

CHICAGO SOCIALIST, Dover, N. H., Dec. 26, 1903

THE CHICAGO SOCIALIST.

VERY SPECIAL Send us a list of Six Yearly Subscribers and \$1.50 to pay for same and we will send you a Beautiful Gold Plated Party Button, encased in three colors, with a screw back. This offer will hold good for twelve months.

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

FIFTH YEAR—Chicago, Ill., Saturday, January 2, 1904.

PRICE ONE CENT

ECHOES OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

Railway Drops Old Employees--Lake Shore and Eastern Lays Off 650 Employees at South Chicago.

Capitalist Authorities Carrying Things with a High Hand in Colorado.

The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guildmaster and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another...

On account of the closing of the Illinois Steel Company mill at South Chicago, 500 employees of the Chicago, Lake Shore and Eastern Railway, which is operated by the steel company, have been laid off, and 130 more discharged...

As a result of the shutting down of the Illinois Steel plants, many smaller concerns in South Chicago have been forced to run short handed, because they cannot get material to fill their orders...

Miners Are Harshly Treated by the Colorado Coal Operators, Forced to Sleep on Ground and Allowed to See No One.

Printing Shops Cut Pay. Following up the blows administered recently by the courts to the Franklin Union of Pressfeeders, the printing shops who still employ members of the union yesterday decided to reduce wages to the level that obtained before the strike three months ago.

Should the cut not be accepted, the plants will be closed to Franklin Union men. Their places will then be filled by the printing pressmen's union or by nonunion workmen.

The largest houses in the new movement follow: James Regan, American Three Color Co., P. F. Pettibone & Co., W. P. Dunn Co., Wagner & Hanson, Robert O. Law Co., C. O. Owen Co., Pettibone, Sawtelle & Co., Hack & Anderson, M. A. Donohue & Co.

The decision of the printers was made known at a conference with Business Agents Woerner and Flannery. They were told that the concerns could not afford to pay \$15 a week while their competitors were paying \$7 to \$13 and that the wages must be reduced to \$13.

help us. We have no money, and when we asked when we would be paid we were told there would be nothing coming to us until we had paid back our fares out here. That was promised to us, but they say now that we must pay it.

APPEAL FOR HELP. Accompanying this letter was one from the president of the local union of United Mine Workers at Telluride. It is addressed to Moore's friend and reads as follows:

"There is a great coal strike on here, and the companies will come there and tell you anything to get you out here. When you get here you are guarded all around and not allowed out at all."

DISCUSS "LABOR TEMPLE" PLAN. The hopes of organized labor for a "labor temple" were told at yesterday's meeting of the federation committee. It was declared that the rents paid by the various unions would support a large office building.

TO ARBUKATE HOTEL DISPUTE. In the differences between the hotel proprietors and the engineers and firemen, the owners have offered to accept arbitration. A committee consisting of John C. Roth, Abe Frank, and Robert G. Clark has been appointed by the hotel men to conduct the negotiations.

"NO BILL" FOR UNION PRESS-MAN. Charles F. Lang, in whose case a "no bill" was voted by the last grand jury, is a union man, and as stated at the time, a nonunion man.

NEW YORK CITY VOTE. Final Official Figures for Social Democratic Candidates—Gain of 72 Per Cent Over 1901.

Charles L. Furman, Social Democratic candidate for Mayor of New York, received in the recent election, according to the final official canvass, 11,318 votes in New York County (Manhattan and the Bronx), 4,529 in Kings County (Brooklyn), 970 in Queens County, and 133 in Richmond County; in all, 18,956—a gain of 7,122 over our vote for the same office in the last city election in 1901.

Morris Brown, for Comptroller, received 11,874 in New York County, 4,716 in Kings, 1,905 in Queens, and 135 in Richmond; in all, 17,730—a gain of 7,793.

Peter J. Flanagan, for President of the Board of Aldermen, received 11,917 in New York, 4,859 in Kings, 1,015 in Queens, and 136 in Richmond; in all, 17,927—a gain of 7,883.

Richard Bok, for President of the Borough of Manhattan, received 10,030—a gain of 4,357.

Gustav Dressler, for President of the Borough of the Bronx, received 1,515—a gain of 705.

WOMEN SHOULD BE SOCIALISTS

Gertrude Breslan Hunt.

Women suffer even more acutely than men from all the evils of the present system, hunger and cold in a land of plenty, war, crime, strikes, enforced idleness of strong men anxious to work but shut away from the means of life by our monopolistic system, the waste and folly of the idle rich, child labor, ignorance, dirt, homelessness, anxiety and intemperance; the conditions of mastery and servitude, the sacrifice of companionship and brotherhood, the sacrifice of beauty and quality to cheapness and the degradation of marriage owing to the economic uncertainty and inequality. This system is the greatest enemy of the home and hence of progress.

Women are greater sufferers because more poorly equipped to live in a period of struggle. They lack the franchise, the most powerful weapon of defense which the workers possess; women, though crowded into the struggle, lack the equipment men receive, the special education and training; they receive lower wages and meet much opposition from men, who see in their labor only an added element of competition.

Her endurance has been lessened by her over specialization to sex, her vacation of motherhood also handicaps her in a system of ceaseless struggle and exploitation.

The Socialist party is the only party that stands for the re-instating of the disinherited workers, equal opportunity for men and women to the means of life and its blessings.

Under the co-operative commonwealth women as well as men would be economically independent; they would have ample time for study, rest, travel, no harassing anxiety about old age and periods of helplessness.

Under improved public service the fighting and cleaning, baking, sewing and many other things would be better and more easily accomplished. All would be insured beautiful, comfortable, permanent dwellings.

Women's interests as mothers would alone be sufficient to bring her into the Socialist movement. If she expects no gain for herself she will be glad to help make this a fit place for her child to live in.

They would not be sent into wars, which capitalists get up to extend their markets or get another set of people to exploit. The interests of the workers are one the round world over.

Our robbed and burdened childhood should stir the most sluggish heart to action or there is no manhood and womanhood in us.

Socialist men stand up for woman's freedom, but it depends upon the intelligence of woman what use she will make of her opportunity.

When woman is free to express herself in art, science and manufacture, to care for her children wisely, our race

will improve in beauty, intellect and soul quality, most crime and disease will be eliminated; the lust of greed and war will be past, misery and poverty abolished, and men and women strong, full of health, beauty and intellect will enter into their heritage, for which ages of pain have been required to teach them how to have and to hold.

WATCHING THE OUTCOME FEARFULLY.

The Toronto Globe, speaking of the recent election in Australia, thus tries to captivate instincts and heheists, says as follows: "The first election after the one held to complete the organization of the Australian Commonwealth has just taken place and the result has been a surprise to the outside world—perhaps to the Australian people also. There has been a turn over as complete as it was unexpected. In the last Parliament the Labor members numbered less than one-fourth of the Senate and very little more than one-fifth of the House of Representatives.

In the new Senate they are the strongest and make nearly one-half of the Chamber, while in the new House they are also the strongest party and make up more than one-third of its members. Possibly the employees of the farms sympathized and allied themselves with the Labor party of the cities. It is quite certain that the women voters did so.

This clever capitalist sheet does not dare to say that the Labor party in Australia, while not a revolutionary Socialist party, yet has adopted the Socialist party platform with several opportunistic palliative proposed measures, but it would try to lead one to believe it was like the so-called Labor parties of America, which every thinking worker knows is but a capitalist wolf in sheep's clothing.

Women's interests as mothers would alone be sufficient to bring her into the Socialist movement. If she expects no gain for herself she will be glad to help make this a fit place for her child to live in.

JOLTS FROM OUTSIDE

Socialism is fighting for the right of men to own what they make.—The New Era.

Staves with votes might at least try voting for their freedom. If they cannot vote themselves into possession of the wealth which they produce they will then know the worst and provide for it.—Socialist.

The clairvoyant was fined \$150 yesterday for telling fortunes. Yet President Roosevelt and Secretary Hay are still at large, notwithstanding the display of second sight that led them to have a naval force all ready for a Panama revolution before it happened.—New York World.

There is one thought that comes to the despairing workers, like a ray of light in a dungeon. When they shall have outvoted their oppressors, as they surely will, they will be in the majority, and will be ready for any emergency.—Los Angeles Socialist.

Don't kick when the boss reduces your wages. That is only his way of showing you that you must do away with the wage system. He can't help showing you, and you can't help learning what he is trying to show you, eventually.—New Time.

Mr. Parry, the modern union-fighter, is going to raise all sorts of Cain with the labor unions and Socialists. All right, Mr. Parry, go ahead. If you don't succeed in driving the unions and Socialists into a closer affiliation with each other we will miss our guess.—Ohio Socialist.

"Senator, what was the nearest you ever came to being bribed?" asked the girl who always bribes everything right out.

"It was the time I voted for the postal box bill and received 7,900 shares of stock in the concern that was to make the boxes when the bill gave it a monopoly on the business."

The saddest sight you can see is a workman voting for wage slavery.—New Era.

JUST A JOT OR TWO.

BY STEED.

Public graft is born of private graft. The cause and cure you will find by reading the "Chicago Socialist."

On Dec. 22, the Illinois Steel Company closed its plant and threw 6,500 men out of employment. No notice is given when the plant will reopen, and it is reported that when the mills are reopened there will be a wage cut of from 10 to 15 per cent.

The Missouri Supreme Court, on a technically, has released a gang of thieves and grafting officeholders. The Atlanta Constitution asks, "Is Missouri rotten at the top as well as at the bottom?" The Washington Post observes that the St. Louis municipal government is rotten to the core. The Socialist knew this long ago, and that it will continue as long as Capitalism.

The New York Evening Journal says: "Within the past year 800 Chinese coolies have been brought into Cuba, and it is just a starter. It is safe to say that number will swell to 8,000." Coolies are cheap workers, contented, peaceful and obedient. When the American workman is forced to compete with coolies, he may then realize that the abolition of competition is necessary for his self-preservation, and that the union label alone will not prevent the sale of cheap coolie made cigars.

The wages of 30,000 coke workers were reduced 17 per cent by the H.C. Frick Company. As the coke workers can produce just as much wealth now as before the wage reduction, why are their wages cut?

Because under Capitalism there is a profit, and the producers of wealth have not the purchasing power to buy and consume the wealth they produce, hence over-production, industrial depressions, unemployed and low wages. This seems a difficult problem, but if every workman and woman in this country would devote five Sundays to the study of Socialism, they would solve the riddle and would immediately proceed to secure industrial freedom and the full return of their labor as well as security of employment.

The International Harvesters Company, it is reported, expects to close, which will add ten thousand more idle men, and the grand jury has just indicted three labor leaders who "threatened a strike unless the Kellogg Switchboard Company unionized their shop."

All this can be wiped out by the use of a little brains and a big ballot.

Once there was a large, thick-skinned elephant, good natured, simple and ignorant. A mouse put a collar on him, and big chain tugs. The elephant, with bowed head, worked hard and toiled day and night for the mouse. In the winter, the elephant shivered with the cold, in the summer sweltered in the heat, and most of the time he was hungry. The mouse would often prod him with sharp instruments and adulterate his food. If the elephant complained, the mouse lashed him with an injunction and starved the big brute into submission. One day the elephant chanced to lift his eyes to the blue sky above and beheld the star-written word, Socialism. He paused a moment, then trembling with rage at his former stupidity, burst his chains, and with head erect, faced the world, free and independent.

Query: Who are the mice? Who are the elephants, and when will they look up?

From the unrecieved earnings of the working class Mr. Rockefeller has given the Chicago University to date \$14, 298,574. It is so nice that some one will take the burden and trouble of donating a part of labor's product, to educational institutions. The wealth of this university is drawn from the infant breaker boys, coal miners, men and women, the wrecked rivals of the Standard Oil Company, and the military victims of Telluride County, Colorado, and it rests upon the sacred pillars of capitalism, feecing, perjury, bribery, profits and corruption, and this in turn rests upon the ballots (in the main) of the working class. That's why your votes mean something.

The capitalists own all the jobs. They loan them to the workers on shares, and the workers have mighty little to say about what the share shall be. There is but one remedy—let all the workers own all the jobs.—A. L. U. Journal.

The workers as a class bring all wealth into being. They play the most important part in society, yet what is their reward? Simply crusts and hovels and the contempt of the parasites who fatten on their labor.—Social Democratic Herald.

THE ESSENCE OF WEALTH

Since the essence of wealth consists in power over men, will it not follow that the nobler and the more in number the persons are over whom it has power, the greater the wealth? Perhaps it may even appear, after some consideration, that the persons themselves are the wealth; that these pieces of gold with which we are in the habit of guiding them are, in fact, nothing more than a kind of Byzantine harness, or trappings, very glittering and beautiful in barbaric sight, wherewith we bridle the creatures; but that if these same living creatures could be guided without the fretting and jingling of the Byzants in their mouths and ears, they might themselves be more valuable than their bridles. In fact, it may be discovered that the true reins of wealth are purple, and not in rock, but in flesh; perhaps even that the final outcome and consummation of all wealth is in the producing as many as possible full-breathed, bright-eyed, and happy-hearted human creatures. Our modern wealth, I think, has rather a tendency the other way—most political economists appearing to consider multitudes of human creatures not conducive to wealth, or at best conducive to it by remaining in a dim-eyed and narrow-chested state of being. Nevertheless, it is open, I expect, to serious question, which I leave to the reader's pondering, whether, among national manufactures, that of souls of a good quality may not at last turn out a quite leadingly lucrative one? JOHN BUSKIN.

OBJECT LESSONS.

BY W. L. PRINCE.

Cook County jail and hospital are full. People will have to stop breaking the laws of the government and of health now.

Alderman Powers, after 25 years' experience in politics, says: "Politics is the vilest of vanities." Wonder if that's why so many pursue it?

Rockefeller discharged his valet because he bought ten shares of stock and incidentally gave him a strong lecture on the evil of gambling. \* \* \* Ye gods! What next?

The latest wave of public sentiment in Chicago is the anti-crime movement. Have you joined it? If not, you better hurry up or you will be too late, for these sentimental waves are not long lived.

If you would make an enemy of a man allow him to get under obligations to you. Socialism will make friends of all men because it will remove the opportunity for men to get under obligations to each other.

The spirit that moves the societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals is a grand one and no kind-hearted person could help but sympathize with such principle, but as long as the incentive remains for a man to overwork and beat his horse for profit just so long will it continue. Remove the cause and the problem is solved.

Solomon discovered that God gives wisdom, knowledge and joy to those who are good before him; but to the sinner, lots of hard work, gathering together and heaping up goods to give to the man who is good in his sight.

Socialism says to the worker: "For-sake your sins, assume your rightful place in society, and all things will work together for your good."

Dowie claims he is not taking \$7,000,000 out of the country with him, but only spending money. However, he didn't answer the voice from the gallery that pealed forth, "How much is spending money?" Well, look who he is! He doa', have to give any account of his actions to anybody, but his followers have to account to him for 10 per cent of every dollar they get.

It is reported that Italy, following the example of France, is about to enter into an important treaty with Great Britain, whereby the two countries shall be at liberty not to go to war with one another should they both be unwilling.—Punch.

Young man, do not be afraid to burn the midnight oil. If you do you will pile up a great fortune. John D. Rockefeller receives his fourth quarterly dividend of \$4,800,000 Dec. 15. Never mind whose fortune.—The St. Louis Globe-Democrat.

The Chicago Socialist

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The Chicago Socialist is published under the control of Local Chicago of the Socialist Party of Chicago...

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EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS

To secure a return of unused manuscripts... Contributions and items of news concerning the labor movement...

PHONE FRANKLIN 454.

Entered at the Post Office, Chicago, Ill., as Second Class Matter, March 18, 1902.



The earth is ours, who are we? That's the question, you and me. We are workers, can't you see?

A REAL LIVE JOKER.

In Justice Bradwell's Court a case involving \$12 stood on the calendar for trial. Constable Small was given summonses to serve on six good and true citizens...

Each of these "good citizens" knowing how small even a large constable is in the eyes of that great creature, the Modern Capitalist, at first refused to go...

AFTER CHRISTMAS.

Christmas has come and gone. We have so much to be thankful for. If nothing else, we should be thankful for the way the atmosphere is clearing...

A Chicago daily has evidently forgotten its "straw" man, the save-a-dollar-a-day fellow, which was used in an effort to combat Prof. Small's truthful statement...

A Chicago woman recently had a pet cat sent to Colorado, the climate here being too harsh in winter for the bronchial apparatus of pussy...

THE POLISH SOCIALIST ALLIANCE OF AMERICA.

As the next national convention of the Socialist Party is approaching, there is no doubt that the question of Polish Socialist Alliance will be brought up before said convention...

Because it is not enough to vote for the Socialist Party, but every one that understands something about Socialism and admits that the Social tenets are right, he ought to not only sympathize but to join the Socialist organization...

HISTORY OF SOCIALISM IN THE UNITED STATES.

A complete exposition of Socialism in the United States treating the circumstances of its origin, the manner of its growth, and the tendencies of its future development...

FROM NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS.

NATIONAL ORGANIZING FUND. National Headquarters, Socialist Party, Omaha, Neb., Dec. 24, 1903. The following contributions have been made to the National Organizing Fund since last report:

Total to noon, Dec. 24, 1903 \$200 75. Previously reported 2281 36. Total \$2482 11. At the recent municipal elections in Massachusetts the Socialists made a decided gain in Chelsopee...

The National Secretary is sending circular letters about the German, Bohemian, Italian and French organizers to the State secretaries of a number of States for transmission to the locals...

Lecture dates for James F. Carey and Franklin and Marion Weurworth are now being rapidly made, and locals should act promptly if they desire either of these splendid attractions.

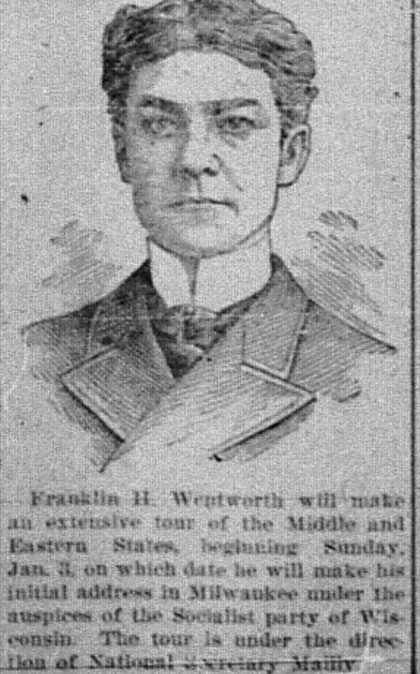
The recent election of State officials in Kansas resulted in Thomas E. Will, Wichita, being chosen State Secretary, Treasurer, and Mrs. Lavonia R. Kraybill, State Organizer.

Edward Gardner, 25 Pruden building, Dayton, is now acting secretary of Ohio. The election of National Committee members just held resulted as follows:

The annual convention of the Socialist Party of Oklahoma will be held at Enid, Dec. 29, 1903, at 10 a. m. Territorial officers for the ensuing year will be elected and preparations made for aggressive work during the approaching campaign.

Joseph H. Rosch, reported to have been the oldest Socialist in Milwaukee in point of service, died in that city Dec. 12. He was 80 years old and had been converted to Socialism in Germany forty years ago.

State Secretary Oneal of Indiana suggests to the National Secretary that the following regarding Calvin C. Ross be reported in the weekly bulletin:



A REVIEW OF ESSENTIALS.

The zeal of the new convert is proverbial—his energy, his interest in novel surroundings, his impatience for results, his final realization and philosophical acceptance of the fact that "Rome was not built in a day..."

There is another type of Socialist recruit almost equally familiar. This is the "reform" politician who has expended time and energy, voice and money, in pushing the movements whose bleaching bones straw the political battlefield.

The reform politician—no reproach in the word "politician" for he is a good fellow—has had opportunity yet to fall on his new tack, but the old Socialist—the believer in evolution and economic determinism—knows that failure is as sure as death.

All our civilization has not been able to eradicate that human credulity which is always looking for the miracle, that impatience which chafes under the slow operation of natural laws.

The type of mind which these credulous supernaturalists exemplify is restrictive under the restraint of cautious science, but its impatience cannot make us forget that according to our scientific Socialism social changes are accomplished in a certain way.

We believe that the "history of mankind has been a history of class struggles" and that men as a rule have fought on one side or the other to serve their immediate material interests.

As hard and as cold as these facts may be—and science is never alluring to the sentimental temperament—they are not inconsistent with a liberal and enlightened propaganda.

It would be idle to deny that there are differences in the Socialist movement to-day as to the wisdom of certain features of organization and methods of propaganda. It is unfortunate, of course, that these differences should bring from the adherent of this or that idea vigorous statement and heated recital.

One sometimes hears the sneer that some Socialists are "afraid" the movement will get too big, and there are proposals that the so-called "military character" of the movement be abandoned.

strongest bulwark against the ever threatening political vampires—the tricksters, bosses and grafters—seeking a new and vigorous body whose blood they may suck. It has proved its efficiency by standing fast in many a storm that threatened to destroy the party...

Editor Chicago Socialist: Dear Comrade—I have received the following letter: "The County Central Committee, in regular continued session, assembled 27th inst., passed the following motions: 1. That the sanction of the Cook County Central Committee be, and is, hereby withdrawn from the debates arranged between the business manager of The Chicago Socialist and the Henry George Association..."

Editor Chicago Socialist: I do not for a moment believe that such a motion could have been passed by any representative meeting of the Cook County Central Committee, and I challenge the validity of those motions, until I am acquainted with the number and personalities of the members of the committee who passed them.

Editor Chicago Socialist, 181 Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.: My Dear Sir—In your issue of Dec. 25, under the column headed "Rank and File," there is a paragraph in which the Single Taxers are accused of trying to sell a book, entitled "Socialism," under the pretense that it was favorable to Socialism, whereas it is unfavorable to Socialism.

Address to F. H. Monroe, President Henry George Association, 206 Chamber of Commerce Building, 134 Washington Street, Chicago, Ill. In sending in the book be sure to give name and address, so that I will know to whom to mail the remittance. Yours very truly, F. H. MONROE, President.

WORK IN THE STATE

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STATE ORGANIZATION FUND.

Table listing contributions to the State Organization Fund, including names like H. H. Wiggness, Colburn committee, etc., with amounts.

Editor Chicago Socialist: Please give space to the following: "Dr. S. Knopf-nagel, the man who while formerly an S. L. P. in Milwaukee had been robbed of railway passes in a Milwaukee hotel (a story that De Leon is still repeating, continues to make soap-bubble speeches for the party in Pennsylvania, it was Knopf-nagel also who induced the Philadelphia comrades to make war on so-called 'high-priced speakers'..."

While in Philadelphia I have taken no part in the "war on so-called high-priced speakers." The Philadelphia comrades are independent thinkers and thorough Socialists, and need no one's help to tell them what is right or wrong.

Several of the Massachusetts papers, it may be noted, are frankly recognizing the fact that the falling off of the Socialist vote in that State from 33,629 in 1902 to 25,251 this year, was not a "crushing defeat" for Socialism nor a very brilliant result of the vigorous and unscrupulous campaign waged against our cause.

The Syracuse Herald is one of the few capitalist papers in the State of New York that has the courage and honesty to inform its readers of the strength and the increasing strength of the Socialist vote in the State as shown in the last election.

"A state in which classes exist is not one but two; one consists of the poor, the other of the rich, who, living in close proximity, are constantly on the watch against each other. The ruling class is at length unable to carry on war, because, to do so, it must take the multitude into its service, and it fears the people in arms more than the foe."—Plato.

The Congress of the United States recently passed a military bill making a soldier of every able-bodied citizen between certain years of age, and subject to the call of the President. It would no doubt be quite interesting to watch the proceedings should "strenuous Teddy the Terror" call them all out one of these fine days.—Western Clarion.

If our government can feed, clothe and pay men to shoot Filipinos, can it not also feed, clothe and pay them to provide our own people with the necessities of life? Why not have armies of construction instead of armies of destruction? It costs more to save life than it does to destroy it, and do you not think it far better?—Labor Advocate.

# SOCIAL EVOLUTION

## The Class-Struggle Is the Means of the Progress of Society.

### EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION ARE NOT OPPOSITES.

Revolution is One of the Steps of Evolution—It is the Culmination of a Period of Social Evolution—The Feudal System of Society Taken as an Illustration of the Theory of the Class-Struggle.

By A. M. SIMONS.

It is a common practice to contrast evolution and revolution as if they were opposite modes of social growth. Dilettante thinkers frequently say of themselves that they are evolutionists, not revolutionists, and as is often the case the epigrammatic form of the statement covers the lack of meaning. Every student of the natural sciences is aware that evolution, so-called, is but a form of evolution, and is generally the last step in a period of slow growth and preparation. Earthquakes and floods are no less a part of geologic evolution than erosion and sedimentation. In the human order, forces gather and form for a long time beneath some restraint and then suddenly burst through. The existence of this law of development as applied to society has often been noticed. Haeckel's "Phylogenes and Politics" is based wholly upon this principle and many writers have attempted to reduce its operations to a system and give it laws, by pointing out that the greater the advance at any time of accelerated evolution, or revolution, the longer the time elapsing before another similar step. Others attempt to account for such steps through the appearance of great men, who by force of their personality have advanced society far faster than "natural growth" would have done. This was the old heroic interpretation of history, that saw in a Moses, a Solon, a Lycurgus, a King Alfred, a Napoleon or a Gladstone the creator of social crises and the founder of social institutions. To-day this interpretation of history has been relegated to the same class as those traditions existing among almost all peoples of the interposition of gods at various stages in their growth. We may now safely say that all historians note the fact of this pulsating growth, but I believe that the Socialist alone presents an explanation that can in any way stand the test of experience.

The Socialist points out that in every social stage there is a dominant ruling class which models all the instruments of social control in its interest. The phenomenon of the changing "zeitgeist" (spirit of the age) of different periods is thus explained as simply the spirit of the ruling class in any given epoch of social development. For a longer or shorter period the interests of this class are with the advance of society. Institutions are perfected and society as a whole moves rapidly forward. Sooner or later, however, there comes a time when the ruling class no longer fills a vital place in social organization, when their interests are at variance with social development, when the internal economic organization has produced a class with interests contrary to those of the ruling class and in accord with further growth. A contest follows, whose length and violence depends upon modifying circumstances, such as the degree of usefulness remaining in the old ruling class, the strength and organization of the newly arising one, the fixedness of the old institutions and the probable superiority of the next order of society. The final step that interchanges ruling and subject classes constitutes a revolution. It is the new wine bursting the old bottles. Any persons, classes, or social theories, pushed into prominence at this time are no more the causes of the revolution than the final blow that breaks the shell is the cause of the chicken's hatching. Whether this last step is taken in peace or war is immaterial as to whether it is a revolution or not. It only behooves those members of the revolving class who are conscious of the direction of social development to use their energies to bring about the final movement with as few convulsions as possible. These remarks may be well considered by those who object to certain lines of argument as "inciting to revolution." A revolution can no more be incited by talking or writing than an egg can be hatched by similar means.

The Socialist holds that since the institution of private property, social classes have been economic classes, and that the final contradictions bringing forth revolution are created by economic conditions. The position here taken can be settled only by an appeal to history. As it is from historical data that Socialism draws its strength and bases its position, it is well to dwell upon this point at some length. Going back to the time of the Middle Ages,

the landed nobility are seen to occupy the position of ruling class. Of this fact at least I think there is no dispute. However much class rule to-day may be denied, its existence in the past is seldom disputed. In this respect the popular idea of Socialist philosophy is no exception to the remark sometimes made of philosophy in general, that "we are willing to accept it for the past and future and some other fellow, but object when we are asked to apply it now and to ourselves."

In the Middle Ages, then, we are agreed that in all its essential features society was ruled by the landed nobility. They determined the form and character of all social institutions. They established feudalism with knighthood, chivalry and serfdom, and maintained the right of private warfare. Like every ruling class, they exalted their own members and endeavored to prevent members of all other social classes from obtaining any social recognition. They were especially harsh in their treatment of traders, and in their code of morals (which every ruling class creates for itself) they made it little sin to rob and plunder those engaged in commerce or manufacture. All forms of work were left to menials and were consequently thoroughly despised.

Some reasons for this attitude toward productive labor are seen at even a cursory examination. Owing to the crude tools and limited market the rewards of labor were very small. The whole social system rested upon a form of land ownership to which the laborers were attached. Land was the dominant feature in the productive system of the time, and its ownership, as the ownership of the necessary means of production must always do, carried with it ownership of the producer. The result would have been the same if the laws of feudalism had not forcibly united the laborer to the soil. He would have been just as effectually enslaved under "free contract" so long as land remained the private property of the ruling class, and agriculture and home manufacture were the dominant industries. Incidentally it might be mentioned to our Single Tax friends that this was the time they should have put in a claim for their system, as it was the only period in which it was applicable to historical development. Before long the other instruments of production so thoroughly dominated the land that its ownership no longer carried any claim to social government.

The tools transformed into great complex machines were to become the dominant productive force, and in the hands of the manufacturers constitute the means of overthrow of the landholders. Thus the nobility, by their contempt for productive labor and their willingness to hand it over to another class, were making themselves parasitic and creating the class that was later to overthrow them. In their oppression and ill-treatment of the mercantile class they were sowing the seeds of class hatred and revolt that made sure their own destruction and insured social progress. We shall see these same features duplicated with wonderful fidelity to detail in a later period.

Under the feudal system the population was almost entirely rural. Almost the first positive sign of its downfall was the appearance of powerful cities. In these cities the new trading class was organized and prepared for the coming revolt and its future social duties and functions. The Crusades aided in this development by further weakening the economic supremacy of the nobles. In the use made of the enormous gains secured from loans made to the nobility at that time by the traders, we see the first appearance of capital as a means to obtain the fruits of the productive labor of other people. In this consists the essential nature of capital—not in the "roundabout means of production," of Boeckner; not in the "something used to produce something else" of Henry George; not in the "stuffed-up labor" of other writers, but in the historical relation of capitalist and laborer.

Among the features of society that up until our own era tended to make the trading class a minor factor in social organization, the following are seen to be the principal ones: The limited market, impassable roads, forcible attachment of the laborer to the land, and, most important of all, the crude tools that made it impossible for each worker to produce much more than enough to maintain his own existence, and hence left little margin for capitalist exploitation.

The story of the economic transformation that took place in this condition

is familiar to all students. America was discovered and opened to settlement, new routes to India and the Orient were explored and brought into use, and finally the tools were transformed through invention until production was multiplied many fold and each individual producer could supply the needs of a small army of consumers.

Production being for sale and not for use under the resulting conditions, the tool that could produce the cheapest inhibited the use of all others in that line of production and gave a monopoly to its owner. All efficient tools becoming the property of a class gave to that class a monopoly of all the powers of production. The laborer being thus prohibited from producing individually for consumption, was transformed into a mere productive force, purchasable the same as steam or water power. There was this difference between the seller of labor power and of other commodities: That its owner could not separate it from himself when he went to market with it; and, further, that his life depended upon his finding a fairly ready market. He must sell it immediately upon a market that was always overstocked with his commodity. Under these conditions the most ready buyers to that class of laborers fixed the price at which all must sell, and the result was that there was a constant approximation to the subsistence wage. That this point is often reached and may sometimes be even passed for great bodies of men is seen from the statement of Canon Barnett (who is no Socialist) that the wages of a great majority of English laborers are below the point where a healthy physical existence can be maintained.

Let all this time the laborer is producing more than ever before in the history of the world—many fold more than enough to supply all the wants of himself and family; but all save this mere subsistence he is compelled to surrender to the owners of the newly transformed tools for the privilege of using them. Is it any wonder that these owners became immensely wealthy—that they accumulated fortunes beyond the wildest dreams of the old nobility, who had taken tribute in the much more clumsy fashion of high way robbery? The capitalists, now controlling the economic situation, held the key to the entire social organization. They were not long in exercising their new found power. From the middle of the last century until the middle of the present history is occupied with the successive steps, sometimes peacefully, sometimes bloody, sometimes sudden, and again slow and regular, by which the capitalists were wresting the governing powers from the old landed nobility.

Its economic domination enabled the capitalist class to seize one by one all the powers of social control. It used these powers to impress its interests upon other social classes with a thoroughness and relentlessness never attempted by any previous ruling class. These actions were justified by its philosophy in a system of individualism without personal relations and a theory of society united only by a "cash nexus." To be sure, no bourgeois philosopher probably ever consciously set to work to justify the interests of his class, but as will be frequently pointed out from now on, a class sufficiently coherent and self-conscious to become a ruling class acts in the pursuit of its interests with greater accuracy unconsciously than conscious, just as a muscle or nerve, once thoroughly developed for one function, performs that function unconsciously with far greater accuracy and efficiency than when it consciously did the same work in an earlier stage of development.

One of the first of the powers of social control to be seized by the capitalist class was the political. This was essential because the legal restrictions on commerce and trade were the main hindrance to the free growth of capitalist society. They protected the laborer against complete exploitation and prevented the full and free extension of "competitive methods" of business—such as advertising, adulation and shoddy work. Hence the rule of free trade, laissez faire, competition, and free contract was necessary, and the powers of the state were seized and used to create the conditions required. Capitalism demands stable domestic conditions as opposed to the private war of feudalism. The bourgeoisie made short work of the old political divisions and introduced the modern state, and, more important still, modern patriotism. To understand this action we must remember that two conditions are required of a capitalist government. It must be stable at home and aggressive abroad. The military power must be used to further commercial interests in every portion of the world; to open new markets and create outlets for the always chronic overproduction of the capitalist system. For while the laborer receives as wages but a small portion of what he produces, his overwhelming numbers in every society makes his class the foundation of the market upon which is thrown the entire product with an added profit demanded for the capitalist.

Consequently in all capitalist countries there is a chronic surplus which must be disposed of outside the circuit of its production.

(To be continued.)

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The workers should make the law if they are to obey it. Obedience to laws they have not made means slavery.—Labor.

# TACTICS AND STRATEGY.

By Thos. Bersford.  
(Continued.)

The ruling classes in the days before machinery made laws giving them control and power of life and death over the slaves and serfs, and they used the machinery of Government for that purpose. By studying history we find that this was true of the Patriarchs of Ancient Greece and of Rome, Egypt and Carthage and of the feudal Barons of the Middle Ages and was true of the slave-owning aristocracy in this country until January, 1863. At one time there were over 200,000 white chattel slaves in Italy alone. Chattel slavery was not abolished because it was wrong or immoral. That this was not the cause is shown by the fact that it existed for hundreds of years after every country had declared itself to be a Christian or religious country. The only reason chattel slavery does not exist to-day is that it no longer pays. Machinery has rendered it unnecessary, and it can be proved arithmetically that chattel slaves are not so profitable to the capitalists as wage-workers.

History shows that though the different ruling classes of the world had different notions of morality, the Patriarchs of Greece, Rome, Egypt and Carthage had different notions from the feudal Barons, and the feudal Barons differed from the capitalists of to-day, all these classes were a unit on the principle of exploiting the toilers; all alike made laws and established institutions in their own class interests, and you will note that the present ruling class has far more luxury than, though not quite so much power as former ruling classes.

Now the ruling class controls not only the law-making but the law-enforcing and law-interpreting power (i. e., political power) and of course it has laws made and interpreted to suit its class interest.

And to know this enables us to understand the laws and the interpretation of the laws. It explains the acts of Congress and the decisions of the Supreme Court. It explains why blacklisting is legal while boycotting is illegal; why injunctions against unions are constitutional, while injunctions against the acts of the capitalists are unconstitutional; why the use of Pinkertons is legal while ordering a strike is illegal. An English judge has recently fined a union \$14,000 for ordering a strike. The law on which he based his decision is also on the Statutes in the United States.

It also explains why the courts interpret a law one way at one time and interpret the same law another way at another time, but always to suit the capitalists. The capitalist control of the judiciary is to the laborer what a check-robin is to a horse, it restrains and hampers them at every move.

The capitalists may differ somewhat on minor matters, but when it comes to the rights of property, and the privileges of capital, they are a unit; they are agreed upon all that concerns their common class interest. And this is what Karl Marx meant by his brilliant epigram: "The modern executive (Government) is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the capitalist class."

The capitalists have control over the means of living, the laws, and the force behind the laws, because they control the political power. The political power is therefore the key to the situation.

If the workers were in control of the political power they could interpret the laws to suit the working class and it all depends upon the interpretation—shooting unarmed men by Pinkertons as well as by police, and imprisoning innocent people have often been declared quite legal. They could make it legal for employers to blacklist men or to interfere with union pickets. They could imprison Pinkertons, and could have scabs arrested for conspiracy, vagrancy, etc. Or, being in control of the offices, they could feed the strikers and unemployed with public money, as French municipalities in control of Socialists have done several times.

Certainly not to the capitalists. It is folly to expect aid from the class that prospers by the oppression of the workers. The capitalist class is interested in upholding what is oppressive to labor; for the more servile labor is, the greater is the power and profit of the capitalists. It is actually to the interest of the capitalists that there should be a large body of unemployed in the labor market because, 1st, it depresses wages, and, second, furnishes a reserve army upon which to draw when the workers go on strike, etc.

Nor from the middle class—because for the most part, middle class people imagine themselves capitalists. The only place to look for allies is among our companions in suffering; among those who suffer from the same oppression, viz., the working class, the propertyless class generally, whether organized or unorganized, all members of the class have a common interest.

It is evident that the class that lives in luxury and power upon the labor of a lower class must necessarily be oppressive to that lower class, and that the lower class in order to get better conditions and more freedom must oppose the ruling class. There is therefore a more or less conscious struggle between them. The struggle is largely unconscious because the capitalists control the sources of education, the newspapers, schools, politicians, etc., and the workers are taught that capitalism is the only possible system of society and, as they have been brought up amid capitalist institutions, the workers imagine that the institutions and customs are unchangeable. The fact that the origin of laws, institutions and customs was simply the economic interest of the ruling class is thus obscured by their training and by habit.

The struggle to-day is between the working class and the capitalist class, and when workers realize that they are doomed to be mere wage slaves all their lives and that the only way that they can better their condition is by helping to raise the entire class it leads to a solidarity that nothing else can give.

And this is what is meant by class consciousness—the recognition of the fact that individual interest is best subserved by furthering the interest of the entire class of which the individual is a member.

The second point, viz., that when they capture the political power the workers must change the industrial and social system becomes evident when it is noted, first, that today with modern machinery produced so much that comparatively few men are needed to do the work; that the industries are now in the hands of a few trust owners; second, that it would be suicidal to destroy the machinery. But to use machinery necessitates doing business on a big scale, therefore it would be impossible to use machinery and go back to small shops and stores.

Third, we now have social production, i. e., large masses of men now work together, and our need is to socially own the tools and machinery with which we produce; fourth, to leave the present system unchanged is to leave the workers competing with each other for a chance to work for owners of capital, and it is therefore impossible to abolish exploitation without abolishing the system of capitalism.

A careful consideration of these facts leads to the conclusion that to save themselves from suffering the workers must change the present system and in its stead establish a system of social ownership of the means of living.

From the foregoing we conclude, first, that it is necessary for the working class to go into politics, as a class; second, that upon the capture of the political power the workers must establish social ownership or Socialism. It is therefore evident that the political action taken by the workers must be of the right kind and that the kind is determined by the need of the workers, viz., they need social ownership or Socialism, therefore the only party that workingmen can consistently belong to is the Socialist party. The Socialist party is a revolutionary party, it stands for a complete change of system, it is not a reform party, i. e., it does not aim to merely tinker or patch up the present system. Revolution does not necessarily mean use of arms or violence; it signifies a complete change. The Socialist party advocates a complete change in the political and industrial system, a change from capitalism to Socialism, from wage slavery to co-operation.

There is still considerable objection urged against the discussion of politics in trade union meetings notwithstanding the fact that it is becoming more and more evident that the transformation of industry is making the capitalists so powerful that it is absolutely necessary for the workers to use the political weapon against them.

The argument advanced is that it would cause dissension in the union. But that could only be possible if it were insisted upon that all members must vote for a party irrespective of their opinions, and it would not be wise to bar men from unions for political reasons, because it is necessary to get the workers together, if only on the economic field.

But the mere discussion of politics cannot possibly do harm, and must necessarily be educational since all sides could be heard impartially.

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SOCIALIST

Sunday School Lessons

BY MAY WOOD SIMONS

EVOLUTION CONTINUED

We can take up the application of this theory to but one of the sciences, that is the science of society or sociology. It was Herbert Spencer who dwelt to a great extent upon society as an organism. He early realized that a complete account of universal environment must explain the origin and structure of human societies no less than the genesis of species. As early as the time of Goethe it was pointed out further that society moves in a spiral, that evolution, although the line of advance is upward, does not always at any one time mean progress. There are times when society, so to speak, turns back upon itself. The term evolution then comprises all the changes undergone by an organism or society independently of the question as to whether these changes are favorable or otherwise.

Concomitantly with the appearance of the book that sets forth the theory of organic evolution the "Origin of the Species" there appeared another on society "Capital" that applied the principles of evolution to social development. It pointed out that each stage of society is the logical child of the preceding stage, that within each stage of society lies the embryo or germ of the new, that the same laws of heredity and adaptation apply to society as to the physical organism. The same conflict for life goes on in society.

We have now to examine the relation existing between science and socialism. Can we claim science as one of the hand-maidens of our interpretation of social conditions, or are there as our opponents claim, points irreconcilable with our position? If Socialism is the next step in social evolution between science and Socialism, both developing from the same economic conditions. Further, if we find the two in accord, it is but one more proof of the certainty of the principles of Socialism.

The great contribution of the last century to science was the discovery of the Darwinian law of evolution. There are three points in this theory that our opponents claim refute the argument of Socialism. First, it is said that Socialism wishes to establish an equality of persons and property, while the law of Darwin shows the organic necessity of the natural inequality of the capabilities and hence of the want of individuals. It is here that many Socialists ignorantly speak and write of a supposed equality that will exist under socialism. This is inaccurate and misleading. Scientific Socialism has never denied the inequality of individuals, physical and intellectual. As Ferri has said, "Socialism says Men are unequal, but they are all Men." It is in this element of being human beings that equality exists, and because of this one element every man has the right to an existence befitting a human being.

No one can deny the fact that all men are not suited to do the same kind of work, some can perform better work of investigation, some artistic work, others will prefer manual or intellectual labor. But these differences of inclination, the result of birth, are to-day increased by social differences that force some men to do all work of one kind whether it be to their liking or not. What Socialism can do is simply to give to all an equality of opportunities when they begin life and provide that there shall not be some men in society who do no work, while others do all the work and receive little reward. Far from claiming that all individuals would be equal in the sense of all alike, Socialism would aim to allow each to develop his individual inclinations. But inequalities due to great social differences being done away with, we should look for greater uniformity in intelligence and ingenuity. To-day however, through inheritance, the child of wealthy parents, though it may be feeble in body or well high an idiot, has a better opportunity than the child of the working class, though the latter may begin life strong and intelligent.

Equality then in the Socialist sense is no leveling of individuals, but it is a guarantee to all men of human conditions of existence and that all may have the same starting point and not a few be made to carry weights in the struggle for life. In short, it means an equality of social conditions in which each may develop his personality.

The second point in which Socialism and Darwinism are said to be at variance is in the struggle for existence. Evolution says that in the life of man, as in that of plants and animals the vast majority of those who are born are doomed to perish because only few can succeed in the struggle for life. Socialism, our opponent claims, asserts that all ought to triumph in this struggle and that no one is destined to fail. Let us turn to the field of biology. Here we find that the lower the form of life the greater the disproportion between the number of individuals born and those that survive. As we advance in the scale of life to more complex and higher developed organisms this disproportion grows smaller. Fish, many of them, produce a multitude of eggs, while few of them survive. The elephant produces but one or two offspring and they usually come to maturity. In plant life the same law prevails. The weed, ripe in a few weeks, produces hundreds of seeds that are doomed for the most part to be wasted,

but the palm tree, requiring years for maturity, may bear but a few seeds, no one of which may be wasted. Exactly the same is true in society. Among savages and people of a low degree of civilization few of the offspring survive compared to those born. As we advance in the scale of civilization we find the number of those who survive more nearly approaching the number born. Now this in no way would give the idea that the struggle for existence does not apply to the society of men, but it does show that this struggle becomes less a brute muscular one and more of an intellectual struggle and the whole grows milder in its processes at each successive phase of the biological and social evolution.

But the law of the struggle for existence is by no means the only law that governs society. Operating with it as society progresses is the law of solidarity or co-operation between living beings. In the first stages of society the first law no doubt takes precedence, but as advance is made and as the social organism is bound more clearly together by division of labor and the food supply is more assured the second law takes greater prominence and the struggle becomes milder in character.

Again, in this second point, Socialism and Darwinism are not at variance. Socialism would, in bringing to a higher form of society, remove from one an economic basis for life and death to a field where intellectual emulation would predominate and make for greater social solidarity.

The third point of contention in the Darwinian theory is that the struggle for existence assures "the survival of the best, the victory of the fittest," and hence there is an aristocratic gradation of individuals, not the democratic leveling of Socialism. There is no doubt that the path that humanity has followed has, as a whole, been one of progress and development, but on the other hand, this advance has not always been in a straight line. There have been periods of retrogression as well as of progress, of evolution and of dissolution. Ferri has said of this: "Every cycle of evolution in the individual life as in the collective life bears within it the germs of the corresponding cycle of dissolution and inversely the latter, by the decay of the form, already worn out, prepares in the eternal laboratory new evolutions and new forms of life." Now the Darwinian theory does not state that it is the best that survive, but those fittest to survive in a given environment, those who can best adapt themselves to conditions, whatever those conditions may be.

Now if, as it is to-day, the struggle for existence favors those who are fittest for a world where men are valued for what they have and not for what they are, it is because the social conditions of capitalism demand of this. This can be best illustrated by an example taken again from biology. The individual is born, develops, reaches maturity, produces offspring and decays and dies, having performed its service to the species. So in society a social stage develops, gives birth to a new social stage and passes away. Capitalism has performed its function. It holds within it the new social stage Socialism struggling into birth. If the dead husk of capitalism be prolonged beyond its time it will mean social stagnation or retrogression.

Let us point out some of the ways in which capitalist selection goes on to-day. Take, for instance, those countries having a standing army in which the strongest young men of the nation are kept. The weaker ones being left at home to marry and reproduce offspring like themselves.

Again, while women who are degenerate, deformed or sickly may, on account of large dowries, readily obtain husbands, the women, be they ever so robust and intelligent of the working people, remain unmarried because of this economic hindrance. Riches thus assure the survival of the best, but the fittest to our capitalist environment.

Let us leave these three points and touch for a moment on the relation that exists between Socialism and Darwinism on another side the struggle between individuals of the same species and with species with each other. In no other way can the appearance and disappearance of species be explained. To exactly the same way Marx reduced social evolution down to a struggle of classes. It is this theory alone that gives us the key for an explanation of human history. It points out that the economic conditions form the basis of life and that all history shows a struggle between classes to obtain and keep control of the economic forces. Now the fact of the class struggle shows us also the method of freeing ourselves from our conditions. Each ruling class seeks to increase its powers. Hence, each subject class to succeed must obtain these economic forces. The struggle therefore is one of classes not of individual against individual. Individual warfare does not advance the cause of any class one step. Hence to rage against individual employers or to presume that an individual killed off more or less can change matters is outside of reason.

The politician who simply protests against this or that person produces no effect. Says Ferri, "No individual conflicts, no personal violence, but a class struggle. It is necessary to make the immense army of workers of all trades and of all professions conscious of these fundamental truths. It is necessary to show them that their class interests are in opposition to the interests of the class who possess the economic power and that it is by class-

conscious organization that they will conquer this economic power."

Turn now to another but related field of investigation. Up to 1883 it was quite generally agreed by scientists that all that has been acquired by an individual during his lifetime is accumulated and transmitted to his offspring. August Weismann first attacked this theory in his essay on heredity. He denied that species have arisen by the accumulation of acquired characters transmitted from one generation to another. The two schools then claim the first that species were produced by the transmission and accumulation of acquired characters, the other that they arose by the selection of types possessing favorable variation. Now at the first glance it may not appear that this contention of the scientists is of any great importance to us, but a closer examination will show that it lies at the very foundation of our philosophy. Those Socialists who contend that acquired characteristics are inherited may not know that they are standing with our opponents on one of the rocks on which Socialism would be wrecked. For the critic of Socialism claims that we hope to bring in a co-operative state and through it bring into power a class made up of hereditary inefficient. How frequently has the Socialist been met by the statement that the poor and working class cannot be bettered; that they are lazy, intemperate and dishonest by heredity and their children will have the same characteristics.

Perhaps the Socialist has been unable to meet this line of thought with an argument having behind it authority. If he had but known that Weismann, one of the keenest minds of our time, has shown to the satisfaction of a large body of scientists that characteristics acquired by individuals are not inherited by their offspring, that the child of a criminal is not born a criminal or the child of the prostitute a prostitute, but if they become such are forced to it by their surroundings, he might have met triumphantly his opponent.

Finally the fact remains that in all departments of science to-day work is being done that might powerfully aid our cause had we but knowledge of it, but knowledge is the monopoly of the few, and this that could prove so great a weapon in our hands is by our opponents turned against us. We might show at length the ways that science would take under different social conditions to improve health and prolong life, of the studies made in food and sanitation, none of which are regarded of great importance to-day when human life is so cheap.

Socialism means a far deeper, wider revolution than many stop to consider. A half century ago Marx and others laid the scientific basis of it, the class struggle and the economic interpretation of history. They fully recognized the change that would accompany the industrial change in ethics, education and literature.

But, says some one, what is the use of all this talk about science, education, etc.? Socialism is coming anyway, and all we need to know is the fact of an industrial revolution. It is true that economic forces are bringing Socialism, but few Socialists would presume to deny the fact that its advance can be shaped and few again will deny that an intelligent, sound, thinking, up-to-date body of workingmen can far better meet the capitalist class than an ill trained, weakened biological, visionary proletariat. If we claim that to us belongs the future we must prepare ourselves for the shaping of it.

"Socialism is all right in Europe, where workmen are oppressed," we often hear it said, "but the workmen here are not as badly off as that." Not! But, there are about three million people in America, whose hunger has just as keen an edge as if it were under a despot. And the drift of the mass of toilers is that way. Must we wait until all get to their last crust? Let us workmen take the lead in voting out of office the capitalist exploiters by voting for Socialism—Social Standard.

The working class is certainly a generous Santa Claus, when they will voluntarily deprive themselves of the wealth they produce and bestow it on the "others." The enforced idleness which the recipients of the workers' generosity bestow upon them, establishes that identity of interests between "capital and labor" which the infant has always been careful to teach. Those stocks and bonds and enforced "leisure" of the workers depends on acceptance of that belief. Stand pat and celebrate.—The Toller.

The ruling class in this country to-day are the capitalist class. They hold the economic power (the job power), and therefore, they control absolutely the political power. King Capital stands before the "free" American voter and virtually says to him: "I am your President, your Congress, your government, your legislators, your courts, your everything. I am IT in this country. You elect me to all the offices. My will is law."—Labor Advocate.

Rent, interest and profit. Take the three first letters and we have R. I. P.—that's exactly what they do to a fellow's wages. Wages cannot stand against this trinity. Vote out the wage system.—Iowa Socialist.

The New York man who has started on a search for himself is no worse off than most of his brother men, very few of whom would recognize themselves face to face.—The Craftsman.

STARVING AMIDST PLENTY.

Starving amidst plenty! This may sound rather contradictory and inconceivable, yet to any reader who will stop for a few minutes to peruse these lines, and verify the facts cited, he or she cannot help but agree in the statement.

In Chicago, within the past few weeks, thousands of workers at South Chicago, the harvesters works, and in fact all along the line of employment, have been "laid off" given holidays, whether they wanted the holidays or not. Some will be taken back to work at reduced wages, possibly after they have become hungry, humble and willing to contentedly work long hours, uncomplainingly, for hard task masters, while some will never go back, particularly those who may have been prominent in "trade unions" or stood for the interests of the working class in any way, for you can depend on it that your masters have had spies among you (seemingly workers) who know who have been the agitators, and who have been the contented, willing slaves.

These masses of workers have daily for weeks, months, aye, years, past been toiling long hours in shops, factories, mills, etc., in all sorts of conditions, and in many cases where their very lives were dangling in the balance. They have added great quantities of wealth to the nation's assets. In fact, they have piled up the products so high and so fast that they have got way ahead of the world's consumption, for the products of Chicago go all over the world. Now that the markets are glutted, the store houses here, too, filled to overflowing, there is an overproduction and the next thing to do is to cease producing, and that means a "laying off" of the workers. That's why you are idle. Plain and simple, isn't it?

Now, the factories, mills, mines, shops, granaries, storehouses, warehouses, in fact nearly every building in the world is filled to overflowing with good warm clothing, good wholesome food, and we have many empty dwellings, and there will be more as soon as you have no money to pay your rent, and you, the workers who produced it all, are hungry. You have no job, consequently no money is coming in on pay day and yourarder is empty. Your wives, children and those dependent upon you are hungry or forced to do menial toil, or perhaps worse, for bread. You are literally starving amidst plenty. Whose fault is it that this is so? It is your own. Why don't you, the workers, wake up to what is to your own interest, and stop this chaotic condition, this anarchistic way of piling up great masses of wealth, taking for yourself only a small percentage of the product according to Commissioner of Labor, Carroll D. Wright, about one-sixth for your share, called wages, which, as you will know, try as you may, save as you can, goes no farther than to give you an existence for yourself and those dependent on you, and now, when you have overstocked the markets, amidst the plenty you can starve. Why don't you get some manhood or womanhood in you? The slaves of ancient Greece and Rome, rebelled at every chance they got, and when they became dangerous, the Caesars of Rome gave their slaves free bread and circuses. Do you want to get soup kitchens and vaudeville performances in Chicago? Be men and women. You are strong and ready to work. Why don't you get it? The way to get it you have been told from nearly every street corner in Chicago by Socialist speakers, and through the columns of this paper. You are getting just what you voted for, the rule of the master class, the capitalists. Those of you who have anything left from the savings of your meager earnings will have it taken from you by the capitalists because they own the product that your labor has created. After the overproduction is used up you will go back like whipped curs to your toll and slavery, and not only be slaves yourselves, but continue a system that will enslave all who come after you. You have children. Look into their innocent faces and ask yourself whether you wish to bind them to a like career or experience such as you are now undergoing. Not a man or woman does. Then protest against it. Join a working class organization that has a well-defined proposition to place before you, viz., the Socialist party, the only class conscious organization that stands for the interest of the working class against the capitalist or robber class, and for the abolition of the competitive system. This robber class, after extorting five-sixths of your product in the past, now stands for a system which enslaves you, while you walk the streets and gaze on the wealth that you have created, piled up before your very eyes. The Socialist party is composed of workers who stand for a principle, and not for the glorification of men, a party which wants to inaugurate a system that would eliminate waste and useless toil, and manufacture and produce only for use, and give to the workers the full social value of their labor, so that there would be no overproduction, no lockouts, no want, no misery, no crime and no babies crying for bread in our midst, and, greatest of all, that the legalized robber of to-day, the shirker, the exploiter of labor, would no longer be allowed to thrive upon your toil, and ride around in palace coaches, \$15,000 automobiles, wearing million-dollar diamonds, glistening over your misery, while you are "starving amidst plenty."

W. HARRY SPEARS.

NOTICES.

HALL MEETINGS.

Saturday, Jan. 2, 8 p. m., Party Headquarters, Speaker, Ernest Untermyer.

Sunday, Jan. 3, 8 p. m., Party Headquarters, Speaker, Philip Engle.

Monday, Jan. 4, 8 p. m., Party Headquarters, Speaker, Philip Engle.

Tuesday, Jan. 5, 8 p. m., Party Headquarters, Speaker, F. W. Knocke.

Wednesday, Jan. 6, 8 p. m., Third Ward Branch Headquarters, 5545 State St., Speaker, Chas. Eshborn.

Thursday, Jan. 7, 8 p. m., Party Headquarters, 256 W. Chicago Av., Speaker, Morris Kaplan.

Friday, Jan. 8, 8 p. m., Party Headquarters, 5000 Grand Ave., and Robey St., Speaker, Gertrude Bredan Hunt.

Saturday, Jan. 9, 8 p. m., Party Headquarters, 363 Sedgwick St., Speaker, John Collins.

Sunday, Jan. 10, 9 p. m., Car Workers' Local 27, 48th and Halsted Sts., Speaker, George Koop.

Monday, Jan. 11, 9 p. m., Examiners and Bushington's Union, Cutters' Hall, 167 East Washington St., Speaker, John Collins.

Tuesday, Jan. 12, 8 p. m., La Salle Club, 215 West 12th St., near Desplantes Hall, Speaker, Gertrude Bredan Hunt.

Wednesday, Jan. 13, 8 p. m., Car Workers' Local No. 7, 5491 Wentworth Av., Speaker, Mat. Whalen.

Thursday, Jan. 14, 8 p. m., Let. Machinists, Lake View Lodge, Lincoln Trunk Hall, 141 Lake View Blvd., near Sheffield Av., Speaker, Ernest Untermyer.

Scandinavian Sick Benefit Society, Fynn's Hall, Robey St., and North Av., Speaker, Thos. J. Morgan.

THEO. MEYER, Local Secretary.

NOTICE.

At Seventeenth Ward Branch meeting, Dec. 29, it was decided to change Sunday school from 10 o'clock a. m. to 1:30 o'clock p. m. Therefore, please take notice and help to make our Sunday school a great success.

A. A. WIGGNES, Secretary.

NORTH TOWN NOTES.

Don't fail to come to the North Town Headquarters, 503 Sedgwick St., Sunday evening 8 p. m., Jan. 3, 1904. John Collins will give a general review of the important events that have occurred in the past 12 months. This will be a great treat. Bring your friends.

Sunday, Jan. 10, S. Stodman will fill his date, Sunday school 10:30 a. m. Comrades, send your children.

The La Salle Political and Educational Club has moved its club rooms from 470 S. Halsted street to 235 West 12th street. Come and see our new lecture and reading rooms.

FEDERAL UNION, 454.

has changed its meeting place from Empire Hall, on the West Side, to Trades and Labor Hall, 44 La Salle St., between Randolph and Lake streets. The central location will make it easier for members from all parts of the city to attend.

Next Monday, Jan. 4th, there will be installation of the new officers and other business of importance, among which about 75 new members are to be initiated.

Several plans of special action are being agitated, and renewed interest is being manifested by all hands. Don't fail to be present next Monday eve.

NEW SOCIALIST TEMPLE.

Sunday eve, Jan. 24, 1904.

Mr. Thomas J. Morgan will give his famous chart illustrated lecture on the Social Problem in Hygeia Hall, corner of Ogden Av. and Robey St. This is considered one of the most-heard and interesting lectures on the subject. You will miss a treat if you don't get there.

LAKE VIEW.

600 Sheffield Av., cor. Barry Av.

F. Sunday, Jan. 24, 7:30 p. m.

T. W. Knocke, former member of the Twenty-fifth Ward Branch, will lecture. Do not fail to attend. Sunday, Jan. 10th, 9:30 p. m., Debate: M. Kaplan, Socialist; Abram Adams, Single Tax.

Sunday, Jan. 17, E. Untermyer will deliver the first of a series of lectures which will be continued Jan. 24 and 31st.

The Twenty-fifth Ward Branch eighth entertainment and dance will be held Saturday, Jan. 23rd, 1904. Tickets, 25 cents.

If a man has the right to live he has the right to free access to the means of life equal with every other man. It's simply a question of whether he has a right to live or not.—A. L. U. Journal.

Socialists are endeavoring to put an end to the system which makes a small class investors and a large class wage slaves.—New Era.

As long as the capitalist class can keep the working class fighting among themselves, they need have no fear of losing their position as the master class.—Railway Employe Journal.

The ballot is the weapon, class-consciousness the force.—Presto Change.

Don't forget Comrade Conklin sells a 15-jewel Waltham movement in a 20-year Duerber gold filled case at \$10, or \$7.50 for solid silver screw case.

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**This Will Interest You.**

On the fifteenth of last August we adopted the plan of giving high class books as premiums to those securing lists of subscribers to this paper. This special announcement closed on the first day of November. It was so well thought of by the Comrades, that we have decided to continue the awards until the first of next April.

This should give every one an opportunity to secure a well selected supply of books treating upon the economic development of the times without any cost at all.

The following is a partial list of the premiums you may earn:

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For 15 " Aveling's History of the Commune, Val... .75  
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