

THE WORKERS' CALL.

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

VOL. 1, NO. 5.

CHICAGO, ILL., APRIL 8, 1899.

PRICE ONE CENT.

MAYWOOD

Another Battle in the Struggle of Labor for Justice.

ILL TREATMENT OF THE LABORERS

The Whole Story of Capitalist Development Told Over Again—Labor-Saving Machinery, Employment of Women and Children, Low Wages and Oppression—No Help From Prosperity.

Another chapter in the great economic struggle between labor and capital has just been written during the past few days at the Norton Canning factory at Maywood. Just because its details are so similar to those that have marked a hundred similar struggles it is of especial interest. It is therefore typical and will well repay a little study.

Many of the employees doubtless thought their fight had its beginning when they left the factory one morning last week and demanded an increase in the miserable pittance they had been receiving. They did not realize that this was the last step in a contest that had been going on for years.

Let us look over the history of this institution for a few years back and secure a wider picture of the field of battle than is afforded by the snap shot obtained by a study of the strike alone. A number of years ago Norton Brothers had their factory in the city. But from time to time difficulties arose in the extracting of surplus value from the labor of their employees. Frequently when it was sought to discipline them and press a few more cents out of their toll they would rebel. Being in the midst of a great city at a time when work was not so hard to find as now, they were within walking distance of other employees and would sometimes elect to change masters rather than submit to further exactions. This was annoying to the employers and did not show proper appreciation of the share of capital in production. Besides rents were cheaper and living less high in Maywood, and wages consequently lower than in the city, and so the firm moved out into the suburb.

There were soon gathered around the factory from 750 to 2,000 laborers who depended upon obtaining access to the machines there used in order to live. The Nortons own the factory and the machines; the laborers must use these or starve; therefore the Nortons owned the laborers.

Gradually another phase of the labor problem presented itself. More and more improved machines were introduced. As these began to work with greater perfection there was less need for the strong arms of the men. Besides men were generally the heads of families which they had to keep alive and they would not consent to have their wages reduced below the point where wife and children as well as themselves could sustain life.

So as the machines became perfected the husband and father was turned aside that his place might be given to the wife and daughter or young boy not yet through school. The power of resistance to oppression in these latter was slight and little by little their burden was increased. Slowly but surely through the introduction of machinery and substitution of women and children the wages were cut down until the wages of these latter, who now made up almost one-half the total employees, were only receiving from \$2.00 to \$4.00 a week, which in many cases constituted the income upon which an entire family maintained an existence.

Next the hours of labor were extended under the well-known law of exploitation that with a fixed investment all additional labor after a certain time yields a continuously increasing rate of profit to the employer. The evenings and Sundays of the helpless workers were gradually stolen to add to the ill gotten gains of the Nortons until some time ago practically the entire force were working until eight and nine o'clock five days in the week, and had ceased to know when Sunday came, save as it was indicated upon the calendar.

All the features that have marked capitalism in other industries appeared one by one. Dangerous machines were introduced that clipped fingers and disfigured hands. It costs money to construct safeguards and human flesh and blood was cheaper. Besides this it afforded an excuse to dock the wages of 500 of the employees who were the most apt to lose fingers in this way. 10 per cent

on their meager wages to support a company doctor who could always be relied upon to testify on the right side in damage suits.

When the "hard times" of 1896 were on the firm cut wages 15 per cent, and afterward in order to avoid labor troubles raised them 5 per cent to their present figure.

This was the situation up to the time of the present strike. The employees had long been discontented but what could they do? They were now far from the city and their fortunes were absolutely united with the plant in which they worked. They could not easily go elsewhere to look for work. They were well nigh hopeless.

But "prosperity" began to appear. There were rumors on every hand of wages being raised. The factory was running night and day. The wealth was flowing into their employer's hands in untold quantities. They began to ask themselves why they should not receive a larger share of the wealth they were creating.

Without much consideration they left the shop in a body and the strike was on. It was planned by no "labor leader," ordered by no "walking delegate," incited by no "violent agitators." It was simply a spontaneous revolt against insufferable conditions. If ever there was a strike that was justifiable; if ever there were demands that were "reasonable," it was those made by the oppressed laborers from Norton Bros. canning factory.

The socialists of Chicago heard of this, recognized it was one more effort for justice by downtrodden labor and hastened to offer assistance. Com. R. A. Morris went to Maywood, found them utterly unorganized—a mere helpless mob arrayed against the perfectly disciplined forces of capital. He assisted them in forming a temporary union, in electing officers, arranging for a strike committee and posting pickets. He spoke to them; assured them of the sympathy and assistance of the Chicago comrades and did all possible to help them. The following day the editor of *The Workers' Call* visited them; spoke to them to urge them to maintain their ranks solid and to perfect their organization.

Up to this time all assistance or sympathy that had come to the strikers from outside their own ranks had been given by the socialists. Message after message had been sent to secure help from the Chicago Federation of Labor, but a municipal election was in progress and there were rich plums to be picked in the political field and no time could be lost attending to the troubles of a few thousand suffering laborers. The Norton Bros. canning factory had been an epitome of the entire economic development of history. Now it was to furnish a chapter in the evolution of the labor fakir.

When at last a delegate was sent out and preparations made for organization the very first action taken was to PASS A RESOLUTION FORBIDDING THE CIRCULATION OF ANY SOCIALIST LITERATURE IN THE HALL WHERE THEY HELD THEIR MEETINGS. The socialists expected no thanks for their work nor cared for any gratitude. What little they did they will be glad to do again, and should the strike continue we shall always be found upon the side of the strikers, giving them all the aid and comfort in our power. We know that their cause is just, their position right, their intentions good, but we only regret that they have consented to stultify themselves to the entrance of any real assistance.

But we can afford to wait. We know that the time will come when they will be forced to think and when they will be compelled to recognize the close connection between their wages and their vote—when they will see that it counts for more to vote against the boss on election day than it does to strike against him the other 364 days combined.

Comrades.

To get down to a systematic method of securing subscribers let every branch elect five or more solicitors to make a house to house canvass; let each solicitor take ten copies of the *Workers' Call* each week and leave the papers with as many people as will agree to read it, letting them know that you will call again the next Sunday to secure their subscription. With nearly 400,000 workers in this city it will be an easy matter if all branches take an active interest in this to secure at least 10,000 subscribers in Chicago at the end of this year. Get to work at once and send in the names of your solicitors who can get their sample copies at the office, 36 N. Clark St.

DID YOU THROW YOUR VOTE AWAY?

SIDE LIGHTS

The Class Struggle From the Ideologist's Point of View.

PREPARATION FOR COMING STATE

The Mad-to-Order History of Reformers Shown To Be a Misfit—Absolute Need of Class Struggle As Training for the Proletarian's Future Function.

There is a phase of the class struggle that is seldom touched upon, yet whose significance from many points of view is of the greatest importance. I speak of the necessity of the training such a struggle gives as a preparation for the co-operative commonwealth. However much we may differ as to the details of the society that is destined to grow out of the present one there are certain general features in which we are all agreed. In the first place that society will be a democracy. Furthermore that society will exercise far more power in its organic capacity than do the present class governments. The necessity for intelligent citizens who understand their rights and duties will be far greater than now. What then will be the result if this new society could be "enacted" now without, if it could be imposed upon present society like a new coat of paint on a barn door.

What would be the probable result? If all the sufferings of the present laboring class have not taught them to use their ballot with which to even protest against their injustices, if they can be led hither and thither by whatever unscrupulous demagogue may chance to catch their ear—if they are the victims of labor skates and fake reformers what would be the result if they were suddenly set down in a condition where they were no longer compelled by their economic condition to think? Is it not evident that they would become the tools of exactly the same class under any other system of society. Of course economic freedom would in the end bring education and political independence but it would be a painful job. Of course I understand that I am making the wildest kind of suppositions and painting impossible pictures, but those pictures and suppositions constitute the ground upon which the entire structure of "reform," "Fabian socialism," "Bellamyism," "nationalism," etc. is erected, and hence we are justified in standing upon that ground while fighting them.

Perhaps we will find the explanation of the action of the middle class in supporting such movements in another phase of that same class-consciousness to which we must ever look for the explanation of all movements common to an economic class. May it not lie in the fact (among others) that this class have no real faith or interest in the producers—that they do not really wish their economic freedom, no matter how much they talk about it, and that they instinctively feel (although they themselves would deny the fact if they thought ever occurred to them) that if they could in some way bring in the co-operative commonwealth for the laborers these latter might still allow themselves to be legislated for by the aforesaid middle class. All would then be lovely. Instead of a co-operative commonwealth they would have a benevolent despotism. To be sure such a condition would be ridiculously impossible, but a little thing like that never bothers the reasoning of a reformer. The fact that economic conditions determine other social relations never occurs to him.

Let us look further into the nature of the society which will naturally grow out of capitalism and see in what other features its well-being will be furthered by the class struggle out of which it will rise. It will be a society of producers. Only those who are performing some socially useful labor will be entitled to a share in social control. Manifestly then such a society should be brought into being by the exertions of those who are the actual producers in our present society. It would be a strong contradiction, indeed were the idlers of today to legislate into existence a society whose fundamental position should be the abolition of their class and the lifting of political power of the class upon whose efforts these idlers had been living. On the other hand the ideal preparation for such a society (if we could make history to order as the reformers seem to wish) would be the

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LYNCHING

Recent Butchery of Negroes in the Southern States.

THE ONLY REAL NEGRO PROBLEM

A Study in Capitalist Morality—Relation of the Negro to American History—No Negro Problem Apart From the Labor Problem—Operation of Class Interests.

There has recently been considerable discussion of the outrageous treatment of negroes in our southern states. For the last few years, there has seemed to be an epidemic of lynching; shooting, burning, whipping, etc., raging in some parts of this country. A great variety of reasons have been offered for this—some claiming it was due to the terrible crimes the negroes were committing, others to race hatred, and so on. But all of these have existed, if at all, ever since the war and yet the outrages referred to are of comparatively recent date.

I believe that we can show the reasons for this recent outbreak to be deeper than the explanations offered by the capitalist press. If this entire "negro problem" is viewed through the lens of socialist philosophy a great clearing up is seen.

That we may the better understand present conditions let us go back and look at the history of the negro question in this country from the socialist point of view. At first slaves were held in all the states and most socialists at least are familiar with the fact their obtaining freedom in the Northern states was in no way due to "humanitarian impulses," but was in strict accordance with the economic interests of the ruling classes.

Until the invention of the cotton gin slavery was not profitable in the South, and hence was highly "immoral." Numerous examples are to be found in the writings and speeches of southern people prior to that time denouncing slavery and advocating emancipation. In the North, on the other hand, the opportunities for employment were practically unlimited and hence the demand for labor high, and as a natural result, negro chattel slavery became the most moral thing in the world. As time passed, however, wage labor grew cheaper, and owing to the changes of season it was impossible to profitably employ the slave all the year 'round, and it became more profitable to have a temporary slave who could be left to shift for himself when winter came, and immediately negro chattel slavery became immoral and white wage slavery took its place.

The wisdom of the Northern capitalist was soon apparent. The system of production and the form of labor power soon determined the entire social organization as is always the case. The South became feudal, aristocratic, agricultural; the North bourgeois, plutocratic and commercial. The story of the evolution of history was repeated in America. These two forces came into conflict. As in Europe, so in America, the bourgeois triumphed.

Now comes the story of the enfranchisement of the negro. Here again history is repeated with wonderful fidelity to detail. Just as the capitalist class of Europe in the middle of this century gave the ballot to the workingmen of those countries that he might be a tool in the hands of his masters to humble the landed aristocracy, so here in America the northern capitalist gave the ballot to the negro that he might use it as a club with which to crush the southern plantation owner.

The next development was still more interesting. This changed economic condition in the south altered the social and political situation. Divergent economic interests arose. Capitalism entered the south and began to use the exploited negro wage slave as a means of breaking down the resisting power of the northern white laborer. Then his ballot became an obstacle. It was not because he used it ignorantly, or on the other hand because he used it intelligently in his own interest—the former could be easily pardoned and the latter would not suffer itself to be mistreated. But it was because he refused to be led into new deceptions. He still clung with stupid obstinacy to the fetish of Republicanism, which he had been carefully taught to regard as the means of "deliverance from bondage." This was all right as long as capitalism was bounded by geographical lines. But now the South as well as the North being

capitalist, his southern master began to object to this action. As there was now no particular quarrel between the two capitalist factions the republican took but little interest in his troubles.

On the other hand the southern capitalist now needed the negro vote for his own purposes. His "vested rights" needed protection. A stable government was necessary that would "preserve order," shoot strikers, issue injunctions, and in general perform the functions of government in a proper capitalist manner. In all this the "carpet bag" governments elected by the negroes were hopelessly deficient. A mere system of organized plunder they could do little along these much needed lines. Hence its permanent overthrow and the establishment of a government with a proper respect for capitalist "law and order" was an absolute necessity.

The whole matter was a perfect illustration of Karl Marx's statement that "the bourgeoisie has every reason to fear the stupidity of the masses—so long as they remain conservative; and their intelligence—so soon as they become revolutionary." The negro Republican of the South is being punished for his stupidity—the white socialist of Europe for his intelligence.

The negro with ignorant pertinacity continued to vote the Republican ticket. It was necessary that he be brought into a submissive condition and not be permitted to trouble himself about politics. His use to the capitalist was over and it was necessary to disfranchise him. Where it was easily possible this was done under a semblance of legality by "educational" and other tests. In many places this method was too cumbersome and resource was had to mere brutality. It was only necessary to loose the passions of the semi-criminal class who are always the hangers on of plutocracy, and imbued with capitalist class consciousness move in exact obedience to capitalist interests, as may be seen by watching the actions of the slum proletariat in any of our great cities. No further hint was required than that conveyed by a lax administration of the law and the indifference of the former defendants of the negroes, the northern capitalists, to let loose upon the helpless blacks a brutality whose blood thirsty ferocity has scarcely been equalled in the annals of history. The fact that other motives than those mentioned influenced the individual members of the mob is, aside from the point under discussion, and only shows that capitalism here as always, knew how to make use of all the evil passions and prejudices that lay dormant in the hearts of men. To prove that any of these were the inspiring cause it would be necessary to show that they had not existed when there was no lynching and came into being with the appearance of the mob.

The negro, bewildered and terrified at this fierce outbreak against him turns to his old defenders for protection. But the northern capitalist has other fish to fry. The woes of Cuba and the Philippines cry aloud to him for redress, and the roar of their prospective markets drowns the shrieks of the tortured negroes at his door. In other words the material interests of the present ruling class are advanced by pretending sympathy with the Cuban and the Philippine, just as they once were by "freeing" the negro.

Anyone who wishes to follow this phase of the question out in detail and satisfy himself as to the truth of the position here taken, needs only to trace the course of capitalist indignation at "southern outrages" as reflected in that perfect image of capitalist class-consciousness, the public press. A few years ago when the present lynching mania first began there was a made-to-order "thrill of horror" that ran the whole length of the capitalist spine. Indignation meetings were called to protest, societies formed to prevent, sermons preached to denounce, thunders editorial and page-wide reports with double-column scare-headers printed to expose, congressional committees appointed to investigate and, so on ad infinitum, ad nauseum. But as soon as it became evident to the northern capitalist conscience that it was only his southern brother disciplining his wage slaves for political purposes, the "moral sense" of the North ceased to be any more outraged by the lynching of a couple of negroes than they were by the shooting of a dozen northern white strikers, or the "moving down" of several hundred Philippines.

On the other hand it became evident that the interests of the northern capitalists were more closely

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CONTRADICTIONS

Paradoxes of Capitalism Leads to Its Destruction.

SOME DESTRUCTIVE CONTRASTS

How Our Present So-called Civilization Contains Within Itself All the Elements Necessary to Destroy It—Demands Peace and War, Ignorance and Intelligence, Competition and Monopoly At the Same Time.

Socialists have often pointed out how the present society is but laying the foundation for the coming one and how it contains within itself the elements that were to bring about its own destruction. Not few of us, I think, have ever realized what a bundle of contradictions capitalism is, and how at every point it is a shattered hulk torn by conflicting forces that must soon destroy it utterly.

Capitalism demands perfect peace. The rumor of a war is enough to send the market into a state bordering on panic and cause the prices of stocks to go tumbling down. Industry can only be successfully carried on when there is a certainty as to the markets, when there is security for property in all parts of the world. All this is impossible at a time of war. Therefore capitalism is opposed to war. But underpaid labor always renders the home market restricted and causes a constant overproduction (for the capitalist). If industry is to go on at all this must be disposed of and the demand for a market for this drives capitalist nations into wild struggles for conquest in every part of the world and plunges them into innumerable wars. The system can not exist without war and conquest which disorganizes its own internal arrangements at the same time. Moreover all this drives on to a greater contradiction. Capitalism ever demands wider spheres of exploitation and cannot exist without an expanding market. But the more rapid the expansion the more imminent the time when there will be no room for further expansion and capitalism must die.

Capitalism was born with the modern state and its fortunes rise and fall with it. Patriotism is an essentially capitalistic virtue and capitalism is the inspirer of chauvinism. Yet every feature of that same system is constantly breaking through national lines. The world-market is a constantly growing contradiction to national industry.

When we examine capitalistic government we find the same contradictions. Industry prospers best under a firm and economical government. Taxes are lowest, property safest and the expenses of administration lightest. Hence the continual cry of capitalist reformers for pure government, honest administration of public affairs, etc. But capitalism rests as a corner stone upon a class government which presupposes that one portion of the citizens are to be favored in all that relates to government. No system of government involving such a gigantic lie can come very close to even capitalistic conceptions of morality.

This brings us to the moral contradictions inherent in capitalism. No other system has ever prated with such tiresome iteration of its morality. In no other stage of society have "honesty, truth, veracity, economy," and the whole list of "moral virtues" been preached with such pertinacity as under capitalism. The reason is at once plain. The system rests upon the maintenance of private property. Everything must be bent to secure respect for this fetish. The little children must be taught that stealing a pin is a frightful crime and that distorting the word from the fact, even in the slightest degree, was an unpardonable sin. When all this has been thoroughly taught to the child he is plunged at once into a society whose basis is systematic exploitation without an excuse for compensation, whose entire fabric is a network of lies and whose industrial system is organized, legalized thievery.

Out of this moral contradiction we step at once into a statement that capitalism is only possible in a state of mutual confidence. This is perfectly correct. With the widespread credit system of today and the practice of continually dealing in future

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THE WORKERS' CALL.

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A. M. SIMONS, EDITOR.



I have looked at this claim by the light of history and my own conscience, and it seems to me so looked at to be a most just claim, and that resistance to it means nothing short of a denial of the hope of civilization.

It is right and necessary that all men should have work to do which shall be worth doing, and be of itself pleasant to do; and which should be done under such conditions as would make it neither over-wearisome nor over-anxious.

Turn that claim about as I may, think of it as long as I can, I cannot find that it is an exorbitant claim; yet again I say that if Society would or could admit it, the face of the world would be changed; discontent and strife and dishonesty would be ended.

William Morris.

Table with 2 columns: Year and Population. 1890 13,704; 1891 16,552; 1892 21,512; 1893 25,696; 1894 30,020; 1895 34,899; 1896 39,275; 1897 43,540; 1898 47,816.

Copies sold last week 3,450.

THE ELECTION.

Many persons looking at the returns from the last election would say that it indicated a set-back for socialism. Some of the comrades will doubtless feel a sense of discouragement as they read the figures indicating a falling off in our vote from previous years.

Even when we come to examine the vote cast there is no cause for disappointment. It simply means that a great majority of those who voted our ticket in previous years did so blindly, not in a clear class-conscious recognition of their interests.

If there is one thing that the American socialist movement needs above all else it is that it should divest itself of the muddled economies that have somehow become characteristic of the so-called "American movement."

The tariff question offers another excellent example of class-consciousness. Reference is not here made to the class nature of tariff legislation, which should be plain enough to everyone, but to the way in which it has become a political cry in different countries during similar stages of economic development.

DID YOU THROW YOUR VOTE AWAY?

Now that the elections are over you can have a chance to stop and think how big a fool you were to be deceived for the twentieth time with the promises of capitalist politicians.

If you lose your job, have your wages cut below the subsistence point, if the insolence and arrogance of your master seem unbearable, just comfort yourself with the reflection that you are your own master?

You can console yourself with Tom Corwin's famous reply when he was cornered at one of his public meetings at a time when he did not want to commit himself to either side.

"The natives, with such arms as they have been able to purchase during the recent troubles, returned the fire with great spirit and many sailors on both the Philadelphia and the Porpoise are reported killed and wounded.

Is this not a thing of which to be proud? Does it not make the heart of Americans beat with pride to think of the ease with which the poor tools of capitalist brigandage in our own country united with that king of international pirates, Great Britain, and "mowed down" these brave but helpless inhabitants of the tropic isles?

A big game is being played in the South. The cotton trust is gaining control of the ginning business by introducing the round bale system. The trust owns the patents, and when the square bale system is abolished it will have the planter by the throat as effectually as northern and western farmers are being held up by the farmers' implement trust.

New York, March 24th.—It is predicted that Col. Bryan will attempt to form a new party in New York April 19.—Chicago Record.

The tin plate trust has advanced the wages of its employees 10 percent. It increased the price of its goods over 100 percent. Thus it takes \$100 from the public, it gives \$10 more to its workmen and puts \$90 into its own plethoric purse.—Appeal to Reason.

It keeps 46 men busy digging graves for the paupers of New York City.

The tariff question offers another excellent example of class-consciousness. Reference is not here made to the class nature of tariff legislation, which should be plain enough to everyone, but to the way in which it has become a political cry in different countries during similar stages of economic development.

In England a high tariff for protection was needed until England became the economic mistress of the world, when tariffs became "immoral" and free trade the "great civilizing agency" that was to usher in universal peace.

"Step by Step."

In some of the dives that are run in this city under the protection of capitalism for the freeing of the unwary, there is a game called the "trick stairs." The victim is in some way enticed to ascend a pair of innocent looking stairs.

Just so we fear that some of our "step-by-step" friends, who are ascending the stairs of capitalism in the hope that they lead to the golden fields of socialism, will suddenly awake to find that the stairs have turned over and precipitated them into the capitalist cellar, from which, if alive, they may crawl out the next morning, sadder and, let us hope, wiser men.

The can makers have raised the signal of distress. Owing to "the introduction of child and female labor at inadequate wages, and machinery with the use of acids, oils and other poisons," they say in a circular letter, "our wages have been reduced to under \$5.00 per week since 1888."

One of the most astounding inventions of the present century is a machine that produces liquid air at a cost of about 20 cents a gallon. The temperature of liquid air is about 400 degrees below zero.

SIDE LIGHTS.

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formation of a compact body of laborers who would be training themselves in the use of their political power as a means of solving their present ills.

Furthermore the coming society must be cosmopolitan and international in its characteristics. Modern capitalism and mechanical devices have so inextricably united the peoples of the world that in the future no narrow nationalism will be allowed to stand in the way of social development.

Furthermore the coming society must be cosmopolitan in the sense that all ordinary social lines, such as race, creed, nationality, color, etc., are wiped out.

Furthermore the coming society must be cosmopolitan in the sense that all ordinary social lines, such as race, creed, nationality, color, etc., are wiped out.

any point. The reason for this is at once apparent. The one movement, being ideological must be confined to those whose habits and nature accustoms them to think alike.

The class that is to bring in the coming society should be a class that is able to organize it. They should be the ones who are at present the vital force in society.

The class that is to be the instrument to the attainment of the next social stage must, as all are agreed, be one in which the principles of brotherhood and human love are deeply ingrained.

Meeting the reformer upon his own ground, that of the ideological, and conceding the point of possibility, we can show that he is as ridiculous in his logic as Utopian in his plans.

Some readers may say that we have simply erected "straw men" to destroy—that we have pre-supposed conditions for a proper social movement which the class-conscious one could alone fulfill.

CONTRADICTIONS

Continued from page 1.

In all lines, off as well on the board of trade, a fundamental necessity for the running of the complex industrial machine is mutual confidence among its various members.

Another main point about capitalist morality is its insistence on the purity of the family. The system is largely based on the monogamous family and the dependance of woman on man.

Finally the entire system of capitalism depends upon the continuation of competition. So true is this that is commonly called the competitive system although it is not true that at any time it was purely competitive and it is now not so even in a majority of its transactions.

But it is when we come to consider the laborers under capitalism that we come upon the fundamental contradiction that will be the ultimate destruction of the entire structure.

So the work of preparing them for their fight for liberty is continually performed by capitalism against its will. Capitalism demands that the laborers be brought together in great bodies and be carefully disciplined and drilled in order that they may perform the work of modern industry.

If now it was only possible to treat the workers with kindness, to see that they were well fed, clothed and housed and given opportunity for healthy development, capitalism might long continue as a "benevolent despotism."

stros lie of capitalism rushes on to its own destruction, to perish at last a fitting climax to this series of paradoxes, at the hands of the very power that brought it forth.

THE OUTLOOK OF THE ARTISAN AND HIS ART, by J. PICKERING PUTNAM—Chas. H. Kerr & Co.; pp. 64; paper 10 cents.

This consists of a series of essays written some years ago and now brought together in book form. They are written throughout from the standpoint of the artist and especially the architect.

He then points out how under present conditions any true artistic construction is impossible. He gives a variety of reasons for this, some of them relating to the practical work of the architect, such as the extreme specialization which will not allow the architect to supervise the carrying out of his own plans, others from artificial conditions such as competitive struggles of architects for various works with incompetent judges.

Another evil impeding the artistic development of architecture is the "parsimony" that is always demanded. "No sooner does the artist become interested in his theme, and elaborate his design with some artistic refinement, than he is directed to 'cut down.'"

The present age is an age of hypocrisy and misrepresentation. Our whole social and industrial system is founded on the colossal inconsistency of permitting, in a nominally free country, one individual to practically own the soul and body of another.

With so general a disregard of the truth in everyday matters, we cannot expect to find a strict observance or appreciation of it in art, and so long as a system of industry exists that places a premium on dishonesty, falsehood will continue to appear everywhere in design.

The book as a whole is marred by the author's utter lack of any sound economics. Bellamy has evidently been his teacher in this branch, and the result is that he has no comprehension of socialism.

SOCIALISM

What It Is and What It Seeks to Accomplish.

Translated From the German of William Liebknecht by Mrs. May Wood Simons.

Continued from last week.

Further, we demand two years duration of the legislature. This demand also requires little argument. Already we have made a motion to this effect in the Reichstag. On every occasion we have explained in debate,—it has also occupied the attention of our press,—that annual elections, as the English Charter demands, come in too quick succession. When we once have a democratic state it will be possible to compel from a representative who has failed to perform his duty the resignation of his authority, or of the whole representative body, in case it has not the public confidence, and cause a new election to be held.

That the elections shall be held on a legal day of rest is self-evident,—likewise the removal of all restrictions upon political rights. For us there is only one case in which a person can be deprived of his right of suffrage, that is in the case of a minor, on account of mental incapacity,—imbeciles, etc.

Further we demand direct legislation by the people by means of the right of initiative and of veto. That is, we would not have the "center of gravity" of the political life located in parliament. The "center of gravity" according to democratic principles lies in the people themselves, and the people should not be compelled to wait condescendingly until laws and bills that are necessary and desired come from their representatives,—no, they should themselves have the right of initiative.

Complementary to this right of initiative, that is the right of the people to make direct motion for law, is the right of veto that is the right of the people by means of direct ballot to give validity to the law or to repudiate it. This demand which is always recognized by us as a principle was contained in the earlier platform.

Next we demand self government by the people in the empire, state, province, and commune. The word state means here an individual state, not the state in the general sense of its economic relations in conformity with organized society. We have here for the first time stated, that we consider only that state and form of government which rests on the broadest democratic basis, arises directly from the people and is by them controlled, as being in harmony with the principles of the people's sovereignty.

We demand that the people be rulers of their own fate, that the well-being of the people be the highest law, and their will be subordinate to no other will; we demand that all laws and arrangements that hinder the practical proof and activity of the people's will be done away with. At a glance every one will perceive that herein is comprehended a complete transformation of the arrangement of the state. It means the absolute democratization of the political conditions in Germany.

Corresponding to this principle we demand the election of the magistrates by the people. The right of self government by the people makes this demand a logical consequence. But we formulate here a new demand,—the accountability and responsibility to the people of the officers elected. That we say accountability and responsibility is no tautology, no repeating of two words that mean essentially the same. By the accountability of officials it is usual to understand the political accountability prescribed by the constitution and the laws. We wish something more. We require also the personal civil law responsibility of the officers for all that they do.

At one time I explained this idea of responsibility in the Reichstag,—I began with an official transaction that occurred in France, the draft of a law, by strength of which the present republic gave security for the indemnity to the Napoleonic government and regiments. I said at that time, "The time will, it is to be hoped, come in Germany, when the victims of the Anti-Socialist laws will be compensated and when the authors of these laws, all those who by means of the same have wronged thousands and hundreds of thousands in their person and property, will be made personally responsible for it. I do not wish that, as in France, the tax payers should be obliged to meet the indemnity, but that the ones in fault be proceeded against." The expression "personal responsibility" was interpreted by certain reactionaries as though I had demanded lynch law. To be sure I thought of the administration of law, but not of lynch law. The personal responsibility of the official is a necessary postulate of the people's sovereignty. An officer is not a being of higher order; he has simply to accomplish the will of the people, or to act in harmony with that will. He

is accountable for all his actions and must stand beyond the purview of the civil and common law. That is what we wish to express. In England this is already a law and brings excellent results. Every commoner without exception is equal under the civil and common penal law for all his acts, as are also the officers and soldiers in service. Officers and soldiers are it is true in England, as with us, under military law, which demands blind obedience to order, but they are at the same time accountable to the civil and criminal law for all their deeds, including those done in service.

Suppose an officer on the occasion of a riot gave the command to shoot. According to military law he is obliged to do so, he has the commission and is not accountable to military law for the blood and death of his fellow men. Now comes the common civil law,—first of all the post-mortem examination,—here are the dead, violently killed,—how did they come to their end? Through the bullets of the soldiers—the officers gave the command: Fire! the soldiers shot and the people were struck by the bullets and killed. Did the officer do this in self-defense?—is now asked further,—or is it manslaughter or murder? And the law in England concerning manslaughter and murder counts for officers and soldiers exactly as for civil persons who commit murder or allow it. If it cannot be proven that the soldier was absolutely obliged to shoot in self defence or in justification of legal conditions the jurors simply state there was no satisfactory reason for the shooting, the people had not threatened, the firing was unnecessary. Then in the most favorable case the charge reads manslaughter, and if the matter is worse, murder. The officer who gave the order to fire is not protected by the command which he holds from above, the jury pronounce his guilt, and according to civil law he is either, in case of manslaughter, put in prison; or if murder he is hanged,—and the same can occur to every soldier who fires with orders.

One does not believe that such can happen. I recall many cases where officers were found guilty by the jury, directly after to be sure they were pardoned by the ruler. Eventually, however, this will be of no assistance. At any rate our demand is throughout a just one. Further I can describe an example of personal responsibility in Germany,—an isolated one it is true,—I mean the case of General Vogel von Falkenstein, who at the outbreak of the last French war, arrested our then existing party managers and allowed them to be imprisoned. At the end of the war procedure was begun against him by those who were wronged on this account and, on the civil complaint, he was condemned by all courts of judicature to a considerable indemnity. That was in Braunschweig, and there was no further result.

Further we demand that there be universal military education. Substitution of militia for the standing army. This is the old demand of the Social Democracy, which was brought forward by Fichte in his "Speech on the German Nation." Today we have a people with arms and a people without arms. Every one should be a soldier, however, as in Switzerland, and in order to bring about such a system it is necessary that every one from his youth be exercised in the use of arms, in marching, gymnastics firing, etc.

In Switzerland every school teacher in every village knows the military exercise, he is at least an under officer in the Confederate army, perhaps a higher officer. He teaches his pupils from the earliest age exercising, military gymnastics, to shoot with the cross-bow,—and at a certain age the child receives a gun. In short the youth are educated in all the exercises necessary for military service.

We demand decision concerning war and peace by the representatives of the people. Of this only a word. It was moved to say "directly by the people," the present construction being thought a backward step. No, it is not, on the contrary it is a positive advance on the road to the reasonable and practicable. Observe once, a war comes suddenly, how would it be possible for all the people to vote concerning it? And in these days wars mostly come suddenly. We free ourselves from phrases and express our demand in a practical way.

Further we require the decision of all international disputes by arbitration. It has already been sufficiently demonstrated at the Congress of Brussels that we are no Utopians in regard to "eternal peace." In our well-known resolution there we have stated that the conditions which bring the permanent danger of war have their roots in the present economic society, in the system of capitalism. We are not like the "industrial enthusiasts" who would leave the cause and merely remove the consequence. We make the demand that an international board of arbitration be established, before which all disputes between states shall be brought. However, this demand will not be realized, as many others will

have made will not be, under the present state. Nevertheless we have declared ourselves on this question which touches so deeply the whole civilized world, and we will show that as a party we support every earnest effort to remove the dangers of war, without however falling into the weak industrial peace Utopia.

We demand further the abolition of all laws which subordinate woman to man, whether in a private or public capacity. Before admitting this demand we asked ourselves whether it were not superfluous to make this a separate point after we had already declared the absolute equality of the sexes. But it must be borne in mind that a resolution to this effect was accepted in Brussels and the desire was expressed that it might be adopted in the Social Democratic platforms of the different countries, and we have acted accordingly.

The two following paragraphs of the platform have given us much trouble in their formulation. To meet the difficulty it was moved to accept the democratic demands as found in the Eisenacher platform: Separation of the church from the school and from the state. That was quite right in its time but at present it does not comprehend all that we would and must say. In the earlier formulation the church is regarded as an institution equal in rank with the state, this is not our idea. We go much further; according to our view in the free community for which we strive the church is simply a private association which is controlled by its own laws as all other private associations are. That is the meaning of the absolute equality to which we have here given expression. Therefore we say: "The ecclesiastical and religious bodies are to be regarded as private associations." And in order that the Catholics may not be able to say that we wish to offer them violence we have added: "Associations which order their affairs independently."

In connection with this passage concerning the church we demand, "Secularization of education." This means that the church, that religion, should have nothing to do with the school. We are bound by principle to demand this and the point is so clear that explanation seems unnecessary. However, it is worth while to meet beforehand all misunderstandings and intentional or unintentional misinterpretations to which such a demand in our platform could give occasion. It is well known how stubbornly the ecclesiastical bodies carry on the struggle concerning the school whenever that question comes to the front. One recognizes how much it means to them, Catholics, Protestants and others, to hold and make their control firm over the intellect. You know how the Social Democracy is represented as a red specter,—how the ecclesiastical associations say of us that we are a party of atheists, and that the Social Democrats would forcibly take religion from every one and violently crush the church. In order to take the foundation from and to break the point of these demagogical slanders and pious falsehoods, we state here that the regulation of religious matters lies with each individual, and we declare religion to be a private matter. I admit, that I struggled for some time against taking up these practical considerations since their meaning seemed so self evident in the declaration of the platform. But in looking back over the systematic calumny of our position in regard to religion it appears necessary that they be stated. The Social Democracy as such has absolutely nothing to do with religion. Every man has the right to think and believe what he will, and no one has the right to molest or limit another in his thoughts or beliefs, or to allow anyone's opinions to be a disadvantage to him in any way. Opinions and beliefs can only be proceeded against when they become converted into pernicious and unlawful acts, as for example with certain bigoted sects. But the opinions and beliefs in themselves must be free, perfectly free; we as Social Democrats must respect them, and those Social Democrats who respect the genuineness and worth of their fellow men will also avoid scoffing at their beliefs. Above all scoffing at a prejudice is foolish and impolitic, it but strengthens it. Only education can be of help here. But if it were our duty to state that we will not rob anyone of his religion or hinder him in the exercise thereof, we dare not offer the church any handle by the means of which it can come into the schools and therefore we say,—"compulsory attendance at public national schools." Every child must be sent by its parents or relatives to these secular schools in which no religion is taught; but by virtue of the fundamental statement that religion is a private matter, it remains to the parents themselves to teach their children, or allow them to be taught, in the religion which they chose. At first we thought to expressly state this in the platform, but we found that such a practical commentary did not belong there.

We demand further that expenditures

from the public funds not only to ecclesiastical but to religious objects be abolished. We have added the word religious because there are associations of a religious nature that are not ecclesiastical, and also there shall be no expenditure from the public funds, just because religion is a private matter.

The school question was one that engaged us for some time when we drew up the draft of the platform: whether or no we should state that instruction and educational apparatus be free in all schools even to the highest,—to the University. It was pointed out by a party that according to the criticism of the platform by Karl Marx, only the Bourgeoisie, the propertied classes, would gain an advantage thereby, since the laborer under the present conditions could not send his children to the higher grades of school. Hence we have decided on a restriction and demand free instruction and educational apparatus only in the public schools.

With this demand belongs the other, the maintenance of the children at school, incidentally a demand which is found for nearly a hundred years in the famous school law of Lakanal that was presented to the French Convention and accepted by it shortly after the execution of Louis XVI. At that time the fundamental principle was stated, that the state which compelled the parents to send their children to school is also bound to care for the physical needs of the children. The school question is a social question. Hungry children can learn nothing.

Our further demand speaks for itself,—that those children who show peculiar talents, and by examination prove themselves capable of attending higher schools, professional and other schools, shall have free instruction and maintenance. With this addition our paragraph concerning schools is formulated without falling into excess or leaving the ground of real relations.

A further demand is for free administration of the law, free legal assistance, and free medical attendance. In principle both belong together. The possibility to seek justice is to-day in general the privilege of the wealthy. The right to complain is in most cases really taken from the poor since the complaint and process are too expensive. It is exactly the same with medical help in case of sickness. The physician is not a public officer, and if even now in individual cases free medical attendance is assured, it is only on certain conditions which every one can or may not fulfill: and hundreds of thousands at present go deprived of medical help and legal assistance through lack of money and fear of the high cost. So new privileges are created for the propertied classes! All sorts of practical questions were raised concerning this. But we said to ourselves, with the simplification of the forms of justice, many ways can be found in which our demand will be carried out, and it is not our affair to establish individual cases, on the contrary, that is the business of the legislator. In behalf of this demand it may be remarked that the state according to the definition in the Philosophy of Law is a great federation for the protection of justice, and the "just state" is always the ideal before the defenders of the present state. And do they not always say to us, "The state guarantees justice to every member of the state and city?" Very well, we demand that the right of defence which now for the mass of the people only stands on paper be made a truth for all. Now merely the wealthy who need no civil defence since they can help themselves to justice have this right. To the poor who are more easily and frequently oppressed it is unattainable. For them in reality there is no defence by law. This is an injustice that must be ended.

We demand: "Graduated income and property tax to meet all public expenses, which are to be met by taxation." The insertion of property tax gave occasion for debate in the commission. But we found that next to income, property must be mentioned, as for example is the case in England with the Income and Property Tax. It is necessary to make a distinction between the income of a person which simply arises from his individual labor, and that which he receives without necessarily working for it—for example from land, capital, bonds etc. While with the one the income is united to the person and ceases if he cannot work, or if he dies, the other income is independent of the person. With an income of the latter kind the graduated tax must be higher. In other words: one who has an income from fixed property must be taxed more than one who has no property income.

Of the inheritance tax it is demanded, that the graduated increase be measured not merely according to the extent of the inheritance but also according to the degree of relationship. I come now to the second part of the special demands, namely those which we make specifically for the defence of the laboring classes. There is not one among these that requires minute discussion. I will merely state that we were obliged to strike out the

proposal which was submitted, that we demand political guarantee against unemployment. We did this unanimously since we reached the conviction that such a demand could not be carried through.

The attempt has been made by the miners' unions in England to secure a guarantee against unemployment. There it has been proven that merely in the organizations of those trades in which on an average the pay is high and the number of idle small, can such a guarantee be made effective,—only in those labor groups that need it the least. To all other labor unions in which to-day the "idle count" to the thousands the attempt is of no avail. And if we should demand such a proposition of the state we would do our cause a bad service.

As already said in the demands referring to the laboring class, we as a labor party, must avoid all mistiness and that which cannot be carried out. What we demand in this part of our platform is highly practical, and in great part already realized in other lands. We must not weigh down these demands with such as make it easy for our opponents to say, "You ask the impossible!" The security against lack of employment belongs however in the dream land of "The Right to Work."

In the beginning of his rising power Prince Bismarck said to the advancing Bourgeoisie: "Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo" (If I am not able to bend the high, I will call up the Acheron), if I cannot manage with you the Party of Progress and the Liberals, than I will conjure with the Proletariat, I will move the Acheron, I will unchain against you the Socialist movement." Prince Bismarck called, but the Acheron, the German Proletariat did not move! Proffers were made to us, they were contemptuously sent back. Then the Social Democracy called, and the Acheron, the German labor movement arose, and the German labor power, as far as it is class conscious, united and with one mind, marches under the banner of Social Democracy as in no other country of the earth. What Prince Bismarck could not do the Social Democracy has accomplished,—it was stronger than he, and along the whole line the Social Democracy stands as victor over the Bismarckian system.

Mention has been made of the "iron law of evolution." And it is an iron law. No one can alter it, bend or break it by force, and Prince Bismarck who disposed of all the means of power in the state and society, and society, who said of himself: "I am the realm, I am the state,"—and who said it more truly of himself than did the king of France,—he is to-day crushed to the earth, while state and society are yet here, nothing has essentially been altered, a man less on the political stage and nothing further, one man over board. The Social Democracy recognizes that as little as Prince Bismarck could alter the laws of progress, even as little can we alter them. We know that industrial society do what it will hastens to destruction. It is like an ancient tragedy of fate,—the hero knows he is condemned to be the sacrifice. It is a decree that he must fulfill. He defends himself against it, he seeks to escape the powers that be, but every step he takes to go away from it brings the catastrophe nearer, till the day of ruin, of destruction, of judgment comes. So it is with our Bourgeoisie. They strain every nerve in order to escape fate, but every attempt to turn it aside simply brings the execution of the sentence nearer. They may do what they will against us, they act for us; they may do what they will for themselves, they act for us; and we, we may do what we will, the conditions work into our hands all in state and society: persecutions, concessions all the same,—all incline to our advantage, we, the rising victorious Social Democracy. Our opponents may seek what they will, they can only work for us.

I have stated before that industrial society is a society of expropriation, that capitalism is expropriation in perpetuity. The possessors of the instruments of production and labor expropriate those who possess nothing, and this process of expropriation, that is the robbery of property, must continue as long as the present order of society remains. It calls itself, to be sure, the society of private property, but in reality it is that form of society which destroys personal property. The end of this process of expropriation can only be what Marx has said in his granitic words, "The expropriation of the expropriator." Then for the first time, when this society is destroyed, property in the sense of the equal claim of all to the enjoyment of the goods which have been created by the general organized labor of all, will become a reality.

The most beautiful platform counts for nothing however if a true energetic spirit is not infused into it. Therefore I beg of you do not quarrel with the words. Do not expect it to be a perfect platform. That platform which in one moment according to the universal opinion of us all is the best, in the next hour will have found a critic, who could make improvements in one or

the other formulation or sentence. As was said in 1875 we would not, in our platform, create a pope for ourselves. The platform has only one thing to fulfill; clearly and intelligently to state the object of our party, the evolutionary process of industrial society, to point out the irresistibility with which it destroys itself, and brings the moment nearer when capitalistic production will be replaced by socialistic production. It is our sacred duty to hasten with all our strength this process of development that the change may come at the earliest possible moment. Attend to it, that the new platform which we create here to-day, lead the party on from victory to victory as the former one did,—from victory to victory until the final victory. Put the right spirit into the new platform. Struggle in the right spirit under this new banner. Sustain it, mindful of the lofty duties that arise for us out of the greatness and growth of our party, manfully and full of energy go on, fight fearlessly and without rest, as you fought under our old torn storm flag. Put your whole strength, your whole personality into the realization of this platform, and see to it that the time be the shortest possible till the day when the present industrial society ends. For the fall of this society depends naturally on the sum of strength that is used against it. The more power we put into this agitation, the more regardless we throw ourselves into the scales, so much the sooner will we attain our end, and so much the sooner the banner of Social Democracy will rise on the citadel of present society.

FINIS.

LYNCHING

(Continued from page 1.)

connected with those of the southern than at first appeared. It became of great importance to the northern factory owner that the negro should be kept docile in order that he might be used as a club in time of labor troubles to subdue his more rebellious white brother of the North.

All this teaches a double lesson to the laboring class. To the white wage-slave of the North comes the truth in another form of the old story of the solidarity of labor, and he sees that the so-called "negro problem" is but another phase of his own "labor problem." He should see the folly of any attempt to draw the "color line" in this question. To the negro it should bring home the obverse side of the same lesson. It should teach him that his cause is one with the laboring class and is in no way peculiar to his race. He should bear in mind that his real freedom was not achieved by the Republican party but remains to be attained by himself. And that freedom does not lie in the direction of colonization that but changes his geographical location leaving his chains unbroken, not even in industrial education which but makes him the more efficient slave, but in an intelligent use of his ballot in voting his own class, the laborers, into power and abolishing all exploitation, slavery, and class rule.

Hickey's Tour in Illinois.
Comrade Hickey will be in this state for a tour of thirty days, beginning with March 25th. This tour should mean a great deal for the movement in this city. But its influence will depend as much on the efforts of the comrades in the different localities where he is to speak. If they will see to it that the meetings are well advertised, that public interest is aroused and people generally prepared for his coming the party will benefit greatly by his work. The more that is done beforehand the more Com. Hickey can do when he comes.

- Quincy, April 8.
- Jacksonville, April 9.
- Springfield, April 10.
- Pana, April 11.
- Du Quoin, April 12.
- Murphysborough, April 13.
- New Athens, April 14.
- Freeburg, April 15.
- Belleville, April 16—17—18.
- Lenz Station, April 19.
- O'Fallon, April 20.
- East St. Louis, April 21.
- Alton, April 22.
- Collinsville, April 23.
- Glen Carbon, April 24.

Sections will please arrange for meetings and notify me immediately what has been done. The above dates are correct and will not be changed any more.

Comrades will please send in names of any of the above towns where we have no section so I can communicate with them.

Yours fraternally,
Peter Damm.

Spain.
The Spanish Socialist Party has begun an active propaganda. Numerous agitation meetings have been held at Bilbao, Barcelona, Valencia, and other large towns. As in Belgium, and to a great extent in Great Britain, the Liberal Party in Spain is only a shadow of its former self, and the only hope of the Spanish people will be in the Socialist Party.—London Justice.

