflinchingly by the law.

A striker named Corcoran was recently sentenced to seventeen years' imprisonment for the murder, in the second degree, committed by members of a mob, of which he was one. In refusing to grant a writ of habeas corpus the court said:

"It seems to be one of the methods of this organization, known as the Miners' Union, whenever an attempt is made to bring them to account for their unlawful, barbarous and murderous acts, to at once commence an attack upon the legally constituted authorities, who are endeavoring to enforce and maintain the law, and by their false clamor seek to excite sympathy for the malefactors, and such action, by virtue of the recognized freedom of the press in this country, always an echo and too frequent endorsement with that portion of the press whose moral principles are governed and controlled by what is for their gain. Thousands of miles from the scene of the transaction they assume to judge and criticize. These leading journals of civilization hesitate not upon other authority than the lurid reports of their scoop-hounds, based upon the statements of known malefactors and their advocates and defenders, to assail indiscriminately the legally constituted authorities of a community and state for their efforts to maintain the law and protect persons and property within their jurisdiction. In keeping with this custom and rule, both the executive and judiciary of the state have been assailed in terms of unmeasured vituperation for simply doing their duty under their oath of office."

Because the defenders of the law are staid, the United States is filled with an orderly, prosperous and hopeful people. If the vicious spirit could prevail which lately ravaged the Coeur d'Alenes, petitioned the city government of Chicago to withdraw police protection from laborers offensive to the trades' unions, and in this part of the country, sought the ruin of people like Polly McGrail of Paterson, Christian Kuhne of Morrisania, and Babetta Glassman of Essex street, no man's property, or livelihood or life would be safe.

The one only virtue of the Sun is its brutal frankness. It knows its mission and performs it. Its mission is to atone voluminously and eternally for the sin of its former editor, Dana, who once, in a fit of temporary insanity, became a Communist and committed the crime of sympathizing with down-trodden labor. Its atonement is to lie about, malign, misrepresent and bulldoze the working class, and ever, in season and out of season, to "hurl the contumelious stone," in the interest of its own case—the capitalist class—which, not only always does what is right, but is always right whatever it does. There is no sycophantic "Labor Column" in its pages, no fawning pretence that it is the champion of the laborer driven by desperate ill-treatment to go on strike. It takes the laborer's two cents for a copy of it with finger on trigger of the "riot-gun," ever ready and anxious to blow out his brains if he does not comport himself as the meek and lowly serf of those who benevolently "Give him employment" for the begrudging consideration of nine-tenths of all he produces. Its spirit is the resurrected compound of the fool ghosts of Anti-Charta John, Charles I., James II., Foulon, Napoleon III., and Vanderbilt the . . . "damned," and belongs with Weyler and "Meinself und Gott" William of Germany. It would have shot Paine and Jefferson and Washington and Lincoln as "Anarchists" and would today, if it could, have the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, and all labor laws burnt by the common hangman.

It is always our duty to obey the good old maxim, "Hear the other side," of every story, and we might feel it our duty to "hear the other side"—the capitalist side—of the Idaho story, if it were not the "Sun" that presents it. But a paper that always assumes that a corporation of laborers can never do right, and a corporation of capitalists can never do wrong; that knows that all labor unions are incorporated in hell, and all capitalist corporations receive their charters from the hand of God himself; that always, without ever an exception,

(Continued from page 3.)



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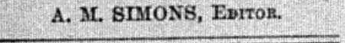
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EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS. To secure the return of unused manuscripts postage should be enclosed.

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. UNITED STATES.

Table with 2 columns: Year and Amount. 1890: 13,704; 1891: 16,552; 1892: 21,512; 1893: 25,668; 1894: 30,030; 1895: 34,810; 1896: 39,278; 1897: 55,550; 1898: 82,204.

Copies sold last week 8,000.

PERSONAL.

Friends and Comrades:—

There are times when, try as we may to prevent it, personal facts dominate all else. Such a time has come to us.

On last Sunday morning our only child, a boy eighteen months old, secured some medicine meant for an older person, and in spite of all that could be done lived but a few minutes.

Every thought, or deed had grown to cluster around him and now that he is gone there is nothing but an awful blank. Kind friends and comrades have given of their help and sympathy and to such no thanks are sufficient to express our gratitude.

Fraternally, A. M. Simons.

HOMELESS MEN.

Just at present the Mayor and the Associated charities of Chicago are engaged in a newspaper controversy concerning the treatment which should be accorded the tramps who have come here to spend the winter.

In the first place the entire discussion on both sides is absolutely and unequivocally from the capitalist point of view. Of course this is what the socialist would expect and yet it is safe to say that this position is not consciously taken on either side.

Both parties claim to be acting in the interest of the tramps and of the homeless men. This is the way they argue. The Associated charities declare that the police stations should be closed to "transients" and that a municipal or private "lodging house" should be established with a "work-test" by which a man could get meals and lodging for some work.

The Mayor announces with much flourish of trumpets that "the police stations of this city will not be closed to the poor if they have anything to say. I have no objection to being called the 'hoboes' friend.' Of course it does not take very much insight to see on what basis the Mayor's friendship rests.

(which fact in itself gives the lie to the claim that these men do not want work.)

We remember looking into this room one cold night and this is something of what we saw: A room about seventy feet long by thirty wide and seven feet high, below the surface of the street, three small windows about one foot by three to admit air, with stone floor and no furniture. In this room were ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-FIVE MEN.

So much for the Mayor. Now the Associated charities propose to remedy all this. It proposes to substitute a place where the homeless man can have a chance to take a bath, answer a series of questions a rod long as to his age, nationality, trade, religion, etc., do a certain amount of work that is notoriously useless and is only given him as a "test" to see if he is "lazy."

In the first place a "work-test" which is nothing but a "test" is no test at all. Here we know whereof we are speaking. We have had considerable experience in connection with the management of such a work-house on the one side and we have talked with hundreds of tramps on the other.

Indeed if there is any choice we believe there is more hope for the fellow who sticks by his determination to not work and stiles and suffers on the cold floor of the station rather than he who proves either his "piety" by his "testimony" or his industry by an equally sham "work-test."

But all this is on the side and of no interest to the intelligent worker. All these are questions within the realm of the capitalist class interests and while they may be discussed pro and con there with the same effect on actual social and economic conditions as the wood sawing and testimony given in the proposed lodging-houses and missions, the laborer cares no more for them than for the mythical questions about the number of angels who could dance on the point of a needle, over which the mediaeval scholastics spent so much time.

Let us break across the class lines then and see if there are any vital points here worthy of attention. Does the laborer care whether the tramp works or not? Let us see. Supposing that through these proposed measures all the tramps could be preached, punished and "tested" into being "industrious" and seeking work at any price. Suppose that they could be persuaded that they ought to rather take enough to keep them alive as wages at "honest toil" than beg for a living and starve on from day to day on free lunches and "hand-outs."

"But," some of our charitable people may say, "we are going to set these fellows at work and then they will not compete." That is just plain lying whenever it is said and it is hard to believe it is done ignorantly.

that the whole object is, not to give employment, but to DRIVE AWAY TRAMPS, and that is the argument that is always pushed forward sooner or later. Whether they are ever sufficiently intelligent to be conscious of its significance or not, every philanthropist knows enough to realize that if the "problem of the unemployed" were really solved, there would be no more unsuccessful strikes and no more charities.

No, consciously or unconsciously, the whole effect of all such moves is to apply as powerful a spur as possible to the poor devils who are not employed to force them to get back into the competitive field of wage slavery and help to force the wages of the employed workers still lower. For this purpose the municipal or charity lodging house with its work test is most admirably devised.

Space forbids further comment save to call attention to the stupendous joke of an "Associated Charities" scolding about the poor half-starved tramp being a "parasite" on society, and preaching long sermons about the terrible effects on him and on society of a life of idleness, and "learning the lesson of living without work," while the Associated charities itself could not exist an instant were it not that there is a whole class of absolutely parasitic persons who live upon the labor of others and who contribute to the support of such institutions.

But so long as the laborers will cast their votes for such "friends of the hoboes" as Carter Harrison and listen to such fairy stories about the desirability of the virtues of thrift and industry as the charitable people weave for them, they only get what they ask for and should not complain. If such talk amuses them, then such living as they receive must be looked upon as natural and all will be well.

The law is a queer thing. Says the Missouri World: Two fellows were arrested Monday for peddling pins without a license. By selling the pins they could earn enough to keep body and soul together, but they couldn't procure a license because they didn't have the price. If they begged they would have been arrested. If they resorted to stealing they would have met the same fate, and if they did not work they would be arrested for vagrancy.

Because of their refusal to handle the work of the Cramp Shipbuilding Co., where the machinists are on strike, an entire night shift was laid off by the Walker Mfg. Co. It must be remembered, much to the credit of the men employed there, that it is strictly a "card shop." This shop is also one of the largest of the Westinghouse Co., whose Pittsburg works are strictly non-union.

Thus a worthy cause receives a body blow because of the apathy of some Pittsburg workers who are jollied along with a few pennies more in wages so as to keep them from organizing. Which all goes to show that there is something besides economic organization necessary to cope with the present gigantic organizations of capital.

When the laborer worked individually and owned his tools individually he had his product individually. When the laborers work collectively and the capitalist owns the tools individually the capitalist owns the product individually. Why not harmonize the thing so the collective property in the tools would correspond with the collective operation and collective ownership of the product?

SNAP SHOTS BY THE WAYSIDE.

On Monday the 11th inst., the American Federation of Labor met. Sam Gompers, its president and mouthpiece was absent in person, but present in his report. It is from that report that the revolutionary socialist must judge in what relation modern trades unionism stands to the world-wide class struggle.

The same obtains today. The trades unionist stands for "good" wages, just as the "reformer" of forty odd years ago stood for "good" treatment of the slave. It never enters his mind that the entire system of wage slavery must be attacked; that the modern proletariat must assert itself by securing to itself the ruling power, and that the wealth producers must be the wealth controllers.

An illustration of the utter lack of class-consciousness in the A. F. of L. is clearly given in its resolution on the shipping subsidy question. Subsidies were opposed on the ground of their being "class legislation," which shows that this body is entirely oblivious of the fact that every enactment in the congress and legislative is class legislation, to be enforced in the interest of the class who control the means of production and the channels of exchange.

The delegates to the American Federation of Labor at Detroit had money to spend on diamonds, gold watches and canes, for the fraternal delegates present. But we saw no report in the press notices of how much was donated for the victims of capitalism in the "Wardner Bull Pen" by these exponents of the "brotherhood" of Labor.

Over the grave of "Bill" Anthony, the hero of the "Maime," a monument of granite, bearing the inscription, "Sir, I have to report that the ship is blown up and is sinking," is to be erected. The name of the hero with the date of birth and death will also be inscribed. And so, exit "Bill" Anthony.

His fame will perhaps survive in the "popular" and "patriotic" histories which are specially prepared for the instruction of the children of the proletariat in "patriotism." But these useful volumes will not by undue stress upon the fact that William Anthony asked for bread and received—a stone.

A Chicago dentist has sued the estate of the late Geo. M. Pullman for \$1,000 for professional services. Of this sum the individual bill of the deceased exploiter amounted to \$151. The fact that Mr. Pullman's jaws contain labor product valued at nearly \$1,200 may partially explain the reason why the millionaire's coffin was enclosed in a burglar-proof matrix of steel rails and liquid cement.

The officials of the "Bureau of Refrigerated Charities" recommends the city authorities to close the police stations during the coming winter against the destitute unfortunates who apply for shelter and warmth when the thermometer ranges below zero. Such a course they think would prevent the influx of these undesirable people into the city. So long as they are kept out of Chicago the problem is solved so far as the "Bureau" is concerned.

If this method is good for Chicago then of course it is equally good elsewhere. Over 140,000 outcasts last year applied at the police stations of Chicago for shelter from the piercing cold, and if the suggestion of the Bureau officials be adopted everywhere, it simply means that these unfortunates will perish by thousands. And it is probable that the cost of collecting and burying them would outweigh that of keeping the stations open, to say nothing of the increase of robbery and other crimes which would certainly result. Is there any "profit" in the idea?

Many years ago a writer whose words are supposed to carry great weight amongst the class to which these officials no doubt belong, asked a precisely similar question on this identical subject. If we remember correctly he wrote as follows: "If a brother or sister be naked and destitute of daily food and one of you say unto them, 'Depart in peace, be ye warmed and filled; notwithstanding ye give them not those things which are needful to the body; what doth it profit?' No, it doesn't even seem a good 'business' proposition in the commercial or any other sense."

But try it, gentlemen, try it, by all means! Tear away from these wretched creatures the last hope and opportunity of preserving the spark of life in their miserable bodies, and you will speedily find that the "poor" will clearly demonstrate that they are "always with you" and that in a manner that you won't like. You can't handle this "problem" while you ignore the

causes which produce it. To work for the abolition of those causes would of course be socialism, a remedy that all "right thinking" people like yourselves cannot entertain for a moment—for in that case "Bureaus" and other charitable organizations would go out of business.

Mayor Harrison has announced himself as the friend of the "hobo," who he well knows by political experience, becomes suddenly valuable round about April. One good turn deserves another. Wonder if Harrison would have so much interest in the "hobos" were they awake to the fact that their degradation and misery has its source in the economic system which Harrison and his political friends uphold? If on election day they concentrated their efforts to abolish the conditions which make pariahs of them, would Harrison have so readily opposed the suggestion of the "Charity" bureau that would deny them the poor shelter of the police stations?

The Journal of Saturday, December 16th, commenting editorially upon the possible results of the drubbing which Buller received from the Boers, says as follows:

Neither is it likely that this country would care to sit calmly by and see the most enlightened nation of Europe attacked by powers whose unchecked ascendancy would mean nothing in the long run but resistance to human progress.

At the beginning of the war the Journal pretended to sympathize with the Boers, and propitiate the mob by denouncing the British. But the danger is at hand. The common interests of capitalism are at stake, and capitalist class-consciousness bestirs itself to mould "public opinion" in this direction. When will the working class display a similar clearness as to their class interests?

The Siamese twins have been parted, Frick and Carnegie are forever separated. When we consider the success of their joint exploits in the coke region and at Homestead, it is difficult to imagine why this loving couple should be divorced. But the presence of Rockefeller supplies the explanation. Backed by him, Frick's interests as a capitalist at once assume an antagonism to Carnegie's. Now, watch out for the advantages of competition. The new combination seeks not the control of a part of the iron industry but the whole of it. The first onslaught will not be made upon Carnegie, but upon the small fry who may have been overlooked. The small manufacturer's "lot is not a happy one" judging from past tendencies and coming events.

The capitalistic daily press are making a great hullabaloo over the fact that the number of applicants for relief at the County Agent's office have diminished. But we notice that as the weather gets colder the number steadily increases, and we see that the "Volunteers of America" and the "Salvation Army" are each preparing to feed 10,000 hungry and destitute human beings on Christmas day. Looks like "prosperity," doesn't it?

The Chicago Inter Ocean of December 17th reproduces one of the French cartoons which have so much incensed the British ruling classes. It represents England's national progress and is entitled "Here come the British: Save himself who can." A procession is shown led by a soldier in British uniform; next come four Salvation ladies with kettle drums, four ballet girls, a Highlander bearing a British flag, accompanied by a clergyman loaded with Bibles, gunpowder and commercial samples. John Bull follows carrying a money-bag, a rifle and a ferocious scowl. A hideous female figure labeled "Stiff-neck" brings up the rear. In the wake of the procession corpses are hanging from telegraph poles which have been improvised as gibbets. The whole cartoon is a ghastly comment upon the bourgeois civilization of today, of which the British are perhaps the leading exponents, and as such are regarded with jealous hatred by less successful competitors. The title alone is insufficient and limited in scope by national hatred. It would more appropriately read, "March of Modern Capitalism."

Who Are "Laborers"?

When the socialist says "laborer" he means exactly what he says. He means every person who is engaged in the production of wealth whether the service performed be mental or physical. He includes superintendents, architects, overseers, teachers, draftsmen, engineers, as well as the man with the pick and shovel. The only class he excludes is the capitalist class, by which he means all those who live because of the fact of ownership of some material thing, land, mines, railroads, telegraphs, machines, etc., through whose ownership they are able to take from the laborers (as defined above) all they produce save enough to maintain them at a standard sufficiently high to ensure the perpetuation of the race of laborers. The socialist says that these latter are now ruling society but that they have no valid right to existence against the claims of the laboring class. There is no reason why the latter should not in their collective form be themselves the owners of the things which the capitalist now owns, and then all the product would go to the laborers. This state of affairs is to be secured by the laborers electing their own class to power at the ballot box. That is the whole socialist position. Do you agree with it? If not what is wrong with it?

BOOK REVIEWS.

THE MYSTERY OF CIVILIZATION, by Stephen and Mary Maybell. Published by the authors, San Francisco, Cal.; paper, 70 pp., 10 cents.

It can at least be said for this pamphlet that it is issued in an extremely attractive form. The cover is very similar to some of those upon the pamphlets of William Morris, which while they lacked the artistic beauty of the larger works issued from the Kelmscott press, still bore traces in an indirect way of the work of their author or his fellow worker Walter Crane. The interior too is in that large open type that gives one the idea of having an unlimited amount of room and time in which to work.

There is also much in the work itself to be praised. It is the story of how man developed from the individualistic savagery of the forest into the compulsory co-operative savagery of civilization. The story is told in a quaint manner in imitation of the Indian dialect with names and terms taken from modern society and printed backward and divided until they have quite a Hiawatha appearance. But when one comes to the conclusion he is disappointed and again feels that "up in the air" sensation which is common to the perfect deluge of books or social topics in the English language. There is a complete ignorance of the class struggle, of the scientific application of self-interest as a force for social development and no suggestion of any way in which we can escape save by the extremely ludicrous one of self-renunciation, which term they never seem to realize either has no meaning or else would be mean race and individual extinction.

THE MISSION OF THE WORKING CLASS, by Rev. Charles H. Vail. Chas. H. Kerr & Co. Paper, 39 pp., 5 cents.

This is the last number of the Pocket Library of Socialism with which nearly all our readers are familiar and the subject matter of this pamphlet has already in part appeared in these columns. However it has been completely re-written since then and considerable additional matter added so that it is really a wholly different thing from what our readers have already seen. It is the story of the development of the laboring class and is one of, if not the best little thing in existence with which to make socialists. It is clear, scientific, yet easy of understanding, strong, vivid and attractively written. It should have a large sale.

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, but until the first day of March we will make the following offer for clubs: For each dollar's worth of subscriptions sent in, whether in ten-cent, twenty-five or fifty-cent subscriptions we will send postpaid fifty cents worth of books from the following list, subject to the following conditions: For ten cent subscriptions selection must be made from the Pocket Library.

- POCKET LIBRARY OF SOCIALISM. 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 Carl Marx. 8. The Man Under the Machine. By A. M. Simons. 9. The Mission of the Working Class. By Rev. C. H. Vail.

FIVE CENT BOOKS.

- Kautsky—The Proletariat. Kautsky—The Capitalist Class. Kautsky—The Class Struggle. Kautsky—The Co-operative Commonwealth. Engels—Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science. Lafargue—The Religion of Capital. Benham—The Crimes of Capitalism. Benham—The Red Flag. Conolly—Erin's Hope. Kropotkin—Appeal to the Young. Watkins—Evolution of Industry. Marx's Analysis of Money. La Salle—What is Capital? Harriman-Maguire—Single Tax vs. Socialism.

TEN CENT BOOKS.

- Merrill England—Blatchford. Communist Manifesto—Marx and Engels. Outlook for the Artisan—Putnam. Socialism, What It Is and What It Seeks to Accomplish—Liebknecht. Socialism—McClure. Scientific Socialism—Beresford. Pendragon Posers.

TWENTY-FIVE CENT BOOKS.

- Woman in the Past, Present and Future—Bebel. 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. Inside the city limits they must all be pre-paid at third class rates. We limit this to the 1st of March, as at that time we expect to make new arrangements for the spring campaigns and cannot have the time to handle book premiums. But these three month offers will carry the subscriber through until the municipal campaigns and now is the time to begin educating.

Sell tickets to the ball to all your friends.



# Evolution of Society.

By J. WANHOPE.

The researches of the scientific minds of this century have brought to the front the idea of evolution, which may be roughly defined as a constant change which is the result of an unbroken series of causes and effects dealing, so far as mankind is concerned, not only with the physical form and organic structure, but holding good also as to the manners, morals, customs, religions, and in general the whole mental as well as physical processes of the human race. This conception is almost universally accepted at the present time, amongst those at least who attempt to keep abreast of modern scientific ideas. But as the devil is said to quote scripture occasionally, when it suits his purpose, so this idea of evolution is sometimes used consciously or otherwise, by reactionaries who with phrases borrowed from the scientific thought of today, try to prove either the impossibility of socialism, or admitting its possibility, attempt to relegate its advent thousands of years in the future, in order to discourage its exponents by the idea that they are wasting time in its advocacy.

A slight acquaintance with the scientific works of this age will certainly impress upon the mind of the reader the fact that enormous periods of time have been required to evolve the forms which we see at the present day, and the defender of capitalist institutions seizes this as a foundation for asserting that even if socialism is to be the structure of future society, it can only be realized through "the slow and painful process of evolution"—with particular emphasis on the "slow."

With such champions of capitalism, evolution in the social structure has not yet commenced, but will of course make a start when they give the word, and when it does start, it must necessarily proceed slowly—perhaps because a too rapid progress might seriously affect their material interests, or those of the class with which they think their interests are identified.

So our ruling classes generally assume that they will regulate the pace at which social evolution must travel, and are careful to impress upon us that its progress must be "slow and painful."

And these practical people who loudly deride the efforts of Bellamy and other Utopians to forecast a future state of society, as chimerical and fanciful, are quite ready themselves to dip into the future, and can definitely inform us of the rate of speed at which society must move the slower the better for them) and that its progress will also be "painful"—for the other fellow of course.

The capitalist class and its defenders may not have a very accurate comprehension of the nature of the evolutionary process, but they can discern with marvelous clearness any tendency which threatens to endanger their pockets and power.

At any rate the possibility of socialism being admitted even after long ages, is in some sense a concession. Not so very long ago the hope of the toilers lay altogether in the next world, a theory which was assiduously fostered by the mouth-pieces of the same ruling class who are now going to lead us into the promised land by a "slow and painful process."

To point out to such people the distinct social stages through which most of the human race has passed and through which some are now passing, to show that when an old social system has nearly run its course, rapid evolution has often introduced the new stage, the elements of which were growing, clearing and arranging themselves during the preceding regime, and that they were the direct result of that regime; to call their attention to such facts seems a mere waste of time. So completely has the paramount importance of their material interests eclipsed their mental vision, that even the tremendous industrial revolution of the last hundred years, and its lightning speed at present, contains no lesson for them. From the fact that it has been by long odds the most rapid of all revolutions, they draw the extremely logical conclusion that its effects will not be noticeable until many thousand years have passed.

The general idea as to evolution in the minds of these people may perhaps be stated as follows: Whatever has a tendency to apparently increase the power and wealth of the capitalist class, the evolution in such cases must be as rapid as possible. And whatever tendency has the opposite effect, why, then evolution must advance at a snail's pace.

Evolution for instance, works far more quickly behind an injunction against strikers, than enforcing let us say the eight-hour law.

The decision to annex the Philippines did not consume nearly so much time as the question of the total independence of Cuba will require. The latter problem evidently belongs in the "slow and painful" category.

Is there a small or weak community whose land contains gold, silver, coal or other "resources" in great quantity, or whose inhabitants embody cheaper labor power than is to be found elsewhere? Is the process of evolution to move slowly in such cases? Heaven forbid! Get out the tools! Get out the machine guns, the rifles, the thirteen-inch cannon, the horse, foot and artillery! "Benevolent assimilation" must proceed immediately—or sooner if possible. And when the benighted inhabitants have been sufficiently "assimilated," whatever is left of them must

be introduced at once to the new and improved "labor-saving" machines and methods. Develop the "resources!" Dig out the gold, the silver, and all the other minerals—especially the ones which will yield most profit! Otherwise they might rot in the ground. Cut down the forests with electric band saws—lumber fetches a good price! Start new cities as "industrial centers" which are to be the counterpart of the modern hell holes of your own glorious country! Fall over each other in a desperate endeavor to "raise" the inhabitants to your own "level," that is, to create an army of cheap degraded wage slaves and a handful of "respectable" and industrious labor skinner. There are unlimited "resources" to be developed, grand opportunities for the "investment of capital"—for which glorious purpose the earth was evidently created. Is evolution to "halt on pained feet" under such circumstances? No! A thousand times, no! Its progress may perhaps be "painful" to the unfortunate inhabitants, but neither they nor you will consider it "slow."

And when all these things are accomplished and the fields of exploitation nearly worked out, you will find that socialism instead of being a thousand years in the future, is already an unpleasant neighbor whose demands you will not be able to ignore for long—that you can't push it back a thousand years or a thousand seconds by any species of "confidence" talk, even if disguised in a scientific dress. For your very efforts to develop and maintain your interests as capitalists, efforts which you were compelled to make in obedience to that law of evolution which you assume to control, will have created and strengthened that power which you think you can push into the future by asserting that it must go "slow."

A class which can persuade itself that in its hands lies the conscious control and shaping of future society, finds no difficulty in believing that the increasing symptoms of social revolution are merely the work of a few malevolent and persistent agitators, and have no particular connection with economic conditions.

But capitalism acts as pace-maker for socialism in spite of the wishes of the capitalist class. The development of the one is, broadly speaking, the development of the other. Mankind will follow their material interests—because they must—because it is necessary that they do so for their self-preservation—and this is the underlying principle of evolution as applied to all organisms. Inability to comply with this principle means extinction.

And when the development of the system of capitalist production has reached that point where, to the majority, it becomes a recognized menace to the preservation of the race—then socialism supplants it; just as in a preceding age, "feudalism, which had become incompatible with the progress of society, gave way to the present economic system. Whether the process of this inevitable change be "slow and painful" or rapid and painless, is a matter over which no class has any conscious control. But it is not at all difficult to understand why a class which instinctively feel their position as rulers becoming more precarious, should insist that the transition period shall occupy a few thousand years. It has no scientific basis whatever, only serving to illustrate the old adage that "the wish is often father to the thought."

## Honor for Idaho

(Continued from page 1.)

jumps up and runs breathlessly out to meet with a laurel wreath, every policeman, sheriff, deputy, Pinkerton hireling, captain, colonel, or general that clubs or shoots a striker; that always sneeringly attributes the discontent of hundreds of thousands of laborers to the wiles and persuasive eloquence of one or two "walking delegates and demagogues," that always, and with never an exception, believes every word and syllable that a corporation alleges, against mountains of affidavits by its employees; that always assumes trades unions to be composed of disoriented men who carry daggers, bombs, and vitriol; that always assumes kicking against perpetual lowering of wages to arise from an inherent hatred of our laws and institutions; that always applauds a court movement in advance of a crime, and foams, wallowing in the very insanity of glee over every unconstitutional straining and stretching of the meshes of the legal drag-net that scoops in any suspect, and which always assumes that every ill-paid laborer is to be suspected, well, such a paper deserves never to have its "other side" heard.

Pity 'tis that the "Sun" did not shine in Bloody Jeffrey's time, to hold up his hands and cry "Honor" to his ribald vilification of those who were brought to his court to be tried—no, not "tried"—condemned. With what unctuousity of holy zeal for "law and order" it would have quoted the "Court":

"The peasant who had led the fugitives to her house (of Lady Alice Lisle, accused of harboring the defeated followers of the Duke of Monmouth in his rebellion against James II.) was brought as the reluctant witness against her. This poor man, thus led up to destroy so good a woman, was unwilling to speak. Judge Jeffreys

stormed, swore, and cursed him in such style, that he was totally confounded. As he stood speechless, Jeffreys roared out: 'Oh, how hard it is for the truth to come out of a lying Presbyterian knave! Was there ever such a villain on the face of the earth? Dost thou believe there is a God? Dost thou believe in hell fire? Of all the witnesses that I ever met with, I never met thy fellow.' The man being still more frightened, Jeffreys schreeched: 'I hope, gentlemen of the jury, that you take notice of the horrible carriage of this fellow. How can anyone help abhorring both these men and their religion? A Turk is a saint to such a man as this; a Pagan would be ashamed of such villainy. O, blessed Jesus, what a generation of vipers do we live among! . . . The jury, not coming to a speedy conclusion, being afraid of the judge, and yet loth to condemn the prisoner, Jeffreys said he would lock them up all night. . . . Jeffreys thundered at them in his fiercest style. . . . At length the jury gave way, and brought in a verdict of guilty. The next morning Jeffreys pronounced sentence upon her amid a storm of vituperation against Presbyterians, to whom he supposed Mrs. Lisle belonged. He ordered her to be burned alive that very afternoon."

Minus the brutal blackguardism of language, this is the spirit of "the court" that, in refusing a writ of habeas corpus for Corcoran, takes the occasion to deliver himself of an ex parte tirade of vilification of the Miner's union, thus, under the mask of a passionless judge of evidence and dispenser of strict law, doing attorney service for the Standard Oil company, which, we know, is composed of the finest and spow-whitest gang of saints that ever wore robe and crown, and whose long, disinterested, philanthropic, and martyr service in the cause of cheap oil to the world has been so persistently misunderstood and malappreciated right along.

However, let us be grateful to the "Sun" for always standing where we can have it. Let us admire its perpetual petrified sneer at everything that is not capitalistic. In this it is preferable to the "champions of labor" papers that are so only to labor's face, and assassins behind. Let us admire the brutal honesty that cries "Honor to Sheriff Martin" of Lattimer, and "Honor for Idaho," and "Honor" to every scoundrel that will break a striker's head, and give the discontented hungry a meal of "rifle diet." Let us admire the brutal cynicism that dares thus openly, in "Honor for Idaho," fling French Foulon's "Let the people eat grass" at the toiling masses. And above all, let us admire the faithfulness of this capitalistic organ to its own class. It never goes back on its principles. Honest brute that it is, it upholds capitalist interests every time and at all costs. It recognizes labor only as something to lie down obediently at the feet of its master, never daring to imagine that it has any other rights. When capitalism says its interests require lies, malignant misdeeds, overturning of law and constitution with bayonet and cannon and gallows, the "Sun" is there with a jump and a whoop to do its best. With the "Sun" there is no "other side," no recognition of anything but its own brutal, insolent, impudent, law-defying robber class.

Oh, that the other papers could be placed as easily as the "Sun." And oh, that the class-consciousness of the workers and strikers and the oppressed were as keen and pronounced as that of the "Sun." Were it, the contemptuous sneer it always wears for those whose pennies it takes would the boycott against it, which now it, not a toiler would ever buy it again; seems so strong to give it cause for worry, would surge on it like a tidal wave and bury it fathoms deep, to the requiem of the execration of all lovers of human freedom. We hope that some day this "Sun," the agent of the capitalist conspiracy to destroy the republic, of imperialism, and the reversion of the people to ancient and medieval slavery, will set, never to rise again, and with it the lot of other papers, equally bad, but more hypocritical. This will only be when the working class withdraws its support from these its treacherous assassins, and gives it over to its only true friends, the socialist press, whose voice, to the shame of toilers be it said—is as yet but as one crying in the wilderness. F. Schrimshaw.

## Immoral Charity

(Continued from page 1.)

Jesus than night resembles day. All this girl needs is freedom of access to the means of living. That is the first need of more than seventy-five per cent of the people of this country. Let that be guaranteed, and the rest is bound to follow. What she wants is justice. What she needs is a chance to live. What she wants is the service which alone justifies society or government, its protection in the right to have the product of her labor. Until she has that, there is no hope for her. Arthur Young, an English agriculturist traveled through France on the eve of the Revolution, and he has given us the account of his observations. The sum of them all is this: He found that the land was entirely owned by the nobility and the clergy, that the peasants had access to only a very small part of it, that they could not own any of it, that it was one vast waste, devoted to the support of hunting. Meanwhile the people were reduced to a poverty that beggars description. It was indescribable. It can hardly be imagined. It could not be told in words. The result was the

Revolution. And yet he saw, as any one can see, that the Revolution might have been averted. It was not necessary that France should then have inaugurated the Republic. Indeed, it is fair to say that the French people were not prepared for the Republic, and they do not seem to be yet. All that was necessary then was to give the peasants of France their right to free access to the land. That was all.

That was an agricultural age. The land was the sole source of a living. Our age is an age of machinery. It is machinery which today holds the key to a living for the multitude. All that is necessary today, in order that humanity shall begin its march toward a higher destiny, is that the machinery of industry shall be freely accessible to all the people. That is all this girl wants, all that was necessary in order to ensure her chance to be what God made her to be. . . . What the working people of this world are asking for is the chance to produce freely and to receive the just equivalent of their labor. Indeed, if they are allowed to produce freely, the other question solves itself. And yet, there are still people in this world who imagine that industry is governed by the law of supply and demand. We ought to know that there has never been a time in the past hundred years when the supply has been within hailing distance of the demand. And we ought to know that never in all coming time under a just system of things can the supply exceed the demand. There is hardship and suffering and crime and prostitution and all sorts of evil because the greed of gold is permitted to preside over the market and limit the supply in the interests of private profit.

It is perfectly clear to me that with freedom of access to the land and the machinery of industry and commerce we shall enter upon a new era in the life of the race, an era in which other and higher problems shall absorb our attention, problems worthier of human beings than this old struggle for a bare existence. That is a sordid struggle. It is not at all above the animal plane. Let us but take this step, let us but make all the machinery of production and distribution the property of all the people, and it ought to be clear to a blind man that a totally new era in the history of man begins, the noblest era in all history. For immediately a new purpose is substituted for the old one, a noble purpose in the place of an ignoble one. Instead of putting before our young men and young women, as soon as they begin to think of the real business of life, the sordid and degrading idea of gain; instead of making arithmetic the chief corner stone of the education which we give our children, in order that they may know how to count money; instead of setting our young people to the task of making profit out of their fellows; a course that tends to suppress all that is noble or fine in human nature; instead of making it the chief end of existence to take advantage of the weakness or inexperience of other men for personal gain or to bend all the powers of combined capital to the enslavement of the masses, a new purpose is bound to rise in the hearts of men. Work will not then be done from the pressure of hunger or for the sake of profit, but from the motive of love and for the ends of service. Then and not till then, shall we touch the springs of nobler possibility in the lives of men and women. Then, and not till then, shall we give young men and women a chance to be what they are made to be. Then, and not till then, will that motive which is adequate to stir the divine in man to endeavor and achievement be widely felt in this our world, and the dawn of a real and uplifting morality streak the horizon of our life with the glory of man's nobler destiny. William T. Brown.

—William T. Brown in The Social Gospel.

Is there any sound reason why a small group of my fellow men should take possession of the coal deposits of the country and dictate who shall dig, how much they shall get for digging, and how much we all who need shall pay for their product?

Who made it their product? How did they come by it? Have they any more inherent right to it than to the sunlight that made it? And how long do we propose to let them keep it?

Why should a man pass his life in dungeon-like and dangerous mines and die at last poor?

Why is it possible for Marcus Aurelius Hanna to drive thousands of such slaves into a wide-spread strike, that he may corner the coal output in midwinter, while from every city in the land comes the bitter cry of the perishing?

Doesn't hell yawn for such a wretch? And when do we propose to clear our political house of such vermin and come into possession of the necessities to our comfortable existence and consequent happiness?

Why do we persist in piling up the millions in few hands, wrung from the people for all the benefits of this complex Twentieth century life we could not do without if we would?

Railroads, boat, telegraph, telephone and express lines, all means of transportation and communication between the people; water, light, air (the compressed and liquid of the very near future), the utilities that all have made possible and inevitable, why should they not belong to all, and run without profit to anybody, but of infinite benefit and blessing to everybody?

When are we going to begin to consider the need of the many and cease to cater to the greed of the few?—Pen- dragon Posers.

MAKE THE BALL A SUCCESS!

## FOREIGN NEWS.

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

The Congress of French Socialists opened December 3rd in the Voltaire Hall at Paris, and at the first meeting there were more than eight hundred present. Among the different organizations represented were the Socialist Labor party, the Confederation of Independent Socialists of France, the French Labor party, the Federation of the Socialist Workingmen of France, the Socialist Revolutionary party and other socialist organizations.

The three questions to be discussed were: 1st, the class struggle and the conquest of public powers; 2nd, the attitude to be taken by the socialist party in the conflicts between different bourgeois parties; 3rd, socialist unity; its theoretical and practical conditions. It was maintained by some that the third question was the most important of the three, and that the decisions in regard to future tactics would be the most important, and the first two questions would be practically settled by a decision for solidarity on the part of the socialists, for once united they would be class-conscious in their work, and would not need to take much account of the bourgeois conflicts. The goal is recognized by all as the same, but the question of tactics, as from the very first in every country, is the chief one before the congress.

At the end of the first day Jaures (in the Petite Republique) expressed himself as certain of the unanimous decision of those present to arrive at a definite union; there was general discontent when unimportant matters were brought before the congress, and the whole body conducted itself in a way which gained it the title of "Preliminary Socialist Parliament." The "International" was sung at the end of the first session and delegates from different factions left the hall arm in arm.

At the second session the question of class struggle was brought up. It was regarded by the first speaker of the evening as fundamental, he feared that the revolutionary traditions (in his opinion, the strongest) were to be given up for the adoption of a vague "parliamentarism." The first two days were taken up by parliamentary questions, but on December 5th there was a heated debate between those for the position of Millerand in the ministry and those against it. Jaures made the first argument in favor of a socialist entering into bourgeois governmental bodies. After reading a rough draft of a resolution conservatively favoring the socialist advance into national politics when circumstances made it seem advisable to the party as a whole, Jaures read extracts from a pamphlet of Paul LaFargue in which he spoke of the prestige gained by the Socialist party and the increased chances of success. If the downfall of the capitalists could be definitely predicted on the date of a revolution set, there would be no need to consider the subject under discussion, but as matters stand, the more power in the hands of those waiting for the revolution, the more immediate success when the crisis came. There was tremendous applause after this speech, but there was also applause after the arguments against the position taken in the resolutions. The discussion was renewed at the next session. One of the speakers considered this point in tactics an expression of principle; the arguments against pointed out the small power that a socialist member would have in the parliament, while at the same time his presence therein would countenance the capitalist order. On the other hand it was held that with a well-organized socialist party behind him a member could refuse to compromise with the government and could maintain socialist principles. Paul LaFargue made the final speech; he said that the entrance of Millerand into the ministry might be considered an accident and did not necessarily inaugurate a new method—to which he was opposed. New elements had entered into the Socialist party to exploit it. (Thereupon unfavorable comment was made throughout the hall.) LaFargue made some personal remarks which were not well received and on the whole he met with the least approval of any of those debating. December 6th was given over to a continuation of the same discussion. Zevans, in closing his talk said, "To be 'revolutionaires' is to prepare, each day, by all our efforts, the suppression of capitalism. This doctrine was promulgated twenty-five years ago by the Socialist-Revolution party and the French Labor party. It is by these tactics—revolutionary—that the socialist party up to the present time have gone on from victory to victory. And now, why change? It is necessary to choose between the road of the ministry and the road of the revolution."

Among the replies to this phase was one which roused applause by its spirited comparison of the methods used in municipalities and in the state. And one member opposed the uncompromising attitude of LaFargue by saying: "You have gone to battle with all your program, rigid as iron bars. But life, complicated and full of incidents has hindered you in your enterprises. You approached yesterday, the bourgeois who came into your party. But from what quarter do you expect to recruit adherents if it is not from the working class public? You have felt that so strongly that you have reduced your great program to a small program. And I will add that at election times you have used generous terms, to define capitalistic expropriation which electors have not always fully understood!"

The session of the evening of the 6th was rendered exciting by an unexpected incident. A quotation from Liebknecht was misunderstood and cries of "Down with Liebknecht!" were heard from one part of the hall,—then cries of "Vive Liebknecht!" and for ten minutes there was confusion until Paul LaFargue insisted that Liebknecht was the most "international" of men. He was listened to and order was restored. Guesde then read the names of those who did not believe in the socialist participation in a bourgeois ministry—those who went so far as to call such action apostasy; they were, Bebel and Liebknecht in Germany, Ferri and Labriola in Italy, Vandervelde in Belgium, Inglesias in Spain and Lavrof and Plekhanoff in Russia. Guesde went on to say that he felt that the position of Millerand was deplorable because it gave false hopes to the people.

Nothing more of importance was said at that meeting; it closed three days of intense discussion. During these first days the president had read many telegrams from socialists all over Europe, Russia, Norway, Denmark, Spain, etc., expressing the great interest felt by all socialists in this congress which is such an important convocation for the French working classes and for the entire socialists of the world.

PORTUGAL.

The Socialist-Democrat party has had a victory at Porto, the great industrial city of Portugal. In a recent election they had a majority of 3,500, and succeeded in electing Costa, the professor of law at the Coimbra university, and Xavier Esteves, professor at the polytechnic school and son of the founder of the party. The socialists' manifestations of delight in the streets of Porto resulted in the arrest of more than a hundred of the jubilant ones. Socialist journals were also threatened by the police.

GERMANY.

Three statements from the Vorwarts of December 2nd express the condition in the Reichstag: "Yesterday, the fear in all capitalist parties of the Coalition law was given voice to."

"The plan of the opposition was—to bring this law to the same end as that which had been prepared for the Penitentiary bill, but we had on our side, Bebel, Stadthagen, Herzfeld and Singer."

"Those who left as victors yesterday were those who left as victors November 19th—the Social-Democrats!"

Heigh ho! the blessings of poverty. So great are they that those who have escaped from them pay good salaries for men to write or preach to let us know the boon we are enjoying, and we're blamed fools enough to read after them or listen to them instead of cracking them over the head with a two-inch plank.

If they would stop there I might be able to forgive them, being of a gentle, loving disposition. But they don't. Not they. Having filled our alleged minds with a knowledge of the advantages of poverty and poured over our souls the sweet balm of content they have a great chance to show their philanthropic disinterestedness by quitting. But nary a quit. "Halo" philanthrop, nixey disinterested.

Our ends are satisfied by blissful pauperism, but not so theirs. You will notice that the more skillful people are in depicting the desirability of poverty the less willing they are to take their own medicine.

As picturesque paupers we are of no benefit to them. We can roll in the luxuries of poverty to a finish and they must get in and drill—or roll with us.

But you will notice they have two strings to their bow. You may be as much poorer than Job's turkey's as they were poorer than the prize-winner in the fat stock show, yet "one thing thou lackest" of a state of perfect begitude.

To enjoy the full blessings of poverty you must have work, hard work, and plenty of it—and fix it so they get the pay.

"Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do." And whatever you do, fellows, you must steer clear of Satan. They are willing to rescue you from his clutches by furnishing you work, and all they, ask dear, disinterested philanthropists, is the product of your toil.

They are no more anxious to share our toll than to partake of our poverty. Oh, how eloquent they become in expatiating upon the beauties of "honest toil." (What they don't know of honest toil would fill a big book). They don't know the toll they make such a spurge about, viz, mere work for work's sake, without regard to whose bread and butter you are swiping, is the lowest kind of robbery.

But we are accessories after the fact in that we listen to the stuff given us for advice—even follow it.

The gall of our exploiters in giving us advice is only equalled by our stupidity in following it. What right have they to give us advice? The right that we show ourselves gullible enough to take it—to their own profit and our own undoing.

Bigge Eddy.

The new translation of Kautsky's Life of Engels, which had been announced for publication in December, has been unavoidably delayed, but will be ready for delivery about the 10th of January.

Well, did you get rid of your tickets for the ball. If you want more tickets get them at the office of The Workers' Call.



LETTER BOX.

For the next convention two cardinal factors have developed themselves at the present time as essential for the future rapid growth of American socialism...

As to the first point I heartily subscribe to every word of the editorial in The Workers' Call of the 9th inst...

Could it be possible that such obstructions could be found in the ambition of leaders, so that each set would have a party of their own and to their own individual aggrandisement and gain?

Or could it be possible that such an obstruction could be found in a part of the party press? Too much have the socialist parties depended on, as a will-o-the-wisp, on their so-called official organs...

The reference above made to "leaders" suggests to me the substitution of "servants" in place of leaders. This suggestion brings me to the second point under consideration...

The question now presents itself to my mind: How can the class-conscious proletariat of America be unified in a compact organization of wage workers, and how can further dimensions in that organization be prevented?

Capitalists, when they do not know what to do with their money, persuade the peasants that the said peasants want guns to shoot each other with. The peasants accordingly borrow guns, out of the manufacture of which the capitalists get a percentage and men of science much amusement and credit...

Wm. S. Tuescher.

What is likely to prove one of the most important episodes in the history of socialist propaganda in the city of Rochester was the series of addresses delivered here before large and growing audiences by Rev. Charles H. Vail of Jersey City, author of "Modern Socialism and The Principles of Scientific Socialism..."

The following was written in 1871, when the Paris Commune was fighting the cause of the workman—War between nations is not necessarily in all respects evil...

Speak anywhere without winning votes to our cause. His brief visit to our city has created a strong demand for his books and, of course, for all kinds of socialist literature...

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Capitalists, when they do not know what to do with their money, persuade the peasants that the said peasants want guns to shoot each other with. The peasants accordingly borrow guns, out of the manufacture of which the capitalists get a percentage and men of science much amusement and credit...

If your little boy came to you to ask for money to spend in squibs and crackers, you would think twice before you gave it to him; and you would have some idea it was wasted when you saw it fly off in fireworks, even if it did no mischief with it...

The following was written in 1871, when the Paris Commune was fighting the cause of the workman—War between nations is not necessarily in all respects evil...

Socialist Labor Party of the United States.

PLATFORM.

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

With the founders of the American republic we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of this right; but in the light of our social conditions we hold further...

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

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

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

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

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of the United States, and upon all honest citizens, to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a class-conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them by taking possession of the public powers; so that, held together by an essential and common interest, the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, we may put a summary end to that barbarous struggle by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder...

Immediate Demands.

- 1. 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 employees shall be discharged for political reasons. 3. The municipalities shall obtain possession of the local railroads, ferries, water works, electric plants and all industries requiring municipal franchises; the employees to operate the same cooperatively under an industrial administration; the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, we may put a summary end to that barbarous struggle by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder; a common wealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

10. The people to have the right to propose laws and vote upon all measures of importance, according to the referendum principle. 11. Abolition of the veto power of the executive (national, state and municipal) wherever it exists. 12. Abolition of the United States Senate and all upper legislative chambers. 13. Municipal self-government. 14. Direct vote and secret ballot in all elections. Universal and equal right of suffrage without regard to color, creed or sex. Election days to be legal holidays. The principle of proportional representation to be introduced. 15. All public officers to be subject to recall by their respective constituencies. 16. Uniform civil and criminal law throughout the United States. Administration of justice to be free of charge. Abolition of capital punishment.

ENTERTAINMENT AND BALL

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

FOR THE BENEFIT OF

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Couldn't miss it for a week's wages. What? Why the ball Christmas Eve at Ulrich's Hall for The Workers' Call. Be there, son, be there.

R. A. Morris, Recording Secretary.

Special meeting Tuesday, December 12th. Statement read, accepted and ordered printed in Workers' Call. Adjourned.

R. A. Morris, Recording Secretary.

MAKE THE BALL A SUCCESS!

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.

THE PURE CAUSEWAY. By Evelyn Harvey Roberts, a pupil of Professor George D. Herron. This is a story showing the case for socialism from a religious point of view. Send it to your Christian friends; cloth \$1.00, paper 50c.

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 Jan. 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 \$1.00, postage included.

POCKET LIBRARY OF SOCIALISM. Beautiful booklets, each 32 pages, with handsome cover; single copies 5c, ten for 20c, 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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More capital is needed, and wealthy people are too mindful of their own class interests to furnish it. We must look to the workers. Our stock is divided into 1,000 shares of \$10 each, this being the smallest share allowed under Illinois law. We have already received nearly 200 subscriptions of single shares. We need 300 more to put the business on a cash basis and to bring out the new books which are needed at once if the growth of the socialist movement is not to be retarded.

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EIGHTH WARD, 427 W. 18th St., every Sunday; Sec. John Bond, 86 Fish St.

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

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TWENTY-FOURTH WARD, 65 N. Clark St.; every 1st and 3rd Tuesday, 8 p. m., business meeting; Sunday, 3 p. m., lecture meetings.

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

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

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

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

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

Directory of Section Philadelphia, Pa.

PHILADELPHIA SECTION meets second Sunday each month at 8 p. m., at 5th and Brown, Labor Lyceum, entrance on Randolph.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE—1st and 3rd Wednesday, 8 p. m., at 6th and Brown.

ELEVENTH and FOURTEENTH WARD, S. I. Club (formerly American Branch), every Wednesday at 8 p. m., at 6th and Brown.

GERMAN BRANCH—2nd and 4th Sundays at 3 p. m., 6th and Brown.

THIRTY-FIRST AND THIRTY-THIRD WARD, Social Labor Club—business meetings every 1st Sunday, and discussion meetings every 3rd Sunday at Kensington Labor Lyceum, 2nd and Cambria Sts.

SOUTHWARK BRANCH—2nd Saturday, 8 p. m., Southwark Labor Lyceum, Passaywick Ave. and Federal St.

TWENTY-NINTH WARD, Social Labor Club—every Sunday, 3 p. m., at Ber Club—Poplar and Hamby Sts.

JEWISH BRANCH—1st and 3rd Fridays, 5:15 5th St.

THIRTY-NINTH WARD, Social Labor Club—1st and 3rd Mondays, 8 p. m., 2225 South 7th St.

TWENTY-EIGHTH WARD, Social Labor Club—1st Friday, 8 p. m., 25th and York St.

NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH WARD, Social Labor Club—SW cor. 9th St. and Columbia Ave.; 2nd Tuesday, Discussion Meeting; 4th Tuesday, business meeting.

TWENTY-FOURTH AND THIRTY-FOURTH WARD, Social Labor Club—2nd and 4th Mondays, 8 p. m., Lincoln Hall, 4039 Lancaster Ave.

J. J. CAPPELS, Manufacturer and Jobber of Cigars and Tobacco. (Smokers' Articles).

FRANK-BARRIST 601, 420 STATE ST. CHICAGO.