

# THE WORKERS' CALL.

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

VOL. I.—NO. 46.

CHICAGO, ILL., JANUARY 20, 1900.

PRICE ONE CENT.

## THE SILLY SEASON

### The Modern St. George, and the Trust Dragon.

### "SOCIETY" TO THE RESCUE.

#### Won't Invite the Trust Promoter to Dinner—"Social Ostracism" the Latest Remedy.

There are certain periods of the year when marvelous stories of big pumpkins, two-headed calves, petrified giants, and other wondrous prodigies of like nature fill the columns of our daily press. These periods being known to journalists on both sides of the Atlantic as the "silly season."

The law governing the recurrence of these periods is not definitely known so far as we are aware, but it would seem as if no department of human knowledge is exempt from its action. At the present time the indications are that the science of economics is suffering the common lot, and that the "silly season" in sociology is now in full swing. That tremendous bogey, the "trust," is certainly responsible to a large extent for the publication of many of these marvelous remedies, but the latest of these which have come to our notice is well-calculated to make Mr. Bryan's "license scheme" hide its diminished head, and at the same time provide a fund of amusement for those whom it attempts to castigate.

As the "trust" threatens the stability of "society" and as "society" needs a "savior," the hour has brought forth the man, and the hero, in the guise of a university professor of economics, steps on the stage with the following guaranteed recipe for the destruction of the monster:

When a man operates a trust against the public good don't invite him to dinner, don't call on his family, disqualify him socially. You say that is an inoperative remedy. I say it is not. Whenever you make a man understand that by doing certain things he is disqualifying socially and condemned by public opinion you have set in motion the strongest force in the business or political world.

Isn't that beautifully simple? Can be applied by the most inexperienced person as well. This modern St. George destroys the dragon not by sword or lance, but by the simple expedient of "cutting him dead" in the manner so familiar to "society" leaders.

Let the "public" take hold at once; this good work should commence instantly. The members of the working class, who are certainly the largest section of the "public," must adopt this stern method of showing their disapproval of the conduct of those who "operate trusts against the public good."

When the workman suspects any greedy monopolist of having designs on the contents of his dinner pail, he must give the latter to plainly understand that his duty to society, as one of the public, demands that he shall upon no consideration receive as his guest, a man who has forfeited the respect of public opinion by operating a trust. He must harden his heart against all appeals on the part of the latter, and must inform him further that he has forbidden his wife to visit socially at his house, and that his children have received positive instructions that the olive branch of the detested plutocrat can no longer fly in their yard.

As for the little cockroach capitalist, whose sense of public duty debars him from entering a trust, his conduct towards the offender must be to a great extent similar. On no account must he invite the latter to dinner. The fact that the trust magnate may have it in his power to decide whether his haughty "social disqualifier" shall have any dinner to spare for invited guests, need not be considered. The bluff if properly worked, will go all right, for hasn't the professor said it? If the application of this drastic remedy doesn't bring the monopolist to a sense of the enormity of his crime and make him resolve at once to untrustify his property, it may perhaps kill him by inducing an excessive fit of laughter.

But the chances are that he will survive. He has only to remind himself that long before trustification was known, the "wealth of individual exploiters easily broke down the barriers of exclusiveness, behind which the haughty European aristocracy entrenched themselves. Even they, with hundreds of years of traditions of rank, birth and power, were unable to make a social outcast of the man who had "struck the blow." The daughters and heiresses of these men, who after all were only pawns in wealth compared with the exploiters of this generation, were able to secure princes, dukes, and other blue-blooded specimens without any perceptible effort. But yet the monopolist and trust magnate of today is expected to wither under the frown of the little cockroach aristocracy.

If the prospective victim of this "public opinion" can appreciate a joke, he might appropriately contribute a liberal donation to the university from which the professor of economics is

nated. He and his class cannot have enough of such remedies as this. It is to their interest to cultivate the crop produced by the "silly season" in sociology.

There is only one parallel that we can at present call to mind, for this astute proposition. The fame of the professor who gave it birth must be inseparably linked with that of the eminent English economist who discovered the theory that the recurring financial crises in the commercial world were to be directly attributed to the number of spots on the sun.

### Class-consciousness.

The antagonism existing between the material interests of the economic classes of which society is at present composed, and whose recognition upon the part of the working class is usually termed "class-consciousness" often proves a stumbling block to those who are still partially under the influence of bourgeois morality. In our capitalistic civilization, the idea of peace and harmony is persistently preached as if its attainment were dependent on mere advocacy and pious wishes, notwithstanding the fact that every phase of society, from the European armies of millions of trained butchers, down to the struggle for a job between the wretched wage laborers, shows that antagonisms are everywhere in evidence in the current order of things. In the interest of capitalist society, the wage slave is carefully instructed in what "ought" to be and his gaze is as carefully diverted from what "is." Consequently the socialist who points out the existence of the class struggle at once finds that he is running directly counter to the current ideas of "morality," which are held equally by the unclass-conscious workmen and their capitalist masters. The latter hearing the socialist speak of a knowledge of distinct class interests as "class-consciousness" and being fully alive to his own capitalist class interests, do not fail to regard the socialist as a "reformer," and even the socialist of non-competitive temperament, is chary of alluding to this subject. Yet nothing could be more misleading than this coupling of terms. Class hatred does not and cannot exist. Hatred is a matter of individuals not classes. The individual beggar made wild by the sight of the luxury of the rich man, might possibly conceive a hatred for that individual, but it is inconceivable that all individual beggars should hate one rich man, or all rich men, and it is certain that far from hating the beggar, the rich man was utterly unconscious of his existence as an individual. Amongst the warring sections of the capitalist class, whose interests stand in opposition to each other on the question of who shall exploit labor power, it is possible that individuals may hate each other, but the idea that the different sections of this class hate each other, as sections, is ridiculous. Although in this respect their interests may be hostile, yet as capitalists they have a community of interests against the working class, which they never fail to make plain when occasion requires. This upon their part is not class hatred but class-consciousness, and vice versa the same reasoning applies to the working class. Socialism lays bare the economic system of the present to the eyes of the working class and is therefore in its very nature a protest against the shams and humbugs of modern capitalist society. It exposes the "morality" of the present and shows relentlessly how that "morality" is based upon the interests of the ruling class, and in so doing it tears away the veil under which that class conceals its process of exploitation, and the class struggle stands revealed. This is no doubt disagreeable but necessary, and any "socialism" which fails to perform this work is a counterfeit and a fraud. Socialists did not invent the class struggle—they discovered it, and it is from this discovery grows a knowledge of distinct class interests which is not to be confounded with hatred. The class struggle, says capitalist morality, is something which "ought not" to exist—therefore cover it up and treat it as if it were non-existent. To which the socialist replies: Perhaps it "should not" exist as you say, but nevertheless IT DOES and it is impossible for either of us to ignore it. Material interests rule the world and as we recognize that yours lie apparently in the maintenance of capitalism, we have no reason to hate or blame your class for trying in every manner to uphold it. But this does not prevent us from seeing the antagonism between the material interests of your class and ours, and working for the supremacy of the latter. We do not hate your class or charge you with hating ours. We are simply class-conscious as you yourselves are.

About the beginning of last December all organized resistance in the Philippines had disappeared, according to Otis, and here in the middle of January the American troops are still winning "victories" over immensely superior numbers of Filipino "rebels." Looks as if the Bears were not the only crowd whose numbers mysteriously increase.

Those who are avowed socialists, have generally little cause to feel ashamed of the actions and character of men, who by their genius and talent have earned a conspicuous place in the literature of our movement, and the criticisms of the parasites of capitalism upon such men, very frequently produce an effect the reverse of what is intended. For instance the author of that our-like production, "A Message to Garcia," has just informed the world in a recent work, that the late socialist poet and writer, William Morris, would have been poet-laureate of England if he had been willing to call himself a student of sociology instead of a socialist. All this may probably be very true, but fortunately, William Morris, unlike Mr. Elbert Hubbard, was unwilling to play the part of toady to capitalist society, and preferred to let this golden opportunity escape, rather than become the lying hypocritical bourgeois which seemingly is the ideal of his critic. But think of the value of the prize which Morris lost! Had he only been ready to placate these who love cant and shams, had he been willing to become a liar and pretender, had he denied that which he was, and asserted that which he was not, he might have "elevated" himself to the lofty heights of that sacred eminence where little Alfred Austin twangs his puny lyre, and grovels in the dirt before the feet of British capitalism. It is not probable that Mr. Hubbard will commit the previous mistake that he charges Morris with making, and it is therefore unlikely that he will be able to comprehend the fact that he has paid the highest possible tribute to the truth, manliness and courage of the dead poet. But it is not wonderful that a writer, who in a clever and widely circulated sketch, has portrayed an obedient, humble, willing and tireless slave, as an ideal for the human race, should be unable to comprehend the character and motives of a man. William Morris has perpetuated his name and fame by ignoring the very opportunity in which his critic sees so much to desire. The message which Morris bore to the working class is today the problem of the world, and truly has it been said that

## LOST HIS CHANCE

### Why Wm. Morris, Poet and Socialist, Didn't Become Laureate.

### A LITTLE CRITIC'S TRIBUTE.

#### An Instance Where the Job Seeks Not the Man, but the Plunket-Poet's Fame Secure.

Those who are avowed socialists, have generally little cause to feel ashamed of the actions and character of men, who by their genius and talent have earned a conspicuous place in the literature of our movement, and the criticisms of the parasites of capitalism upon such men, very frequently produce an effect the reverse of what is intended. For instance the author of that our-like production, "A Message to Garcia," has just informed the world in a recent work, that the late socialist poet and writer, William Morris, would have been poet-laureate of England if he had been willing to call himself a student of sociology instead of a socialist. All this may probably be very true, but fortunately, William Morris, unlike Mr. Elbert Hubbard, was unwilling to play the part of toady to capitalist society, and preferred to let this golden opportunity escape, rather than become the lying hypocritical bourgeois which seemingly is the ideal of his critic. But think of the value of the prize which Morris lost! Had he only been ready to placate these who love cant and shams, had he been willing to become a liar and pretender, had he denied that which he was, and asserted that which he was not, he might have "elevated" himself to the lofty heights of that sacred eminence where little Alfred Austin twangs his puny lyre, and grovels in the dirt before the feet of British capitalism. It is not probable that Mr. Hubbard will commit the previous mistake that he charges Morris with making, and it is therefore unlikely that he will be able to comprehend the fact that he has paid the highest possible tribute to the truth, manliness and courage of the dead poet. But it is not wonderful that a writer, who in a clever and widely circulated sketch, has portrayed an obedient, humble, willing and tireless slave, as an ideal for the human race, should be unable to comprehend the character and motives of a man. William Morris has perpetuated his name and fame by ignoring the very opportunity in which his critic sees so much to desire. The message which Morris bore to the working class is today the problem of the world, and truly has it been said that

"The souls of men shall be never at rest Till the world shall heed his song."

The fame of the great-hearted poet will live in the memory of a grateful humanity long after the very existence of the Hubbards and Austins are forgotten, and their writings consigned to the garbage heap which marks the last resting-place of a decadent literature.

### Impotent Rage.

Emperor William, in addressing the rectors of the technical schools of Berlin today, said: "The schools have great questions to solve—questions not only technical, but also social. The socialist movement I consider a passion movement, but it will cease its raging. However, you are to teach your students their social duties toward the workmen of the empire."—Press dispatch.

This irresistibly reminds us of the story of the wolf who accused the lamb of muddying the stream at which both were drinking, notwithstanding the fact that the latter stood below stream from the wolf. Who has been doing the raging? William or the socialists? What about all those lese majesty prosecutions, jail sentences for socialist editors, warnings and threats against workmen, voting with the socialists, Anti-strike bills, and other expressions of capitalist rage against their revolting slaves? In the fable, the wolf devoured the lamb on this pretext, but William and the class he represents will hardly be able to accomplish the feat of swallowing the socialist movement. The Kaiser evidently means that he will not "cease his raging," but the German comrades are not greatly concerned as to what his intentions may be in that respect. Their movement does not exist for the special purpose of angering potentates, but if such get in the way they must take the consequences. Socialism as a movement, will no doubt pass away when it has achieved its purpose, but when that time arrives there won't be any Kaisers to say "I told you so."

You bet we people of these United States and Asia need markets. If we don't find a foreign market for our wheat we'll starve. We must find a foreign market for our fabrics or our children will go naked. If we are unable to sell our lumber in China we'll have never a roof over our heads.

## NO FABIAN TACTICS

### The Class Struggle Versus the Step-at-a-time Method.

### SCIENCE AND SENTIMENT.

#### Political Supremacy of the Working Class, the Only First Step Possible.

There is a class of people who tell us that the only way to improve social conditions and achieve economic emancipation, is for all who desire to attain that end to unite upon some measure tending in that direction and push it to a successful issue. In order to unite all factions, of course some incidental reform must be chosen, but we are told that after one reform has been adopted then another and another could be taken up and so gradually the end sought would be realized. This is the program of the modern reformer. He assumes that the social and economic evils can be removed by some adjustment within the present class government. This error is due to a failure to recognize class rule and the class struggle between the proletariat and the capitalist classes.

If the reformer were the only one who has fallen into this error the matter would hardly be worth the space for consideration in a socialist paper, but there are many socialists who have fallen into the same error and for the very reason that they have not grasped the fundamental doctrines of scientific socialism—the economic philosophy of history, the class rule and the class struggle.

To my mind the socialists of this class; those who have adopted the step at a time, reform method, are not doing the most effective work for socialism. The capitalist does not care how much one discourses upon liberty, equality and fraternity, and even the phrase "collective ownership" will not greatly disturb him, provided the fact of class rule and class government are left untouched. Here is the citadel of capitalist power, an attack upon which he will not tolerate.

It is because the scientific socialist recognizes the capitalist class as the ruling class and all government as class government, that he does not advocate the step at a time method for he has no faith that measures looking to the betterment of labor, even if granted or wrested from the ruling class, would be greatly beneficial under the present organization of society. We have learned by experience that so long as the enforcement of laws depend upon capitalist officials little can be accomplished. We have many laws on the statute books which are dead letters, simply because the executive function of government is held by representatives of capitalism. It is even questionable whether the imperative mandate, under present class rule, would suffice to remove the evil. Are our friends certain that the economic rulers, who are always the political rulers, could not under some pretext thwart the will of the people? Undoubtedly some concessions could be obtained, but after all, can we hope for much so long as the present ruling class is in control? Must we not first man the ship of state with socialist officials before much progress can be attained?

"But," says one, "what assurance have we that socialist officials would not sell out, the same as the old party politicians?" I answer, every assurance in the world. The politician is not false to his trust; he is always true to his master—the capitalist class. Did you ever hear of a politician selling out to the laboring class? The Democratic and Republican official is always true to his constituency; he owes his nomination and election to the capitalist class and he never sells them out. For the same reason the socialist official will be true to his constituency; he will owe his nomination and election to a class-conscious body that knew what they want and how to get it. As an agent of this revolutionary body he will ever be subject to its will. There is no more liability of the socialist official betraying his trust than of the capitalist himself. Do the capitalists think it will be an easy matter to thwart the realization of socialism by merely buying up the socialist representatives when elected? If so, why so strenuously oppose the propaganda? No, the capitalists realize that at least they have met a political force that can not be bribed or bullied, and they are filled with consternation, they do not know what to make of it.

The first step, then, toward the realization of socialism, is mastery of the public powers. We must wrest the political and economic power from the hands of the master class. When socialists are in control of the government, they will have no difficulty in reducing their ideals to practice.

Now a word as to the method of propaganda. Here we find the same distinction between the scientific socialist and the "step-at-a-time" man. We find the latter wasting much of his

effort in singling out specific measures and treating them separately. He will often devote, for instance, a whole evening to the question of direct legislation. He may succeed in convincing many in the audience of the advisability of this measure, but he has not made socialists of them. Men may accept the principle of direct legislation and still hold to the principle of competition. It may be contended that such have taken a step; but how long would it take in this way to make thoroughgoing socialists of them? As a matter of fact but little has been accomplished, and one must practically begin at the beginning again. Would it not have been better to have presented clear-cut scientific socialism in the first place? Make a socialist of a man and you have already convinced him of the necessity of direct legislation, national ownership of railways, municipal ownership of electric light, gas, etc.—all these are included. But you may convince a man of the advisability of all these and still not make him a socialist.

The method of the scientific socialist is the more effective, and what we need today is effective propaganda. The scientific socialist uses all these instances as illustrating and enforcing his demand for the collective ownership of all capital, but he does not permit them to obscure the central principle. All these special instances are but parts of the whole and naturally and necessarily follow from the central demand—the social ownership of all the means of production and distribution.

Conditions are such today that it is fully as easy to make men full-fledged socialists, as to convince them of the desirability of half-way measures. The presentation of socialism from the standpoint of the scientific socialist is so logical and forcible that it carries conviction.

Now a word as to tactics. The socialists who expect to realize their ideals by piece-meal, a step at a time, can give no logical reason for separate political action. Many in the old parties advocate direct legislation, municipal ownership of electric light, etc., and they say, "Why don't you join with us and help elect officials favorable to our reforms. We would thus be able soon to capture one or both of the old political parties. Even now some of the old parties, as in New York, have declared for municipal ownership." The step-at-a-time socialist can give no good reason for not being caught in the reform trap. So we find many who call themselves socialists combining with reformers and even old party politicians. But the scientific socialist, recognizing the fact of class rule, is not thus deluded. Middle class nationalization or municipalization have no charms for him, for he well knows that such measures can be of no particular benefit to the working class. The scientific socialist knows that the battle of the proletariat must be won by the proletariat itself. The members of this class must unite in a class-conscious political body, knowing their mission and determined to achieve it.

It is only the scientific socialist that is safe against the flank movements of capitalism. As socialism advances, capitalism is sure to adopt some of the measures of the socialist program, those least harmful to itself, as the surest measure of self-preservation and a preventative against the full adoption of the socialist program. This has been the policy in England and is what Bismarck tried in Germany. However well the capitalists may succeed in befogging the step-at-a-time socialists, the revolutionary socialists will not be caught by this decoy-duck policy. It is this revolutionary attitude that differentiates scientific socialism from all other movements. The scientific socialist aims at overthrowing the capitalist class government and such action is a revolution no matter how accomplished. The fact that we advocate its overthrow by the ballot does not make its accomplishment any less a revolution. All other changes that leave the class government intact are mere reforms and incapable of emancipating labor from industrial servitude.

### Losing His Grip.

The average commercial traveler fears that he will lose his grip if the trust mania isn't stopped soon.—Buffalo News.

Well, what of it? Isn't the "job seeking man," as McKinley says? If the commercial man does lose his grip, can't he get a grip on something else, say a pick and shovel for instance? Average labor is in demand isn't it? No man that really wants work need remain idle, at least we have heard that remark made so often that there must be some foundation for it. What's the matter with the commercial traveler anyhow? He is a hustler. Then let him get out and hustle. This is a free country where a man can always sell his labor-power, providing he can find a purchaser. If the drummer fails in this, the only suggestion we can offer him is that he get a grip on the principles of socialism, and then the "trust mania" won't trouble him any longer. But whatever he may think now, "to this complexion must he come at last."

You have never had as good a chance to spread socialist literature as The Workers' Call is now offering.

## LAI'D ON THE SHELF

### How Capitalism Circumvents the Inventor.

### A TALE TOLD BY A VICTIM.

#### Admits It Was Rather Rough on Him but Doesn't Think He Was Cheated.

In the popular conception, the progress of what is called civilization, is frequently measured by the amount of improved machinery and labor-saving devices in use by the community under discussion. Those who use tools of production that are not up to date, are generally conceded to be in a less advanced stage of development, and so as a rule, this conception is true enough. But along with this, another idea takes form, that the users or rather the owners of these improved tools, are consciously assisting the march of progress, and that partially for this reason these improved tools are brought into action. Nothing is more false than this idea. The first and only question which arises in the mind of the capitalist when an invention is brought under his consideration is, "Will it pay ME; will it enable ME to make more PROFIT by its use?" That it sometimes happens that a new labor-saving appliance may through peculiar circumstances, offer no such immediate inducement to the capitalist, the following account by a disgraced inventor amply demonstrates:

One of the best mechanical engineers in New Orleans told an interesting story apropos of the tribulations of inventors.

"About three years ago," he said, "I got up a little device that greatly simplified the working of a certain type of pump. I took out patents that cost me in the neighborhood of \$300, including attorney's fees, and finally submitted the thing to a big manufacturing concern in the North. The proprietors at once conceded the merit of the invention and offered me \$500 down and a royalty of \$1.25 on each one used. The cash payment amounted to nothing, for it really fell short of covering my time and expenses, but the royalty was generous, and I figured it out that it would yield me an income of \$2,500 or \$4,000 for several years—perhaps longer, it depended on how soon something better entered the field. Accordingly I accepted the proposition and transferred all my right. Now, how much do you think I have actually received? Not a penny! No, I haven't been cheated; at least all the accounts have been perfectly straight. The trouble is they never put the device on the market. They simply stuck the patents and drawing in a pigeonhole and there they remain to this day. Why did they do it, did you ask? To save money. The public is very well suited with their pump as it stands, and it is doubtful if they could get any more for it with my improvement added. Such a step would merely cut down the net profit, so they prefer to let well enough alone. It was necessary, of course, to get my invention safely shelved or it might have been taken up by some enterprising rival and the only reason for spending \$500 on the thing was to put it out of the way. It was rather rough on me, to be sure, but the experience was valuable and I won't get caught that way again. My case is by no means exceptional, either. Dozens of inventors, all over the country, have had exactly the same experience."

It will be noticed that the buyers of the product of this man's brains were quite ready to recognize the merits of his invention. The question, "will it yield ME profit?" could not be answered in the affirmative; but it might, nay, certainly would have yielded a profit to some rival, therefore the proper method was to buy the rights of its use, and then promptly lay it on the shelf. The inventor in telling the story, doesn't think he was cheated, which shows that he must still have an abiding faith in "business" morality. The most curious part of the narrative is that this inventor clearly sees why his invention was shelved, but it is rather extraordinary that he was not able to see this before surrendering his product. If he will only look a little more closely into the nature of this transaction, he will understand that the inventor, as well as all other workers who possess nothing but the power of labor of brain or hands, are both equally defenseless against the capitalist exploiter. Capitalism will only employ inventors when profit accrues, just as they will only employ labor power under similar conditions. The place of the inventor is in the ranks of the socialists, where along with his exploited fellow workmen he can fight for the overthrow of their common enemy, the capitalist class. Regarding his last statement that his is no exceptional case, we are inclined to believe that he is correct. The capitalist will religiously suppress anything that will not yield profit, and there is doubt that like the dog in the manger, he will prevent his rivals from profiting by any invention that he himself cannot use. That is the nature of the beast, and if this inventor wishes to see the product of his brain become a social value, he must strive for the abolition of the system of individual ownership of the means of production, by which his efforts are paralyzed.

Are you still hunting for subscribers?

THE WORKERS' CALL.

Issued every Saturday at 25 N. Clark St., Chicago, Ill. Entered at the postoffice at Chicago, Ill., as mail matter of the second class.

Subscription Rates: One year \$1.00, Six months .60, Three months .35, Single copies .10.

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

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.



The Socialist Vote.

Table with 2 columns: Year and Socialist Vote. Rows include 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899.

DECLINED WITH THANKS.

We have received a communication from the "Anti-Trust League," asking our attendance at its assembly in this city on February 12th next.

SOCIALISM AND WAR.

The idea of a universal war in which most of the great nations of the world are to be involved has been growing ever more distinctly in the minds of all classes.

In a fierce struggle with an apparently weak enemy, whose real strength has been strangely underestimated.

SNAP SHOTS BY THE WAYSIDE.

"From a life of luxury to a life of toil." This is the manner in which the capitalist press informs us that the son of millionaire Potter Palmer has left the galleries of Newport to take a position as bank messenger at \$6 per week.

What does this mean? It is published in these words, to mislead the workers, to give them the impression that when a scion of a capitalist family wants to make his way in the world, he must travel the same path as the children of the working class.

When the son of a wage worker is compelled at an early age to begin a life of toil, he doesn't have his job secured through the influence of his father's stock in the shop or factory where he obtains employment.

Workingmen! When you read in the capitalist press about the sons of the millionaires going to work, remember that your masters want to bunco you into believing that you have equal opportunities with them.

Mr. P. D. Armour is to leave Chicago. That information comes in a startling headline in the Chicago Tribune of the 11th inst.

It seems strange that we socialists should be continually compelled to insist upon that old saw that "like conditions produce like effects."

Louisville, Kentucky, is being threatened. Not by the bubonic plague, but by a street car strike.

Now workingmen, watch this! Political trouble in Frankfort and labor troubles in Louisville, both of course requiring the presence of militia.

Our former fellow citizen, but present British subject, Willie Waldorf Astor has become a most enthusiastic "Anglo Saxon."

There is a statement going the rounds of the press that the group of exploiters known as the "Astor estate" in New York have raised the ground rents of their lots in the tenement house districts of that city from \$350 to \$750 per annum.

lusty. They, who have habitually extracted as high as \$10 per month for two rooms, and who have, as a matter of almost daily occurrence, evicted at two hours' notice, those unfortunates, who through sickness or lack of employment, have been unable to satisfy their monstrous demands.

The law which permitted them to do this, was like many others, enacted in the interests of the middle class, and so complaint was heard so long as they could secure a goodly portion of the workers' hide in the shape of rent.

One of the sons of the English branch of the Rothschilds attempted to join the British volunteers for service in South Africa but was rejected on the ground that he was too fat.

The "people" of St. Louis are in an ugly mood, because their city council is said to be in a conspiracy with a number of highly respectable citizens, representing an electric light company, who are trying to do the "best" they can for the city.

But who are these "people" who are fighting, or pretending to fight their representatives in the "legitimate" exercise of the functions of their office?

The committee of the senate who are investigating the "means" by which Clark of Montana was elected senator, have brought to light some "startling" revelations.

All circumstances considered, Clark deserves to retain his seat. He is a man that knows things. And if there is one subject more than another which he has got down to a fine point, it is a knowledge of that indefinite, easily gulled thing commonly referred to as the "people."

The witness also said that he had seen the senator at his rooms at the Helena hotel a short time after the Whiteside exposure and had asked him what he proposed to do, when the senator had replied: "There is only one thing to do and that is to make the people believe that the Daly gang have furnished the money and have put up a conspiracy against us."

According to capitalist ethics, this in itself should acquit the defendant. "Society" cannot afford to investigate this gentleman's actions any further.

BOOK REVIEWS.

NO COMPROMISE: NO POLITICAL TRADING. By William Liebknecht. Translated by A. M. Simmons and Marcus Hitch. Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago.

This is a pamphlet written in August, 1899, by Liebknecht, the great leader of the Social-Democratic party in Germany, in opposition to Bernstein and everything tending towards a relaxation of the class struggle.

form of the class struggle and enter the common arena of the other parties. As all the other parties stand upon the basis of a political state, therefore their field of activity is necessarily confined to the spoils of politics.

"We have now in Germany a phenomenon which has been observable in France for half a century and longer, and which has contributed much to the confusion of party relations in France, viz.: that a part of the radical bourgeois rallies around the socialist flag without understanding the nature of socialism.

"The disappearance of fear and aversion to us in political circles of course brings political elements into our ranks. As long as this takes place on a small scale, it causes no apprehension because the political elements are outnumbered by the socialist elements and are gradually assimilated.

"The moment the proletariat steps forth as a class separate from the bourgeoisie and having interests opposed to it, the bourgeoisie ceases to be democratic. Under the rule of capitalism the bourgeoisie is forced to become politically reactionary.

"The attempt to hold the German Social-Democracy responsible for the treason to liberty committed by the Prussian Progressive party is not only an insult to historic truth; it also shows a complete misunderstanding of the role played by the German bourgeoisie since the middle ages."

"I simply put these two facts side by side: In the period of the constitutional struggle, when the Progressive party stood at the height of its power and had the people behind it, Bismarck then in the beginning of his career, turned it down with the greatest ease. In the period of the Anti-socialist law, when Bismarck stood at the height of his power and with all the resources of capitalism exercised a bourgeois dictatorship, he was turned down by the Social-Democracy with the greatest ease, though it had all the spoils parties against it.

"We are other than the others; we are different from them. What is for them a necessity of life is for us death. All the other parties are guilty of the injustice of the present system and responsible for it. Everyone who suffers under this injustice looks to us for rescue.

Send orders to Charles H. Kerr & Co., 56 Fifth avenue, for this work. To sections 20 copies for \$1.00. Single copies 10 cents.

LETTER BOX.

The events in the lives of men, as well as the life of man are today being recorded so that future biographers will have little trouble in writing the lives of men, and the events of interest in the lives of these men.

To the Editor of the Herald: Because of recent inquiry from some S. L. P. comrades, who may have imagined that I am in favor of union of any kind and with everybody at any time and place, I herewith give my individual reasons against any movement having for its object the starting of a new party, such as is proposed as a necessary condition for the union of the S. D. P. and the anti-DeLeon faction of the S. L. P.

We have the S. D. P., a promising, clear-cut political party, with comparatively little personal strife among its members, and a party of a truly American stamp. Why should it be weakened by its political chances by starting on the above hazardous experiment? And by whom is this course proposed? By the Chicago anti-DeLeon section of the S. L. P., that has given but little assurance of practical, harmonious sense, after withholding from its own party due support and financial aid during a most serious crisis.

It is, besides, doubtful whether the majority of the anti-DeLeon S. L. P. will endorse the proposition of its Chicago section. In fact, I am informed by a New York leader of that S. L. P. wing that he is not in favor of the proposed new party, and would rather wait until DeLeon is vanquished.

the latter road and assist the S. D. P. on its march to victory. And as to those who are not yet sensible comrades, those who trifle about matters of little consequence when the most essential things need their attention—well, let them stand aside awhile and learn to know their duty.

To the members of the Carl Marx club (22nd Ward, Branch, S. L. P.) Dietzen stated time and time again privately and in open meeting that "these two parties are brother parties and with the same object in view, and MUST UNITE. Several members of this club have said, 'I cannot understand Dietzen, he spoke so strongly for the unity of these two parties.' He, Dietzen, time and time again showed in print and otherwise the similarity of the two parties and the necessity of their being united.

Read below the clipping from the "Neue Zeit," Kautsky's weekly, and see Dietzen's statement to the socialists of Europe:

The stand towards the S. T. & L. A. taken by the New York "Volksstimme" when the S. L. P. endorsed the S. T. & L. A. and after its development, in reality caused the party quarrel and led to above action in deposing DeLeon and the N. E. C. About the means through which the past S. L. P. trio upheld its reign, we will say nothing further. Enough, the split is here. It may not be expected that DeLeon's party is to melt away at once, but the two-thirds membership of the S. L. P. now separated from him, gives hope for better and, as far as its leaders are concerned, A UNITED ACTION OF ALL SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FORCES against the common foe may be the result.

Here follows the stand of Eugene V. Debs towards the S. L. P. and why it was impossible for him to join the S. L. P. without his comrades going with him, which they refused to do on account of the indiscreet and malicious attacks upon all who would not blindly follow the dictates of DeLeon and his associates in office.

Recent developments in the S. L. P. splendidly justify the wise step of Debs' comrades at the time. IT IS REALLY INDIFFERENT TO E. V. DEBS, WHETHER THE NAME OF THE PARTY IS S. L. P. OR S. D. P. AS LONG AS THE CAUSE OF MODERN SOCIALISM MARCHES ON, and the hope is declared that the movement in the United States in the near future will reach the growth of socialism in Belgium and Austria.

Now is this a case of "sour grapes"? Is it because he, Dietzen, was not instrumental in assisting in bringing this union about? Or is it, according to a Biblical saying, "He didn't want his right hand to know what his left hand was doing"? That is writing one thing for Europe and another thing for America. Strange reading for the biographers; strange reading indeed.

This clipping from the "Neue Zeit" was written just after the trouble in the S. L. P. The words "a united action of all social democratic forces," certainly showed Com. Dietzen that a call for unity would soon follow. But I do not read any objections on Dietzen's part—at that time. But, however, as soon as Com. Dietzen saw that a union was inevitable, he at once wrote his letter in the Social-Democratic Herald for America. This "truly American party" idea of Com. Dietzen is like another man who had an American socialist movement idea. I thought it was "socialism in America," "socialism in Germany," "socialism in France," and NOT a "French," a "German," or an "American" socialism. Fortunately for the socialist movement Com. Liebknecht in his new pamphlet ("No Compromise: No Political Trading"), this nonsensical idea will be settled. Just before closing, one more point in regard to a name for this united socialist party. Com. Dietzen in the Social Democratic Herald objects to a change of name. (See clipping.) Now let's turn to the clipping from the "Neue Zeit": It is really indifferent to Debs whether the name of the party is S. L. P. or S. D. P. as long as the cause of modern socialism marches on. Here again Dietzen raised no objection in the eyes of European comrades. As usual, one thing for American comrades and another for European comrades, and so on, and so on.

R. A. Morris.

Editor The Workers' Call: The following resolution was unanimously adopted by 14th Ward branch, Section Chicago:

Whereas, The platforms of the S. L. P. and the S. D. P. are identically the same; and

Whereas, The union of all socialist forces is desirable and necessary in fighting capitalism; therefore, be it resolved, That our delegates to the national convention be instructed to work and vote for a union of all socialist parties, providing their platforms are identical with the platform of the S. L. P., and provided they recognize the class struggle; and be it further

Resolved, That the above resolution be published in The Workers' Call and other party papers. Marcus Hitch, Chairman. B. O. Berge, Secretary. (Party papers please copy. Chicago, Jan. 7th, 1906.)

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

C. Claus, Walden, Mass.—The National Executive Committee of the S. D. P. removed the Farmers' Plank from their platform, and some time afterward submitted their action to a referendum vote.

Daniel DeLeon, New York—You state in your "Letter Box" that you only occasionally see The Workers' Call. This is strange, as the paper has been regularly mailed to you. Should there be any further complaint on this score we will rectify this matter; you will address 34 N. Clark street, Chicago, Ill.

Do not send stamps of a larger denomination than ONE CENT in pay for subscriptions.

# Industrial Evolution.

By WM. T. BROWN.

(Continued from last week.)

Under pressure of necessity for a larger product, workmen combined together for increased production. Then began the era of social production. The commodity which comes out of such a shop is a social commodity. It is the joint product of many laborers. Each man does only a part. No single laborer can say of the given commodity that it is his own. It is not the product of individuals, but of society, or of several individuals co-operating. With the introduction of the principle of co-operation industry reaches its social stage. But it is to be noted that in this industrial era the laborers are still comparatively free. Although working under an employer, they are masters of the situation. Their combinations are voluntary. They are protected by their guilds, of which both employer and employee are members.

But now a change takes place in the status of the laborer. Machinery is invented and steam as a motor force is applied to industry. What has happened? Let us see. What is a machine? It is a substitute for a man. It is an embodiment of the skill which the workman has given years to acquire, and it is itself a giant tool of production. Given the steam-engine, and you have the motor power by which the machine is to run. The introduction of machinery is the dispossession of the laborer. His skill is no longer needed. His tools are worthless. He cannot own the machine. That requires capital. And as the machine grows larger, the amount of capital necessary to its ownership greatly increases. A substitute has been found for the skill and muscle of the worker. From that moment forward in the economic realm the laborer is not master of the situation, and he has grown less so with every year. The history of improved machinery is the history of the embodiment in iron levers and arms and wheels of what previously existed only in the brain and hand of the worker. The laborer no longer owns the tools of production; the tools of production own the laborer.

Think for a moment of the evolution of capitalism through the same period. It is evident that the amount of capital needed at the beginning of this new industrial era was not large compared with what is necessary today. The beginning of capitalism is the beginning of the profit system. The motive power behind the capitalistic enterprise was profit. That meant the beginning of a period of sharp competition among capitalists. So general was it, that our standard political economists, mistaking an incident of the industrial evolution for an eternal principle, based their text-books of political economy upon the idea that competition is a fixed law of human association. The opening of this vast continent to emigration from the congested centers of the old world and the possibility of owning the land which was placed within reach of the poorest of the colonists served to prolong the period of competition far beyond what it could have extended under conditions prevalent in Europe and Great Britain. It should be said in this connection that so long as competition among capitalists was possible, it was an opportunity for advancement to the laborer. The laborer had some chance of himself becoming a capitalist. It is evident to anyone who gives the subject a moment's thought that the capitalist system of production involves competition between laborers. So far as wages are concerned, the principle of competition is just as operative today among the multitude of laborers as it was a hundred years ago. But we are all of us witnesses today of what Washington Gladden correctly characterizes as the "collapse of competition" among capitalists. The machinery of production has grown so tremendously large, that it has become impossible for the single capitalist to hold the field. That same sagacity which has brought certain men to the front as large capitalists has enabled them to see how under the regime of unrestrained competition the business world has been subject to regularly recurring financial panics about once every eight or ten years. They have awakened to the fact that competition is wasteful and fatal to profits. They have learned that combination in the form of trusts by which competition is eliminated is in every way to the advantage of the capitalist class. It is also to the advantage, on the whole, of consumers. So the duplication of needless plants is avoided. The paralleling of railroads and telegraph lines will cease. Useless officials are dropped. A large body of middle men and drummers is dispensed with. The expense of administration is reduced to a minimum, and the efficiency of administration is brought to the highest point. Now, this is nothing but the operation of evolutionary forces. It is as inevitable as gravitation and as little amenable to ethical considerations. The trust method of production and distribution is the logic of industrial evolution. It lies along the line of least resistance. It means the greatest convenience of consumers. It is the application of reason and sense to the administration of industrial affairs. It is only a matter of time when every material interest of humanity will yield to that principle. It will be operative everywhere. The movement in the direction of trusts during the past year or two has been so pronounced as to arouse the attention of the public.

thoughtful. And yet, this whole movement was predicted years ago by Karl Marx. He outlined the development of industry as accurately as an astronomer can predict the return of a comet or an eclipse of the sun. And he was able to do so because he studied history from the point of view of evolution. He was not gifted with supernatural power. He was simply a scientist. Mr. Kirkup, to whom we are indebted for the article on Socialism in the Encyclopedia Britannica and who wrote as a conservative and judicial critic, after expressing his dissent from Marx' theory of surplus values, says: "It would be the greatest possible mistake, however, to make this a reason for undervaluing the remarkable services rendered to economics by Karl Marx. He spent forty laborious years almost wholly in exile as the scientific champion of the proletariat. In the combination of learning, philosophic acumen, and literary power he is probably second to no economic thinker of the nineteenth century. He seems to have been master of the whole range of economic literature, and wielded it with a logical skill not less masterly. But his great strength lay in his knowledge of the technical and economic development of modern industry and in his marvelous insight into the tendencies in social evolution determined by the technical and economic factors."

It remains for us to consider the logical issue of the capitalist evolution. The origin of the joint-stock company completed the evolution of the capitalist. He was first of all a manual laborer working with his men. (That was at the end of the Middle Ages, in the time of the guilds.) The possession of a little wealth raised him above manual labor, and he became a mental laborer, a manager, who received wages of superintendence. But the possession of more wealth raised him above even the labor of direction, and he handed this function over to an employe, thus becoming a mere interest- or profit-receiver. The capitalists united into a joint-stock company do not pretend to labor, but hire a manager in whose hands they place their capital, and whose business it is to make profits for the stockholders. It would seem inevitable, therefore, that the capitalist class will eventually become superfluous, the services previously rendered by them being handed over to hired managers. Says Sidney Webb: "The older economists doubted whether anything but banking and insurance could be carried on by joint-stock companies; now every conceivable industry down to baking and milk-selling, is successfully managed by the salaried officers of large corporations of idle shareholders. More than one-third of the whole business of England, measured by the capital employed, is now done by joint-stock companies, whose shareholders could be expropriated by the community with no more dislocation of the interests involved than is caused by the daily purchase of shares on the stock exchange."

It has been my purpose in this paper not to speak as an advocate of some particular theory, but as inquirer into the facts to find what the probable evolution of industry in the future is to be, judged by its evolution in the past. I do not question for a moment the fact that the industrial evolution which the past century and a half has witnessed was necessary. I do not question the value of its results. They are beyond computation. I do not suggest that any such results could have been achieved by any other system. That question is not worth considering; for the reason that no other system was possible. The question which is just now at the front, and will remain there, whether we want it or not, is whether the evolution of capitalism does not point to another stage in the progress of industry, namely, that of socialism, whether that stage is not imminent, and whether it is possible for us to join consciously with the evolutionary forces for its peaceful inauguration. These I take to be vital questions before the world today. We are all aware that there is a growing political movement for the inauguration of socialism. That movement is as wide as civilization. The Socialist party in the German empire is, in point of votes cast, by all odds the largest party in the empire. The movement is strong in Belgium and France and Great Britain and Austria and Italy, indeed in all the most intelligent portions of Europe. It is increasing in power in the United States. I do not know how many socialist papers there are in this country, but their name is legion. One of them has a weekly paid circulation of over 70,000 copies and is growing at the rate of several hundred a week. I do not mention these things in support of any argument which I care to make, but simply as a fact. Here is the fact of the socialist political movement. That, too, is a part of the social evolution. It is a phenomenon to be taken into account. Since the inauguration of capitalism a new political factor has made its appearance. The franchise has been placed in the hands of the laborers as well as in the hands of the capitalist class. If you will recall again the facts of the development of industry, you will note that while the method of production has been socialized, the means of production have not been socialized; while competition among the capitalists is rapidly being eliminated, competition among wage-laborers is still in force.

co-operation among workmen in the production of commodities and compulsory competition among laborers in the labor market. On the other hand, the market for commodities is controlled by combinations of capital. The machinery of production and distribution is in the hands of private corporations. Under such a system, the laborer, by his very existence forces and keeps wages down to the smallest possible point. He not only cannot help himself, but he is forced to be his own worst enemy. Moreover, capitalism has created a large and increasing reserve industrial army which is out of employment a considerable portion of the year. We need to bear in mind, also, that we are living in the last days of the nineteenth century. We have made education general. The means of enlightenment have been multiplied wonderfully. The masses of the people are being fitted for something better than the existing industrial system supplies any means of realizing. They are feeling that there is something wrong. They know that social production, with capitalistic ownership of the instruments, means capitalistic appropriation of the results of social labor. They see that property, which originally rested upon individual labor, now rests upon capitalist exploitation. They are coming to believe that expropriation of capitalists would mean nothing more than the restoration of property to its rightful basis.

(To be continued.)

## FOREIGN NEWS.

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

**BELGIUM.**  
An occurrence symptomatic of the prevailing frame of mind in Brussels, took place recently. During the latter stormy days of the campaign against disfranchisement, a national guardsman came into a meeting, and shouted towards the platform: "They have given us ten cartridges. That is three too many, for we have only seven ministers." At the instance of the ministry, the guardsman was brought before the court; but he was discharged. The prosecutor-general appealed, and the guardsman was put on trial again; but after a brilliant speech in his defence by Leo Meysmans, an editor of "Le Peuple," he has again been discharged.

The latest news to hand is that the socialists of Brussels have decided to found an international night school which shall teach only socialism. M. Vandervelde, the Belgian socialist leader, will teach collectivism, while others, equally prominent, will give instructions in sociology, socialism, the scientific basis of socialism, the means of regulating the length of the working day, the socialistic system known as "St. Simonism," and socialism as compared with democratic Christianity.

The socialist physicians of Belgium have perfected their organization. They have set themselves the following objects: Care for the public health; school and industrial hygiene; studies and publications on the above-mentioned subjects. It is further proposed to introduce explanatory work on health among the proletariat, as well as to found a sanatorium.

**RUSSIA.**  
A new and very important phenomenon is showing itself in the revolutionary struggle in Russia, in that the hitherto indifferent masses of the Russian peasantry are beginning to get together for the fight for justice and freedom. Even in the Seventies and the Eighties several attempts were made to win over the suffering peasantry to the revolutionary cause, but they always failed on account of the inadequate preparations of these masses for the struggle against the government. Apart from isolated uprisings against the local authorities, uprisings in which the desperate peasantry gave utterance to the cry of want against the oppression immediately affecting them, and which were put down in the most brutal manner; apart also from the attempt of some adventurers to stir up the country people, in the name of the Czar, against the imperial accomplices—apart from these isolated phenomena, which, being unorganized, were from the very first, doomed to failure, the rural population of Russia has hitherto taken no part in the struggle against despotism.

Considering the importance of the rural population in a country like Russia, it can be clearly seen what importance the newly found "Brotherhood" is for the Russian revolution in general. The regulations of this organization show that socialist ideas have penetrated into the country. As its object, the "Brotherhood" takes the field against illegality and oppression. Its program demands: 1. Making use of the people's ignorance of law for illegal oppression, shall be prevented; 2. The peasantry shall strive to obtain absolute and complete local self-government; 3. The attempts of the authorities, gradually to introduce a new species of serfdom, shall be resisted; 4. Equality of law for all ranks; 5. Participation by all those elected from the peasantry and the working class in legislation; 6. Socialization of all landed property.

It is a sign of the times that such radical demands are becoming audible from the midst of the Russian peasantry. The acute famine of latter years, the pauperizing of the farmers by the landed proprietors and the gov-

ernment, has caused even the country dullards to revolt and to come under the influence of socialist demands. What has been long hoped for by many Russian socialists, namely, that the Social-Democratic agitation among the city workers, who in great part go back into the country, would be propagated into the villages, is beginning now to be realized. The "Brotherhood" takes in all the relationships of the peasantry with the authorities and the landed proprietors. It further proposes to spread education among the rural inhabitants. The organization is founded upon democratic principles, and has to transact all its business in secret. Every member on entrance has to record a solemn promise to guard all the secrets of the organization.

The organization has been called into being by the "Russian Socialist Revolutionists." As is well known, these differ considerably in many points from the program of the Social-Democratic party of Russia; and at present, entry on the greater part of their activities among the peasants. The Russian Social-Democrats have, in spite of their differences with the originators of this organization, given it a hearty welcome.

### AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

On the suggestion of the Hungarian and East Austrian comrades in Paris, the "Petite Republicque" has opened a subscription for the erection of a monument over the grave of Leo Frankel, a socialist who died in Paris. The former minister of the Paris commune, he was the personification of the internationality of socialism: A Hungarian born, he fought in Paris in the rank and file of the French comrades, and maintained the most cordial relations with the German movement, which he kept up, through his correspondence from Paris, until his death. To the very end he was an active member of the Parisian Social-Democratic clubs.

### DENMARK.

Berlin, Jan. 15.—Copenhagen telegrams report an unexpectedly large number of socialists victorious in the local elections held in twenty of the large cities. They are due partially to the long lockout of 50,000 workmen last summer.

### FRANCE.

MM. Meline and Bourgeois, chiefs of the Republican party, made important speeches at public reunions of their party tonight upon the internal situation. Both spoke in a discouraging tone. M. Meline believes that the worst is to be feared from the socialists, whom he declared, formed one of the most powerful organizations in France, and was daily growing stronger.

Pierre Collard deputy for Lyon asked the chamber to vote 200,000 francs for the relief of the striking coal-miners. The government afraid of a discussion asked for the postponement of the request. This with the lament of MM. Meline and Bourgeois, should solve for the American workman the question so often asked, "What would the socialists do if placed in power?" The French government has before now been compelled to grant money for the relief of strikers. American workmen can judge what their ruling class would deal out to them in like case. Yet the only reason for the difference is that the French workers are developing an irresistible strength through a recognition of their class interests as workmen.

## WITH HOLY HORROR.

### Bishop Denounces the Action of Labor Unions, at a Capitalist Feast.

A goodly number of "right-thinking" individuals met together a few nights ago at the Palmer house, to celebrate a banquet, the fact that they each came originally from New York.

This was the apparent bond of union between them, but the speeches which followed the banquet, brought out another and stronger basis of solidarity, which they themselves would be first to repudiate. The chief speaker of the evening, a "man of God," by the way, voiced the hostility of the interests of worker and capitalist in the following unmistakable manner:

"Did you ever stop to think," he asked, "that these labor unions can stop the work of the whole city if anything is done to draw their displeasure? That you must pay a drunken, good-for-nothing man \$12 a day for doing work a boy can do for 50 cents, if they only say so? Chicago put about \$5,000,000 in buildings during the last year. New York less than twice as large, but in more than \$100,000,000. And why? Because Chicago is the storm-center of the labor element. It dominates this city; Chicago is in its grip."

This, as our old friend Dogberry would say is "most tolerable and not to be endured." The fact that some of the workers of Chicago should be able to appropriate a somewhat larger share of the product of their labor than their exploiters are willing to allow them, fills this holy man with indignation. With the statement that labor unions are able to extract wages amounting to \$12 for work that could be done by a boy for 50 cents, we have nothing to say except that it is an exaggeration that really amounts to a lie. The bishop's denunciation of the union man as "drunken and good for nothing" lies in the fact that the latter prefers big wages to small wages, and is partially able to enforce his preference. Were he not able to do this the "man of God" would have no reason to asperse his character in this manner. A fifty-cent workman is always more "virtuous" than a twelve-dollar wage earner, and conversely a twelve-dollar exploiter is equally more "moral" than a fifty-cent one—from the capitalist point of view. Bishop Fowler recognizes that the working class usually reverses this

formula, and therefore his speech was really a reiteration of the existence of a "class struggle" which socialists insist upon, and Fowler's class deny. That any workman should have enough over and above the bare necessities of life to allow him to get drunk, is a state of affairs very repugnant to the class which the bishop speaks for, and we more than suspect that it is the starting-point of the prohibition movement.

A very large number of workmen who are not socialists, instinctively realize that the "modern Christianity" of which Fowler is such an eloquent exponent, is merely the mouthpiece of their exploiters, and when the class that sits down to Palmer house banquets, use a clergyman, to voice their approval of a lower standard of life for the working class, this mental attitude of the latter is strengthened and confirmed.

All these things combined, may throw some light on that oft-debated pulp question, that bugbear of the modern minister, "Why don't workmen go to church?"

The verses following this article, which are not taken from a socialist publication, will illustrate the estimation in which a large and growing number of workmen hold pulp exponents of the Fowler type, and at the same time emphasize the statement of Marx and Engels regarding the effects of capitalist class rule on the religious and intellectual aspects of modern life: "The bourgeoisie has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honored and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage-laborer."

### THE MODERN SHEPHERD.

The parson rose from his downy couch at the break of the Sabbath day. He dressed himself and decked himself in the chaste aesthetic way. Lavender-scented was his garb, rings adorned his holy hand.

In truth he was a goodly sight—the parson of the land.  
The parson drove to the temple fair where the Lord of Hosts abode. And his carriage flew at a rattling pace on the wide and dusty road.

The Lord has been exceeding good. Rejoice, my friends, rejoice. The oil of gladness he has poured in fulness on each head. His little lambs in pastures green, by running waters led.

"Let the men of substance raise the hymns, the upper orders sing. Ye bankers! make the holy aisles of the sanctuary ring. Ye landlords! join the tuneful throng, and laud Him loud who said: The landlords had not left him where to lay His gracious head."

"Lift up the psalm, ye shepherds! the New Day doth begin. Christ turned the money changers out—but now we take them in. The creed was somewhat narrow that the Savior preached of old. Poor simple Galilean!—but we're making wide the fold."

"Lift up your songs—ye sons of peit—ye burly men of beer! And sing in soft respectful tones, ye poor folk in the rear. Lo! there be many mansions in the Father's House on high. Even the poor man (if respectful) hath a lodging in the sky."

"Lord! lay those sons of Belial low, who dare to rise and kick. Lord! strike the agitator home and smite him to the quick. Lord! guard full well the powers that be, and keep our pastures green. Our people meek and humble, as they hitherto have been."

"O Lord! the discontented! they be many in the land. They love not us—the sanctified—thine own anointed band. Make bare thy strong right arm, and help thy chosen in this town. Christ stirred the people up of old—but do thou keep them down."

"Lord send thy choicest blessing down on all who hold a stake In this Thy pleasant vineyard. Let the scowler frown and quake. Lord! prosper all our little 'specks'—the corner lotments rise. So shall we win our way at last to 'corners in the skies.'"

At last the shepherd ended. Then out the bankers' lie'd. The land-sharks and the usurers, they followed side by side. The fat man with the stake came next, and then the man of beer, And lastly came the poor man (so respectful) in the rear.

Then the shepherd left the holy place and he gat him home with speed. And he sat him down to a royal feast, the wines were choice indeed. And the servants waited on each back of the shepherd's lily hand. In truth he was a goodly sight—the parson of the land.

A little boy who, in the course of some conversation of his elders, heard a good deal of talk about the progress of civilization, approached his grandfather, who was taking no part in the talk. "Grandfather," said the child, "what is the difference between civilization and barbarism?" "Barbarism," my boy, answered the old man, "is killing your enemy with a hatchet at a distance of a step, and civilization is killing him with a bomb-shell twelve miles away!"

Keep watch on the subscription number on your address label. When that number is the same as the number of the paper on which it is pasted your subscription has expired. Please renew at once so as to avoid any delay as otherwise the paper will be promptly stopped.

## BOOK OFFER.

For each dollar's worth of subscriptions sent in, whether in ten-cent, twenty-five or fifty-cent subscriptions we will send post-paid 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. Boyes.
  3. Imprudent Marriages. By Robert Blatchford.
  4. Pockintown. 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.  
Connolly—Erin's Hope.  
Kropotkin—Appeal to the Young.  
Marx's Analysis of Money.  
La Salle—What is Capital?  
Harriman-Maquire—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.  
Engels Life Work and Writings—Kautsky.

### TWENTY-FIVE CENT BOOKS.

- Woman in the Past, Present and Future—Bebel.  
Modern Socialism—Vail.  
History of the Commune of 1871—Benham.  
Six Centuries of Work and Wages—James E. Thorold Rogers, M. P. Abridged, with charts and summary, by W. D. P. Bliss. Introduction by Prof. R. T. Ely.  
The Economics of Socialism—H. M. Hyndman.

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. The three month offers will carry the subscriber through until the municipal campaigns and now is the time to begin educating.

### From the Convention City.

Section Rochester hereby return thanks to the party at large for the honor conferred by selecting Rochester as the place of holding the national convention of the S. L. P. We shall endeavor to discharge the obligation and responsibilities thus placed upon us in a creditable manner, a task not difficult to do seeing that we have about as many unterrified and unbossed socialists to the square inch as any section in the country. Last Friday, January 5th, Section Rochester held a well-attended and enthusiastic meeting. Committee appointed to prepare preliminary meeting to secure a convention hall reported that the common council chamber was secured. This being the most suitable hall available it was decided to hold the convention there. The common council chamber is a commodious well-ventilated and well-lighted hall. After providing desks and seats for delegates there is a seating capacity for visitors of about 200. Congress Hall, a very good hotel provided with all modern improvements is secured for the accommodation of visiting delegates. The rate will be \$1.25 per day; American plan. Provision has also been made for the accommodation of a limited number—say twelve or fifteen—without cost. Those desiring furnished rooms at small cost will be well taken care of. Committees will be stationed at the various railway depots to take charge of delegates and escort them to their hotel. A very important matter now being looked after is the holding of numerous mass meetings during the progress of the convention. Visiting comrades want to prepare themselves for some heavy work during their stay in this city. While we expect to entertain our guests to some extent, the time that can be spared from convention work will not be one continued round of pleasure. Already arrangements are perfected for the holding of three meetings: Sunday-afternoon, January 28th, at Labor Lyceum; Monday night, January 29th, at Eighth Ward club rooms; and Tuesday night, January 30th, at Fitzhugh Hall. The committee in charge of these meetings and all other matters pertaining to the convention consist of Comrades Wm. Lippell, Morris Besman, Richard Kitchell, Wm. Hammen, Charles Zerrener, Joel Moses, John Schmidt and Gad Mastindale. Delegates desiring any information will address Wm. Lippell, 123 Chamber of Commerce.

Frank A. Silverman.

A sad story of a large number of distressed and homesick Americans, who became interested in a settlement at La Gloria, in the province of Puerto Principe, was told by Robert Hall, a St. Joseph (Mo.) business man, who arrived today on the steamship Olympia from Cuba. He said that many were suffering for lack of the ordinary necessities of life. Many have not the means to purchase passage back to the United States.—Chicago Tribune.

These unfortunate people didn't know that Cuba is a land of promise only for American capitalists. They went there to work, not understanding that "prosperity" consists in setting the other fellow to work and then appropriating the product which his labor produces. It is no doubt a sad story as the report says but it is repeated everywhere throughout the world in the miserable lives of millions of workers, whose sufferings are due to the same lack of knowledge displayed by these would-be settlers. Knock out the capitalist system of production and there will be not only no "lack of the necessities of life," but what are now esteemed luxuries will be within the reach of all.

