

THE WORKERS' CALL.

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

VOL. I.—NO. 43.

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PRICE ONE CENT.

GOOD WILL TO MEN

What It Means Under Our Present Capitalist Society.

THE ORGIES OF CIVILIZATION.

Examples of the Universal Inferno That Capitalism Has Created in World Around Us.

This is the season of "Peace on Earth and Good Will to Men." Those who are sceptical about this matter can have their doubts removed at once by perusing the following paragraphs taken at random from the daily papers:

Manila, Dec. 23, 11:05 p. m.—Colonel Hare reports two engagements with the insurgents under General Tigo. One hundred and fifty of the rebels were killed or wounded and 250 rifles were captured. All this was accomplished without a casualty on the American side.

A message of "good will" from American wage slaves has evidently brought "peace on earth" (or rather under the earth), to one hundred and fifty human beings seven thousand miles away.

Charlestown, S. C., Dec. 23.—Matthew Gleason, Irish, and Alec Logan, English, engaged in an argument tonight over the war in Africa. Logan went home, got a shot-gun, and returned to the scene of the dispute, Gleason having left he shot and killed another young man of Irish descent, Mike Hogan, who had been in no way connected with the dispute. The men had been drinking.

It is evident from the above that Alec is by no means particular. Any old Irishman will serve his turn. Not being able to get Matthew he at once bagged Mike, just as the Irishmen who leaves to fight for the Boers are after no Englishman in particular. Just as the capitalist class with delightful impartiality will skin either Boer or Briton, Alec, Mike or Matthew.

Paris, Dec. 23.—Captain O'Neill Murphy, brother of the late Daniel Murphy, the San Francisco millionaire, and uncle of Lady Wolsey, wife of Sir Charles Michael Wolsey, Bart.—no relation to Lord Wolsey—has shot in a duel and perhaps killed M. Marcel, editor-in-chief of La Caricature.

Murphy called Marcel out for insulting the queen. As a result, the editor's collarbone is broken, and he has a big hole in his breast, which may prove fatal.

In this case the Irishman appears as the dispenser of "peace on earth" in aid of the same good cause for which Alec brought out his trusty shotgun. The reason for Captain Murphy's peculiar stand on this question can be seen at a glance by noting his family connections and class affiliations.

Paris, Dec. 23.—Last night the office of the International Sleeping Car company in the Boulevard Haussmann was entered. The safe was blown open and completely rifled. Burglars' tools found convince the Paris police that the crime was committed by American crooks.

This was the fifth operation of the kind this month in which Americans are suspected.

In a friendly chat this afternoon the Chief of Detectives said there are ample indications that a gang of clever Yankee beggars and pickpockets descended upon Paris some time ago, presumably coming early in order to acquaint themselves thoroughly with the city and get their hands in for the exhibition season.

So far, except for one cap stamped "Cincinnati" inside and the tools referred to, which were also manufactured in the United States, the crooks left no clue, and the police declare them the swiftest set they ever had to cope with.

The French police officials no doubt show a proper appreciation of American "industry" and "ingenuity" in this particular line. That they consider them the "swiftest set" only discloses the fact that they themselves are hopelessly slow. Were they to visit here, and note the rapidity and dispatch with which the "little business man" is being cleaned out by the great capitalists, they would be able to penetrate the inner workings of monopolies, franchise grabs, boodie combinations and political office seeking, it would make their heads swim. They would reconsider their opinion of the swiftness of the Yankee burglar and that gentleman with all his ingenuity would appear a mere bungler compared with the accomplished wealth extractors of his native land.

The above incidents suggestive of peace and good will might easily be multiplied ten thousand times over in all parts of the civilized world, and even then would fall far short of describing the inferno which is created by the economic conditions of the present. War, murder, robbery, chicanery, perjury, crime of every description, "every man's hand against his fellow," are the conditions prevailing in the civilized world today. And to complete the revolting picture the voices of hypocrites and parasites are heard above the infernal din, mouthing their stale platitudes about "the brotherhood of man," "our common Christianity," "peace on earth and good will to men," while strenuously upholding the economic conditions which make their "good intentions" and aspirations utterly impossible.

Truly socialism has a Herculean task to perform in a world that is so hopelessly and hopelessly corrupt. It is a pity they are not intelligent enough to secure their own product and save themselves from suffering while they are feeding, clothing, housing, and educating the world.

stable but that the work will be performed is evidenced by the growth and progress of the class-conscious proletariat in all lands. Their victory alone can prepare the surroundings and conditions under which the idea of peace on earth and good will to men can become a reality instead of as at present an empty phrase and a hideous mockery.

"SUCH A GOOD MAN."

Capitalist Virtue Measured by Amount of Exploited Labor Product.

The Duke of Westminster reputed to be the wealthiest man in England, if not in the world, has just departed this life, and his virtues are loudly proclaimed by the capitalist press of England and this country. He is styled "a true philanthropist" and a "patron of every good cause," "a magnificent patron of art," "a diligent builder," and "a shrewd man of business." The good qualities of individual capitalists are seemingly measured by the amount of surplus product which they are able to extract from the workers.

It is not pretended that this paragon of present society owed any portion of his enormous wealth to his own industry. He was apparently sent upon this planet to appropriate the product of the labor of others, and for this purpose he merely took the trouble to be born. Long before his advent upon this earth, the harness was being prepared in which hundreds of thousands of workers were to slave and toil for his benefit. This is how it happened:

"His wealth comes from an ancestor in the seventeenth century having married a woman who owned a farm of some 500 acres of land, upon which the wealthiest portion of the West End of London now stands. It is estimated that his income was at least \$500,000 per annum from this property, and as it has all been built over upon the short lease system the revenue within the next quarter of a century may come to exceed \$1,000,000."

This man was probably neither better or worse than the average of mankind—the socialist has no reason to single him out for denunciation more than any other individual. The capitalist system of production by which a favored few are permitted to individually appropriate the social values produced by the workers, is responsible for this man and all that he represents. Almost every phase of the social life which rests upon this system paid him tribute. Upon his vast estates stood mansions, palaces, churches, stores, factories and hovels. From the degradation, infamy and misery which are inseparable from the present social structure, the pound of flesh was also exacted, as is shown by the well-known fact that the ground rents drawn from more than eight thousand houses of Hill-fane helped materially to increase the wealth of this "magnificent patron of art." We are not surprised at the praises lavished upon him by the worshippers and hirelings of that capitalist system which was ground work of his wealth and consequently of his "virtues." When the wealth producers of Britain become intelligent enough to own and control the product of their labor the estimation in which this man will be held and the nature of the "art" of which he was a "magnificent patron" will make interesting reading.

Cheap Commodities.

Paris, Dec. 15.—A remarkable article appears in the current number of the Grand Revue by Georges Wenlserse on "The Conquest of the World by the United States." Wenlserse sounds the cry of alarm of Europe over the prodigious success of American manufacturers and the vitality of American industry.

In less than eighteen years American exports have tripled. There being no more Napoleons to conquer the world by arms, the Yankees are doing it with work. The United States, says Wenlserse, can ruin Europe commercially as effectively as if with arms. Banks will fail, factories be ruined, and workmen starved to death by American commerce.

The revolution in the economic equilibrium of the globe, now being brought about by the United States, commenced in the Orient, under England's nose. America introduced into China and Japan cottons, leathers, machines, tools and electric motors. In India the railway trains roll on American rails. In Cape Colony the United States introduced from machines and tools, and founded manufactures. The English were obliged to go to Philadelphia to order the construction of the great steel bridge for the Alabama river. From Jersey City 300 wagons of steel were ordered for the land of the Paroaha, and electric cars have been sent from Pittsburgh for Cairo.

These facts, Wenlserse says, are more than economic signs. They have a grandeur worthy of attention. American rails and American machinery have invaded Europe. If the universal superiority of Uncle Sam continues to grow the commerce of the seas will soon be monopolized. Europe may well be alarmed over the prodigious expansion of this levithan people. At the rate at which they are now going they will have ruined all others before twenty years have passed.—Chicago Tribune.

Here is a lesson for American laborers. Because they are the cheapest, most efficient, skillful and best organized slaves of the world their masters are able to undersell not only the cheap "pauper labor" of Europe but to invade India, China and Japan.

It is a pity they are not intelligent enough to secure their own product and save themselves from suffering while they are feeding, clothing, housing, and educating the world.

AN "ECCENTRIC" MAN

What It Means From a Capitalist Standpoint.

A SIGNIFICANT ADMISSION.

Hypocrisy and Pretence Declared to Be Necessary Accomplishments in Our Present Society.

The Marquis of Queensberry who is best known as the author of a code regulating boxing contests, is lying stricken with paralysis at an aristocratic club in London. This incident in itself is of no particular significance to the working class in general, although what is known as the "sporting" element may be somewhat interested. The press dispatch which makes the announcement contains however an admission which may serve to illustrate the modern capitalist idea of a "crank." It tells us that "Queensberry has always been eccentric, his chief eccentricity being an absence of pretence or hypocrisy." We wonder how many people who read this amazing confession were able to realize its entire meaning and purport, to grasp the nature of the ethics which the present economic system of production prescribes as the status of the "normal" man? What is the nature of the social structure that insists that men must be pretenders and hypocrites if they would escape being called "eccentric"? The assertion that such is the case comes not from a socialist in this instance, but from a capitalist source. And it must stand. Unwittingly no doubt an adherent of the capitalist system has let the cat out of the bag in this fashion. And it is not difficult to see that a society based upon the private ownership of the means of production, with economic masters and slaves as a necessary foundation should recognize that hypocrisy and pretence are indispensable to its maintenance, and regard those who reject these capitalist "virtues" as eccentric and freakish. In the light of such an admission as this by the enemies of the working class no socialist need feel much concerned if referred to as an "eccentric." Instead of being a term of reproach it becomes a tribute to the qualities of truth and fearlessness which spring from a clear conception of the philosophy of socialism.

The total number of votes cast for the place of the convention is 2,034, as follows: Chicago, Ill., 676 votes; Rochester, N. Y., 727; Cleveland, O., 177; New York, N. Y., 55; Detroit, Mich., 56; Pittsburgh, Pa., 41; Philadelphia, Pa., 26; New Haven, Conn., 46; Cincinnati, O., 12. Rochester, N. Y., is therefore chosen as the place of the convention and Section Rochester is directed to appoint at its next meeting, an arrangement and reception committee. The National Secretary was instructed to communicate with the organizer of Section Rochester regarding proper arrangements. It is therefore ordered that the convention open and be called to order on Saturday, January 27th.

A curious condition presents itself at this stage of capitalist development in the United States. At no time in their history were the trades unions numerically as strong as at present, and the socialist axiom that unity of purpose which grows from the consciousness of unity of interests is an essential precedent to the mere gathering of numbers in an organization was never better illustrated than by the general confession of helplessness which was given at the last session of the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Many of the unions as yet have considerable strength and can even force an economic struggle in their particular trade to a more successful issue, but as a whole they are utterly helpless. Impotence reigns supreme amongst them. While a trades union in any industry in which capitalist combination has not yet reached a high state of perfection may yet gain something, the combination of the workers which is the avowed object of the American Federation of Labor, must of necessity take on a political aspect, and the denial of this by the A. F. of L. is the reason of its self-confessed helplessness.

The trades union is autonomous and deals with the direct economic conditions prevailing in its particular trade, therefore it is not unnatural that a trades union should be essentially a "pure and simple" organization. But when a number of different trades and vocations get together the trade union phase disappears, and when they deny the political motive they deny having any object in getting together, except perhaps to expose their utter ignorance of the very instinct which brings them together.

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MISTAKEN LABORERS

Higher Wage Refused to School Principals.

AN UNREASONABLE DEMAND.

Educators Lack of Economic Knowledge Responsible for Their Inability to Comprehend Refusal.

The principals of the Chicago public schools have asked for an increase of salary on the ground that although they get enough to live on, they are unable to accumulate anything for old age. They claim that the same amount of energy and industry put into another profession or into business would give them something for old age. Their application has not been favorably entertained by the Board of Education nor by the public generally.

What the principals lack is not energy and industry but (mirabile dictu!) knowledge. Their studies in the field of political economy have been of no avail or they would never have asked for salary enough to enable them to lay by something for old age. To comply with that demand would be contrary to what is called natural law and therefore impossible. If they will invest the sum of ten cents in buying any good primer on socialism and read it carefully they will learn that they are laborers, or more properly speaking, wage slaves in the service of a capitalist state, run on strictly business principles according to natural law; that their wages are fixed by nature, otherwise called the law of competition, and are on the average and speaking broadly just enough to support them according to the standard of living which they must observe, and no more, leaving nothing for old age. One individual principal, who has no family may perhaps save something; but the class as a class can save nothing. If it could its salaries would at once fall by the amount of the savings. This is the penalty the class would pay for violation of nature's laws.

These despairing principals who see the poorhouse looming up before them do not know that there are two kinds of work, viz., productive work and acquisitive work. Productive work is that which increases the total product of society; acquisitive work is that which merely transfers from one member of society to another without compensation what is already produced or the opportunity to produce. Those engaged in productive work are called the proletariat; this class includes the school principals as well as the teachers under them. The wages of this class, as the principals have learned by experience in their own particular case, are just enough to live on, no more. Those engaged in acquisitive work form a subclass wholly under the influence of the ruling capitalist class and intimately connected with it. Their business is not to produce anything nor to superintend production, but merely to get business, get trade, get custom away from other persons without compensation and draw it to the concern they are working for. They are working to get work for their employes to do so and increase the number of their employes. These acquisitive workers are the men who become part owners of the concern, or else set up in business for themselves. There is, strange to say, no natural law governing their wages as there is governing the wages of productive laborers. Nature does not govern them, they govern nature. They are the true lords of creation and keep the world moving and men from starving by providing them with something to do, after first driving them out of business. They are therefore able to lay up something for old age. School principals have no opportunity to engage in acquisitive labor and therefore in comparing their salaries with those of acquisitive laborers they made a grotesque mistake and have received a well-merited rebuke from acquisitive laborers who understand the difference between their services and those of mere producers. There is "no comparison" between them.

The Chicago Tribune of December 23, 1899, gives some instructive interviews with acquisitive laborers on this subject. The vice president of the First National bank says: "The bookkeepers and tellers in the banks do not consider their opportunities for advancement better than those offered in teaching. We have old men among our clerks, men almost ready to go on the superannuated list. They have been clerks for years. We have 250 men in the bank with about six official positions to be attained. The bookkeepers' salaries range from \$1,200 to \$1,600."

The president of the Illinois Steel company said: "There is no safe comparison to be made between the salaries offered in a manufacturing industry and those in teaching or any other profession. The opportunities in manufacturing are unlimited and the salary depends largely on the man. The rank and file of clerks in the industry will pay from \$1,200 to \$1,700." An attorney said: "There will be

some enormous salaries in a manufacturing industry, but directly under the possessors of these positions there will be a drop."

A member of the firm of Marshall Field & Co., said: "There is no limit to the salary which a house will pay to a man it needs. A good commercial man can make more money than a man in the professions."

All of these interviews go to show that the wages of productive laborers are fixed by natural law and never rise above a decent living; but that the wages of acquisitive laborers, the men who get the business, but do nothing else, are practically unlimited or are limited only by the amount of business which they can take away from others and thereby reduce all others to the condition of productive laborers, pure and simple. Between the wages of the productive laborers and those of the acquisitive laborers there is a "drop," as the attorney said in the above interview.

Conclusion: The school principals should ask leave to amend their application for an increase of salary and should then add a paragraph demanding that the government go out of the school keeping business entirely, and confine itself to its legitimate functions; that all public schools be converted into private schools so that the principals may have an opportunity to exercise their abilities in acquisitive labor. Then the best principals, (viz., those who are best not in productive labor but in acquisitive labor) would have an opportunity to monopolize all improved school furniture, fixtures, supplies, apparatus, text-books, etc.; applying the tactics of the trust, they could crowd out all rival schools, blowing them up with dynamite where necessary, or having incendiaries to set fire to them; This is a recognized and well-established method of industrial development, or acquisitive labor as you might say. Those who survived this process would of course be the fittest to survive; none would be left to dispute it. The survivors, having drawn all the pupils to themselves, could fix the tuition as high as the trade could bear, and thus lay up something for old age. Or if they do not like this course, let the principals not confine their request to themselves alone, but make it cover the salaries of all teachers under them and in fact all city employes. The members of the fire department, bridge tenders, street laborers, sewer diggers, tunnel diggers, all of these are indispensable in a great city. They are doing work which is just as necessary as school teaching. With their present wages they cannot save up anything for old age. Why not raise wages all around so that everybody can save up something for old age, not only wages of city employes, but of private employes as well? But this course would be contrary to the law of nature. Marcus Hitch.

Fourth Annual Session of the Boston Karl Marx Club.

Martha Moore Avery, director. Class meets Saturday evenings at 8 o'clock.

SYLLABUS, 1899-1900.

- December. Introduction.
- Use-Value: The Substance of Value.
- Value: The Magnitude of Value.
- January. Twofold Character of the Labor Power Embodied in Commodities.
- Exchange Value: Relative Form of Value: Equivalent Form of Value: Money Form of Value.
- February. Exchange.
- Money: Measure of Value: Medium of Circulation: Means of Payment: Universal Equivalent.
- March. Money Transformed to Capital. Labor Power: Bought and Sold: Use Value: Exchange Value. Capital: Constant Capital: Variable Capital.
- April. The Working Day: Limits of Working Day. Intensity of Labor. Surplus-Value Profits.
- Modern Mechanical Industry: Value Transferred by Machinery to Product.
- May. Co-operation in Industry.

The Northwestern "L" road is to be finished and in partial running order by January 1st as per ordinance passed and extended one year. The gentlemen representing the road came here from New York and together with their legal representatives held conferences with the Mayor, corporation counsel, and committee of aldermen whose duties are to look after such franchises, and send them to the city council with their opinions attached. Immediately after the conference a double shift of workers was put on. Night and day, work on the road was rushed and the daily press now informs us that the road is so nearly completed that a train per day may be run, which according to the capitalist courts is sufficient to preserve the franchise for the corporation. What is the significance of this unexampled haste. Can it be that the gentlemen from New York discovered that the market price of labor and construction material was after all considerably less than that of municipal officials?

ERRORS CLEARED UP

Light on a Lecturer's Objections to Socialism.

STARTS WITH FALSE IDEAS.

Socialism Shown to Be Practicable, Reasonable, Advantageous and Inevitable.

Not long since The Index contained an address delivered by F. H. McCulloch before the Economic club under the caption of "Socialism Not the Cure." Fearing the address might create a needless confusion of ideas concerning socialism in the minds of readers unfamiliar with the philosophy of socialism, I beg leave to make a few statements on the subject. The speaker made the mistake of considering the subject of socialism from the standpoint of dollars and cents, and basing his ideas of the different phases of the matter from that standpoint, his conclusions are necessarily all erroneous. He admits it would be difficult to determine the difference in value of the earnings of the physician, salesman, sewer digger, etc., and yet he strenuously objects to the principle of equal remuneration. Does not the sewer digger perform just as great a service to the community as the physician? Which could Evanston most safely dispense with—sewer-diggers or physicians. Are not sewers more important for the preservation of the health and well-being of the people than drugs? The answer is self-evident.

Mr. McCulloch states that in the world of production it is impossible to tell which man is doing the most effective service. That is true. Then why discriminate in their reward? It takes over a hundred men to make a shoe. Each man performs his particular task in its production, each part being as necessary as the other to produce the complete shoe. But, he says, "the man who has produced the machine or made the tool that is used by the particular laborer has also produced," and this machine or tool-owner, the capitalist, is entitled to his share. What shall it be? Now, I would like to ask what capitalist can point out a locomotive, a steamship, or a factory and say, "Behold what I have produced?" The labor of other men produced them.

The speaker evinced much fear for the adequate reward for inventors under socialism. The fact of the matter is, however, that under capitalism the poverty of inventors is proverbial. Of course there are exceptions. But exceptions cannot be accepted in determining questions of logic or fact. It has become the custom to a very great extent in large manufacturing concerns to compel agreements with employes who have inventive genius that all inventions made by the employe while in the employe of the company shall become the exclusive property of the employer without additional reward.

It is almost a crime to instill into the minds of youth the idea that the acquisition of dollars and cents should be their only and highest aim in life. It breeds legalized robbery and hypocritical morals in after life. It smothers the humanitarianism that lies dormant in the breast of every child before being contaminated with the insatiable greed and vicious selfishness of the world. To digress a little, the writer recently listened to a lecture for young men before a Christian organization on "Character and Success in Life." The speaker on this occasion held up as worthy examples for their emulation men who had waded through the slimy depths of corrupted legislatures in securing special privileges over their fellow-men whereby they were enabled to amass wealth. No word was said about the great philosophers and moral teachers of the world as worthy of consideration in the shaping of character and the attainment of "success in life."

Mr. McCulloch cannot see how communism will do, inasmuch as people's desires and wants differ. Under socialism everything would be made the best possible. Competition and profits being eliminated, there would be no object or incentive to adulterate foods or produce shoddy goods, as is done today. All things would not necessarily be made after the same pattern, but all would be good. But, someone says, some people want diamonds, and there are not enough to go around—what could be done under such circumstances. The change of ideas would settle that point. Why do some people wear diamonds today? Not particularly for adornment's sake. As a rule they wear them to satisfy their own vanity by exciting envy in the minds of those who have no diamonds. Suppose the person with the diamond was on an island alone. He would not then care to wear the diamond, because he would have no one's envy to excite. If this contention is the greatest bugaboo of socialism it will be easily seen how uncalculated for it is. Were it not better for the people as a whole to enjoy

(Continued on page 4.)

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Editorial Announcements: To secure the return of unused manuscripts postage should be enclosed. Communications must reach the office by Monday evening preceding the issue in which they are to appear.

The fact that a signed article is published does not commit The Workers' Call to all opinions expressed therein.

Table with 2 columns: Year and Circulation. 1896: 13,704; 1897: 16,552; 1898: 21,512; 1899: 25,988; 1900: 30,020; 1901: 34,869; 1902: 36,275; 1903: 52,550; 1904: 82,204.

The Socialist Vote.

With this number of the paper I am compelled to sever my official connection with The Workers' Call. Comrade Wanhope, who will take my place is already familiar to the readers through his numerous articles in former numbers.

This step is in part rendered necessary by the continued illness of my wife who has always been active in the editorial management of the paper and who is at present totally unable to perform any literary work whatever.

TO OUR READERS.

In our last issue the editor, A. M. Simons, notified the comrades and readers of this paper of the affliction which had befallen his family, in which he and his wife have the sympathy of all who knew them.

STRAIGHT TALK FROM BIGE.

Pointed Questions for the Workers—Fall Product of Labor the Only Object. Strike at the ballot box. Boycott the professional politician.

"OUR FRIEND THE ENEMY."

One of the best places in the world to seek advice is in the enemies' councils—especially if you know enough to interpret it correctly. The following from the last issue of "The Outlook" concerning the recent election of socialist mayors in Massachusetts should serve to put us on our guard and furnish a strong text for a sermon on tactics.

great parties in England, and conforms with Justin Mc Carthy's statesman like axiom that the adoption of what is reasonable in the demands of reformers is the surest way to prevent the adoption of what is unreasonable.

Read this in the light of the class struggle philosophy and this is what it says: "The only thing to do is to act upon the capitalistic axiom that the adoption of what is not injurious to capitalism in the socialist platform is the surest way to preserve the capitalist system."

But the German workers were too conscious of their real interests to be taught by any such decoy duck policy. They saw the cloven hoof of capitalism sticking through it all and refused to drop their own class movement.

The English laborer, on the other hand, allowed himself to be misled and bamboozled by his ruling class until his own class organization is well-nigh destroyed, his class-consciousness weakened and the power of intelligent independent reasoning almost lost.

He dwells in Whitechapel, or East End or in the "black district" and listens to fairy tales about the betterment of his condition by model tenements, cheap street car fares, low water rates and a multitude of other bourgeois plasters and patches that do anything and everything but change the system of wage slavery.

Or will the laborers of America have sense enough to resist the blandishments of the Altgelds, Joneses, Pingrees, Bryans, and the host of others who are so willing to tell the workers what they need? If they do and gather around the banner of class-conscious socialism they will soon have the satisfaction of observing, with their German comrades, not only a practical illustration of the uselessness of these so-called reforms (for nothing will force their adoption so soon as the growth of a clear-cut socialist movement) but at the same time they will have the much greater satisfaction of seeing their own ranks unbroken, their organization unimpaired, and their position uncompromised in their onward march to the complete victory of the class-conscious proletariat.

EXAMPLE OF CLASS RULE.

How the Law Deals With Those Who Would Enlighten Their Fellow Slaves. Mr. John P. Reese the miner who was sentenced to jail for three months because he dared to talk to his fellow wage slaves sends us a clipping from the Topeka Journal, concerning the matter, from which we take the following extracts.

The strike among the miners last spring was ordered by John Mitchell of Indianapolis, president of the United Mine Workers of America. Reese was a member of the executive board, was sent to Kansas to look after the interests of the union. He spent a week among the miners and returned home, coming back again, Reese lives at Albia, Iowa, where his wife and eight months old baby now are.

doctrine down so fine that we ignore our friends.

I came over to tell you that my interest in the rate of wages is not as intense as it might be. My ultimate aim is the destruction of the wage system and its concomitant wage slavery.

Your true "rainbow chaser," your simon pure "dreamer" is the man who prates of "adjustment," "compromise" and "peace" between the irreconcilable forces of labor and capital.

What, I'm a socialist? Well, "I reckon so how." So is every workman who attempts to better his condition, whether he knows it or not.

This is worth working for. Nothing else is. And it is a matter for congratulation that every victory won on our side is a step in that direction.

You who fondly imagine that the "class conscious" capitalist has any other aim than the total enslavement of labor need to revise your opinions.

So long as he can make a Gould or a Vanderbilt the idol of our economic thoughts, their position the goal of our economic ambition so long we will pay the tribute which makes them possible without a murmur.

Do you realize, guileless reader, that you're darned inconsistent if you uphold the competitive system and denounce its results. Mighty inconsistent to strike for higher wages and to uphold a system which logically grinds them to the lowest living scale?

Big Eddy. —Freemen's Labor Journal.

BOOK OFFER.

With the first of December the book offer which we have been making comes to an end. We shall no longer give books with single six months or yearly subscriptions, but until the first day of March we will make the following offer for clubs: For each dollar's worth of subscriptions sent in, whether in ten-cent, twenty-five or fifty-cent subscriptions we will send postpaid fifty cents worth of books from the following list, subject to the following conditions: For ten cent subscriptions selection must be made from the Pocket Library.

POCKET LIBRARY OF SOCIALISM.

- 1. Woman and the Social Problem. By May Wood Simons. 2. The Evolution of the Class Struggle. By William H. Noyes. 3. Imprudent Marriages. By Robert Blatchford. 4. Packingtown. By A. M. Simons. 5. Realism in Literature and Art. By Clarence S. Darrow. 6. Single Tax vs. Socialism. By A. M. Simons. 7. Wage-Labor and Capital. By Carl Marx. 8. The Man Under the Machine. By A. M. Simons. 9. The Mission of the Working Class. By Rev. C. H. Vall.

FIVE CENT BOOKS.

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

TEN CENT BOOKS.

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

TWENTY-FIVE CENT BOOKS.

- Woman in the Past, Present and Future—Rebel. Modern Socialism—Vall. History of the Commune of 1871—Benham. President John Smith—Adams. Kreuzer Sonata—Tolstoi.

No books other than those upon this list can be sent as premiums. No premiums will be MAILED in Chicago. The reason for this is that many of these books go as second class outside of Chicago and so can be sent at pound rates. Inside the city limits they must all be pre-paid at third class rates. We limit this to the 1st of March as at that time we expect to make new arrangements for the spring campaigns and cannot have the time to handle book premiums. But these three month offers will carry the subscriber through until the municipal campaigns and now is the time to begin educating.

fare and hotel bills. The trial commenced Friday.

A. B. Craig, superintendent of the company's business, who signed and swore to the complaint against Reese, admitted on the stand that he knew nothing of the facts that he was not present when the offense by Reese was alleged to have been committed.

"You have to secure better evidence than you have presented or this trial will be brought to a close," Reese and his friends were jubilant, believing that the court was about to throw the case out of court.

"That night a special train load of negroes came to Fort Scott from Yale on the Missouri Pacific. At the opening of court Saturday morning Judge Williams said: 'Counsel must not be influenced by the statement of the court concerning the testimony last night. The court has since read the order of injunction and finds that it is broader than he thought it was.'"

The trial again proceeded. The negroes were massed in the hall outside of the court room. An official of the mining company was with them. He sent them in one by one as their names were called and one of the friends of Reese says: "That officer drilled the men in what they were to say. They got badly mixed on the stand, but their evidence seems to have done the work for which they were brought to Fort Scott."

The injunction issued by the court restrained a long list of Kansas men from conspiring, confederating or combining to interfere with the business of this company. The only case against Reese was brought when he followed the public road to the company's premises at Yale and in that road made a speech to the men. Reese is a quiet, dignified man. He is not a "fire-eating agitator" but is guarded in all his utterances.

Reese was sentenced to three months in jail and the costs of the case, about \$1,000 were assessed against him. The opinion of Judge Williams, read carefully, will show clearly how small the evidence of guilt were. In passing sentence, one of the things Judge Williams said follows:

"I see by the action and conduct of this man that he is not an ordinary miner and we must deal with him as befits his station." This assertion made some of the miners believe that the court had openly insulted them, because Reese wore better clothes and seemed to know more of the world, and, they regard the statement of the judge as an indication that the various stages of aristocracy are the subjects of special privileges in this court. This is the poison sown in the minds of many of the men and they were very indignant. It was but another peg upon which to hang the charge that the court went out of its legal way to punish Reese.

If the miners can but thoroughly rise to a realization of the fact that not only are "the various stages of aristocracy the subject of special privileges" in that as well as every court, but that judge, court, laws, press, government and all are but creatures of the ruling capitalist class and act in their interest alone, they will have advanced a long step toward the solution of their troubles.

Then if they can only go on to the next step that the reason for the existence of this class rule is that the capitalist class may retain ownership in the things necessary to the production and distribution of wealth, including the mines of Kansas, and that this ownership is desirable for the owners because it enables them to take from the workers the product of their toil, they will then know the source of their sufferings. And finally when they realize that they must themselves through the use of the ballot, seize the powers of government, court, judges, etc., and using those powers in the interest of the laborers not the capitalists, take possession of the mines and operate them and retain all the product of their labor—when they know and act upon this knowledge their troubles will begin to be at an end. Will they do it?

BOOK REVIEWS.

TO WHAT ARE TRUSTS LEADING? By James B. Smiley; published by the author, 232 W. Washington street, Chicago; paper, 64 pp., 15 cents.

This work is distinctly above the average of those being turned out at the present time upon the "trust question." The historical review of the economic development leading to the present situation is excellent and gives a solid base and background for the subsequent discussion. The language is clear and striking and the whole work teems with suggestive illustrative and valuable data. The writer is still afflicted to a slight degree with the peculiar disease which has always affected the socialist movement of America and which might be designated as "Post-office-mania." Although he seems to some degree to realize the nature of the class struggle and the present class state he cannot get away from the idea that the post-office is an "example" of socialism.

The author also seems to fear that the word "socialism" might scare somebody and carefully avoids it save at the close of the work although the philosophy of the entire book is that of socialism. However we need not quarrel with him as to terms for "a rose, etc." and taking all in all the work is perhaps the best thing so far written on the trust problem and should do valuable propaganda work for socialism.

THINGS AS THEY ARE. By Bolton Hall; Small, Maynard & Co.; 293 pp., \$1.25.

Of a books that have come within our notice, with a tendency to arouse thought and spur to action on the social question we have no hesitation in placing this one first. As a literary masterpiece it would be hard to find its equal in the field of economic and sociological literature. The book consists of two parts. The first is a series of essays on social subjects—the second consists of a number of short "fables" with very pointed social morals. The "Fables" are by far the best part of the book.

The author is clearly more artist than economist and when he trusts to his artistic intuition he is seldom wrong. In the more pretentious essays there are a few things better left unsaid. This is especially true of his essay on "The Land Question," where his Single Tax ideas are allowed to predominate and he discusses society as if it were a mechanism that could be changed according to preconceived ideas and this notwithstanding the fact that over and over again in other parts of the book he has shown the futility of this same course of reasoning. He makes the mistake common to all of his class of talking about the "gateway to reforms." He does not see that social evolution comes through dynamic forces inherent in society and that the social structure will first change at the point of greatest pressure and further, that that point today is the private ownership of capital and land. In his fables, especially in the one entitled "How Progress Stopped," he points out that it is, at present forcibly organized for exploitation laboring class who are to achieve social change, he seems to forget this is his discussion of the land question and to be developing a scheme which the educated reformer shall impose ready-made upon society.

Aside from this one point we would have little to criticize and very much to praise in the work. No one has so mercilessly exposed the inadequacy of all reforms and palliatives as he has in his "Fables" as illustrations in another column will show. The sarcasm is keen and cutting and the pictures so vivid as to leave impressions not easily effaced.

BOOK OFFER.

With the first of December the book offer which we have been making comes to an end. We shall no longer give books with single six months or yearly subscriptions, but until the first day of March we will make the following offer for clubs: For each dollar's worth of subscriptions sent in, whether in ten-cent, twenty-five or fifty-cent subscriptions we will send postpaid fifty cents worth of books from the following list, subject to the following conditions: For ten cent subscriptions selection must be made from the Pocket Library.

POCKET LIBRARY OF SOCIALISM.

- 1. Woman and the Social Problem. By May Wood Simons. 2. The Evolution of the Class Struggle. By William H. Noyes. 3. Imprudent Marriages. By Robert Blatchford. 4. Packingtown. By A. M. Simons. 5. Realism in Literature and Art. By Clarence S. Darrow. 6. Single Tax vs. Socialism. By A. M. Simons. 7. Wage-Labor and Capital. By Carl Marx. 8. The Man Under the Machine. By A. M. Simons. 9. The Mission of the Working Class. By Rev. C. H. Vall.

FIVE CENT BOOKS.

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

TEN CENT BOOKS.

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

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Now that the great iron and steel magnates and partners in greed, Carnegie & Frick, have quarreled and the latter is no longer manager of that big concern. Each have some ugly things to say of the other, and Carnegie repeats what he asserted during the "Homestead riots" and their bloody consequences, that Mr. Frick was chiefly responsible for the same. Now we think that Andy ought to reveal to the public the true story of the "anarchist" shooting of the brutal tyrant, Frick, and why that bullet, (paper wad) was never found, etc.—Industrial Mutualists Tablet-Pottstown Blade.

It has been discovered that the postal laws are all against trusts. But we will warrant they will not work as well in disturbing the peace of the trusts as they do in badgering socialist newspapers.

NOTICE.

Hereafter all money orders MUST be made payable to The Workers' Call, 36 North Clark street, Chicago, Ill. Are you still hustling for subscribers?

SNAP SHOTS BY THE WAYSIDE.

This is the period of good cheer. The blessings which have rewarded the energy of labor have been very "properly" and "legally" appropriated by the "captains of industry," the owners of the means of production and the channels of distribution.

The working class in its ignorance has no higher aspiration than to hope that the year to come may be a repetition of what has occurred during the past year. They evince by that their undoubted right to the title by which Wendell Phillips has described the most contemptible being—"a contented slave."

This may seem strong language but when we look at the immense numbers of the working class who with thankful men accept the benevolence that is doled out to them at the "Volunteers of America" and "Salvation Army" dinners, when we consider the humble gratitude expressed when the "boss" becomes liberal and presents them with a chicken or a turkey, the language of Wendell Phillips appears quite moderate.

In speaking of the past year some socialists may perhaps look with regret at the present condition of the movement, but the disintegrating process through which the S. L. P. has passed need not discourage any true socialist, who realizing the class struggle in all its phases, sees that what has happened is a necessary prelude to a strong, class-conscious socialist movement in the United States.

No doubt a great deal of hard feeling has existed in this country amongst the socialists, and the writer of these lines has probably also taken a stand on one side or the other regarding questions at issue. Nevertheless the time has arrived when the masses of those who are imbued with the principles of the class struggle must stand together and the "leaders" and some of their parrot followers who cannot adapt themselves to the new and inevitable conditions before us must step aside. Those who are honest in their advocacy of the labor movement as expressed in socialism, those who have no personal axes to grind will find their proper place in the ranks of the united socialist party which will carry the banner of socialism through the next presidential campaign.

An incident of some significance as to current capitalist "morality" has occurred in this city last week when the daughter of a wealthy lumberman was found dead in a notorious resort in Clark street. This lumberman must not be confounded with those who cut the lumber in the woods during the winter, and who work among the "booms" and in the sawmills in summer. He is called a "lumberman" because his work consisted in appropriating the surplus product of the laborers in the lumber industry. The particular significance of the incident is this, that the girl was led astray by a "prominent merchant" and was in the habit of meeting "respectable business men" at a certain hotel. The whole incident is highly illustrative of the nature of the capitalist "morality" which proclaims itself champion of the "family."

The Duke of Marlborough is said to be about to volunteer for service against the Boers. If by any misfortune this patriot should happen to die for his country, the American workmen on the Gould system of railroads will have an excellent opportunity to create further surplus value to enable the Duchess to purchase another Duke.

Armstrong, the accomplice of Dan Coughlin in the jury-bribing case wherein the Illinois Central railroad was being sued for damages, has fled to the state of Washington has been located, but cannot seemingly be extradited. The law has long and powerful arms wherewith to secure and punish the evil doer, but when such capture might expose the workings of a powerful capitalist combination the law becomes conveniently paralyzed. Had Armstrong been concerned in the Warden trouble his extradition would present little difficulty.

An enterprising person named Watson in his eagerness to secure a job, committed a fake burglary in the post-office at Wheaton, Ill. The result being that he was appointed night watchman on the premises, for which laudable object he temporarily personated a burglar. Mr. Watson would no doubt pass successfully any "work test" which the Bureau of Charities might require.

A British officer who claims to be intimate with South African affairs, believes that if the Boers capture Cecil Rhodes they will undoubtedly shoot him. Which goes to confirm the idea that the Boers are a backward community and must be "elevated" to the point of showing proper respect for the arch-priests of capitalism who rule the world by the grace of God and the ignorance of the workers.

NOTICE.

All members who have received ball tickets for sale are requested to settle for same as soon as possible.

Do you value your freedom a dollar's worth? Then send it in with ten names and addresses of persons you would like to have a socialist talk given to very week. We will do the rest.

Industrial Evolution.

By WM. T. BROWN.

I can best put you in possession of the facts of industrial evolution as they appear to my mind by first of all stating what seems to me to be the two essentials to the equipment of the successful student of industrial history. I hold that the two prerequisites to such study are the possession of the modern scientific spirit and of the point of view of that social or industrial class whose interests are most immediately concerned. In the first place, when we are dealing with industrial evolution, we are dealing with facts which are within the reach of all. We are not groping in the dark. The records of history are open to all seekers for the truth. Moreover, the present century has put into our hands the greatest aid to the intelligent interpretation of history that the human mind has thus far discovered—the doctrine of evolution. We now know that all things have a history and that it is possible to find the record of that history somewhere. Nothing has come into existence, not even a human problem, by accident. Everything has come into existence in a perfectly natural way. Evolution leaves no room either for miracles or accidents. That is a tremendous gain, and the man who has become conscious of this fact is in possession of a priceless boon. He is prepared to learn something about the world he lives in. He is prepared to come into possession of knowledge that will not vanish with the lapse of years. In harmony with this scientific spirit it is the business of the student to recognize the fact that history cannot be bribed to tell such a story as one would wish to have it tell. It can tell but one true story. Whether its verdict be agreeable, it must be accepted. He who quarrels with facts has his pains for his labor. No amount of lamentation will change those facts. It is not the mission of the student of economics to learn how he may avoid the facts or fit them into his theory. Quite the contrary. His purpose is to find what story they have to tell as to the direction of economic progress. To the evolutionist, the universe is not a worn-out machine which it is his duty to tinker up, so that it will work along a few years more, or just long enough for his own generation to get off the stage. It is not an experiment of deity which has been tried for six thousand years and found a failure. He finds no fault with the universe. His absorbing purpose is to understand it and make the necessary adjustment to its laws, as those laws become progressively visible. Whatever deity exists for him is not above the universe, ready to interfere in response to his prayers or tears, but within the universe and most of all within himself and within the social and collective life. He is slowly finding out that all life is an unfolding, an "exfoliation," as Edward Carpenter calls it, and therefore the origin and essence of all things is within. Moreover, when we have made the discovery that life is an evolution, we have discovered that it is not stationary. It is in process of change. It has direction. The world of today is not that of yesterday or that of tomorrow.

To my mind, there is also a second requisite in the equipment of the successful student of industrial questions. And that is an adequate motive. History does not yield her secrets to the bidding of every seeker. Thousands of people READ history. Hardly TENS can be said to come away from that reading much the wiser. It is because there is not in the student a motive sufficient to stimulate him to that degree of earnestness which is necessary to his task. How many of the thousands of men in our colleges get anything substantial from their alleged study of history? How many of them learn anything about the world, about human life, about society, about the problems of their own age from the study? Surely an insignificant proportion. It is not to be wondered at, since the men who have attempted to translate into human language the record of history have themselves, for the most part, lacked the motive which would lead them to discover the real message which history bears. The true historian is himself a product of evolutionary forces. It is my opinion that no man is quite competent to interpret the record of history as it relates to the problems of industry, unless he is capable of putting himself in the place of the men who are most directly concerned in those problems. I venture to say that the only work of an enduring character that has been done along this line has been the work of men and women belonging to or in intimate sympathy with the wage-working class. There will always be men and women who will take up such questions for that matter, as a sort of fad, as a side issue, or as an occupation for leisure hours. Such attempts amount to nothing. They are barren of result. The longer I live and the more I see of man, the more I am convinced that the man is rare who in his thinking escapes from the trammels of his own class interests. If it be said that the point of view of the working class is also a partial and class attitude, I answer that it has this in its favor: that this class stands at the base of the social and industrial pyramid, that in the evolution of industry its interests are supreme, and that this, of all classes in society, has a vital interest in finding out the facts in the case. As a matter of record, the only attempt to apply the principle of evolution to the growth of industry that has been made is the work either of men-

bers of that class or those in immediate sympathy with it.

I am free to say that the motive which has led me to the study of these problems is that of sympathy with the working class. So long as there are wage laborers in the world, their point of view must be mine. If I had lived in the South during the slavery struggle and been possessed of my present feelings concerning life, I should certainly have thought and spoken and acted from the point of view of the slaves. I should have adopted the Bible motto of John Brown: "Remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them." That would not have implied any feeling of bitterness or malice toward the men who owned the slaves. Nor does my present attitude of mind imply any feelings of hostility toward men who are not strictly wage laborers. I shall try to maintain in this paper also the modern scientific spirit. I have no disposition to pervert the facts. What we all want to know is the testimony of the facts. If the facts are against us, we have no choice but to accept them and make the best of a bad case. If the facts of history indicate that the present system of industry is final, then we shall have no other course left us but to accept the situation. Our prayers and tears will not avail to change it.

(To be continued.)

FOREIGN NEWS.

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

SPAIN.

Heinrich Cunow in "Die Neue Zeit" writes of the fifth congress of the Spanish Socialist Labor party, held in Madrid, September 17th-20th. At this same time was held the sixth congress of socialist unions, belonging to the "General-Union of Workmen." These were the first socialist gatherings (of any importance) since the Spanish American war; the political confusion of Spain has necessitated repeated postponements, and after the close of the war the Carlist-Clerical intrigues were a hindrance; another postponement followed the downfall of the Sagasta ministry. Finally in September there was a socialist review.

The advance made in membership in 1937-38 was considerable, and at the election for the Cortes (March 27, 1938), the Socialist party polled over 20,000 votes—although they had worked energetically only in the greater industrial cities. Local sections sprung up everywhere and in some of the greater cities members of the party gained seats in the city councils, and besides the central organ at Madrid (the "Socialista," edited by Iglesias) seven other local papers were started which could be regarded as party papers in the narrowest sense of the word. It seemed that at last, after long agitation the socialists were beginning to have considerable influence on the masses—then the war broke out and prevented all further growth. Industry and commerce were practically stopped. Business was lively at the harbor cities but there, crowds of new men choked the possibility of further organized effort. Prices rose and consequently contributions did not come in, subscriptions to socialist papers fell behind; even the "Socialista" found itself in financial straits. But the young unions, not yet fully established, suffered, especially. And when peace was again declared the workers had enough to do for some time in paying back debts.

After the fall of the liberal cabinet things began to go again, and the 22,000 votes polled in the April elections can be regarded as of some promise of renewed vigor. A half of these votes came from the three cities, Madrid, Bilbao and Saragossa where the only real agitation was carried on. In Madrid there was a vote of 8,000 against the vote of 5,000 in 1938; the candidates were Pablo Iglesias and Jaime Vera, and in Saragossa, Antonio Garcia Guejido. Since this election affairs are much better, money is coming in, and the "Socialista" has changed from weekly to daily publication.

The fifth congress (like the recent French congress), busied itself with the question of tactics. With the greater activity of the party in political life and the participation in the Cortes and city elections the question has arisen: What shall our relation with the more progressive bourgeois parties be? Especially with the left wing of the Republicans and the Republican Federalists under the guidance of Margall? Do we dare to work with them and under what conditions? By one of the decisions of an earlier congress coalition is forbidden, but this order has not been obeyed for some time for the simple reason that such a practice of inactivity amounts to a support of clericalism. The congress has now taken the stand that, under certain conditions, common effort with the more radical bourgeois parties is not only advisable but is directly ordered; but the decision as to where and when such a coalition shall take place is no longer to be left to local authorities but to the National Committee. In conclusion it is written: "In consideration of the fact that the proletariat needs the political franchise (recognized by present day law), in order to organize and to obtain better conditions of life in the present system of society, the congress declares that

it is the duty of the Socialist party to respect the support of that franchise." Whenever democratic principles are involved, it seems best to use every energy in their support.

Another action of the congress takes the financial control out of the hands of local sections and centers it at Madrid. But the most important decision was probably the one which made the weekly "Socialista" a daily in which trades union news as well as socialist propaganda will appear.

There was a heated debate over the question of expelling from the party all persons who support the Catholic religion, or any other religion not founded on the principles of freedom. The resolution on that point was finally laid on the table and nothing done.

Thus things are progressing in Spain, though it be but slowly. There is agitation enough. Iglesias and Guejido held meetings through March and April in all parts of the country; the literature leaves little to wish in that line. Translations of "Capital," of Engel's "Origin of the Family," and other scientific works are widely read. Bebel's "Woman," and various economic and historical works are being translated for use. And besides, there are many pamphlets of real value spread broadcast.

The industrial weakness of Spain and her educational disadvantages make the work much slower than in other countries; there are many workmen who cannot read a paper. Then there is the clerical restraints and the petty jealousies between the Catalonians, the Castilians, the Andalusians, etc. The chronic stagnation which marks the later history of Spain, has been made even more evident since the American war. Any reforms which might be undertaken would find such passivity on the part of those in executive positions that they would be valueless.

The financial difficulties which the late war has brought about are enormous. Some months ago the minister of finance whose total expenditure was 37,000,000 pesetas (peseta equals 20 cents) paid out 418,000,000 for interest on the public debt! The minister moreover asked for 190,000,000 for the army, 26,500,000 for the marine, 42,000,000 for the clergy, and then for public education only 13,500,000 pesetas, for the health 678,602 and for the study of the condition of the working classes and for reforms and improvements 3,000 pesetas! Of the 190,000,000 for the army 17,000,000,000 went for the maintenance of military institutions, 26,000,000 to pensions (mostly to people who had never known service). Of the 42,000,000 pesetas for the clergy most went to the payment of presents, free gifts, etc. Little Spain alone has 9 archbishops, 51 bishops and over 1,300 officers of cathedrals and Catholic institutions, all of whom receive two, three and four times as much salary as the clergy of France—who do not live badly.

It would seem that only a revolution could purify Spain, but for that the Republicans and Socialists are still too weak.

Charlotte Teller.

Business Gifts.

It is announced that two land-owning corporations having vacant property near the northern end of Lake Calumet will give the land necessary for a fair-sized park. A gift of this sort not only indicates a spirit of liberality on the part of the donors, but it also reveals business sagacity. Many if not all of the small parks scattered through the city were gifts by real-estate holders owning contiguous property, which obtained great benefit from the pleasure grounds that were created.

It is probable that the problem of future use for their property now confronting owners of real estate in the districts within one and two miles of the business center of the city could be solved in part at least by the creation of attractive small parks. Such open spaces could be adapted to the needs of the various neighborhoods and treated as improvements to be paid for by special assessments upon the property benefited.—Chicago Record.

This, in plain words, is a "give-away." I do not mean that the land for parks are given away as the editor avers. He denies that himself when he says that the "gifts" reveal "business sagacity." That kind of "liberality" has its own reward.

The owner of "contiguous property" that "obtains great benefit from the pleasure grounds" thus created, does not give himself away nor his property. When a man gives land to a city and the value of his remaining land is thereby enhanced, his "business sagacity" tells him that the goods will be delivered all right.

But it is a timely question if public improvements increase private values, whether those values are private, whether they do not belong to the public that creates them. Let the Record editor put that in his pipe and smoke it. But he won't do anything of the sort. He is not writing for the public, but only for that class in it that gets profit out of private ownership. Therein lies the "give-away." Under the cloak of championing the public good it really points out to investors how they can "do" the public a little more. He flatters their "liberality," tickles their "business sagacity" and informs them of a new sort of investment whereby the public can be exploited.

And the assumption all through is that the public depends for its parks, etc., on the good will of these private owners. No matter if these "improvements" are to be paid for by special assessments upon the property benefited, the whole thing, the whole question is treated as if it were chiefly of importance to the "owners." As so it is for they are "the whole thing" under the present system of private ownership of public utilities. The ruling class settles these things.

N.

Keep your eye on your subscription number.

Womans' Department.

WOMEN PROLETARIANS.

Realization of Their Material Interests to Be Found Only in the Socialist Movement.

In the stress of modern competition for jobs among laborers of all ranks, and in the increasing pressure exerted by trusts through the rise in the price of all the necessities of life, men and women are being stripped of every function but that of production, of every relationship but the one they bear to the owner of the tools they must use.

In an economic system like the present capitalistic one, where the end and aim of every human effort is the production of commodities for sale at a profit to the owner of the tools or means of production, the cheapness of the labor applied to the making and handling of goods is the important factor in the profit of the capitalist. It is to his interest, it is his business to cut wages down to the lowest notch at which workmen can be kept alive and the industrial reserve army or the number of people out of work can be kept sufficiently large to maintain the low scale of wages by competition for chances to work.

Such a system cares nothing about the individual human being's "pursuit of happiness." This occupation is not right or legitimate because it hinders the exploitation by the capitalist of the workman or workwoman's every fibre of brain, nerve and muscle. The individual man or woman worker has no business to live for himself, for his own happiness, and to search for this happiness in the betterment of his social relations to his fellow beings.

Pronounced by the drive-wheel of the greed for profit, this system is attacking even the source of the perpetuation of the race, it is putting a discount on the reproduction of the species, until clerks in department stores, factory hands and all sorts of workers declare that marriage is coming to be only a dream and the joys of fatherhood and motherhood are fast growing to be an impossibility. For a single man or woman can live on less wages than the individual who is begetting, or bearing, and rearing children and can underbid the married man or woman for a job. The capitalist is so concerned about present profit that he is ignoring the fact that future profit depends upon repairing the wear and tear on the human machine.

Forced into the industrial world by the competition among male laborers and their consequent inability to support their families, and held there as lowerers of wages, slaves "chained to the machine," wage women are going through a mighty revolution. Every tradition and habit, formed for woman and by her in previous stages of human development, is being rooted out by the present industrial form of the struggle for existence.

Wage women have ceased to be domestic producers of all goods like women from old tribal days down to the beginning of this century. Their great social function is not to keep the fire lighted on an ancestral hearth and to bear sons and daughters in order that families may not die out and ancestors cease to receive adoration, as is the function of women in the large patriarchal families of the Orient today. They are not either singly or in twos and threes either as wife or concubine, kept as the domestic servant and slave of men. The old doctrine of self-sacrifice and self-abnegation of the wife, the mother for the husband, the children, has no meaning for the wage woman. She no longer spends all her days working for particular individuals within the limits of a family circle.

For her ancestors, personal relations were the whole sum and substance of life; but for the wage woman personal relations have ceased; she bears only a relationship to the corporations, the machine. The proprieties, conventionalities, moralities of the old life are knocked out by the corporation and at the machine. Her ancestor was a daughter, wife, mother, cousin, aunt, but she is only an automatic producer before the machine. Under the pressure of competition the wage woman can think for nobody, do for nobody, live for nobody, but herself. Bare existence must be the object of her every effort. At last she is not a social and economic appendage of any person or set of persons, she is only an individual "under the machine."

Under these new conditions, old brain centers of thought and nerve centers of feeling are left idle or thrown out of gear; the new activities form new centers and grooves out new connections in the brain and nerve tissues. New habits become fixed. New needs and longings arise. But the new life is an onerous one. Old joys have been taken away and few are the new pleasures that have replaced them. Deprived of a natural and right conjugal life and of the sweet delight of motherhood, overworked and stunted in bodily growth, fettered in intellectual development by lack of strength, time and every opportunity, shut away from noble recreation in music and art or the world of nature, the wage woman of today has but one lofty joy left within her reach, and that is the joy of rebellion. Not hysterical flying in the face of fate, but systematic, scientific effort in union with the other members of her class to break the chains of the capitalistic system that bind her, together with all other propertyless laborers, both men

and women, as enslaved machine tenders for a parasitic class.

Let the wage women join the revolutionists who are determined to make the machine what it ought to be, the great blessing of all the people of a nation and of all the nations of the world. For when all the tools are owned by the workers, then the hours of labor will be brought down to three a day, and even less, so that all can work, must work, to provide themselves with comforts and luxuries. Then all the rest of their time belongs to the laborers to become men and women well-developed, well-rounded physically, mentally, morally.

Dissatisfied, disheartened, in despair, with apparently every avenue of individual human expansion closed to her, the wage woman has yet within her reach one key that will unlock the gate of truth that leads into the way of freedom and new life. That key is revolutionary action guided by scientific socialism.

Once grasping the fact of the present class struggle, once realizing the truth that the evolution of society has been through a series of class struggles, once understanding that the way a man gets his bread and butter, his clothing and shelter, determines all his thought and feeling, then her exact social and economic position and the reasons for it become clear to her; she sees the remedy in the proletarian movement toward the socialist commonwealth. In joining the revolutionary socialists she meets with her first opportunity to get a knowledge of the wonderful new world of science, history, philosophy, ethics. Under the light of scientific socialism, what was difficult to understand before, becomes easy; what was obscure, becomes plain; contradictions disappear; facts and conditions in history and in life that seemed to be disconnected and chaotic become related and well regulated; facts, phenomena classify themselves.

If the wage women hunger for freedom from toil, if she is ambitious to know and to do what intelligent people are knowing and doing, if she longs for a fuller life, if the present utter indifference of human beings to the fate of other human beings embitters her life, if she is a lover of people and longs to draw close to others in sympathetic and true relations, she will join hands with the revolutionists of her class, who stand for economic freedom and equality, who represent the intellect of the day, and who by aiding the change from capitalism to socialism are making possible a world of actual altruism growing out of intelligent self-interest.

Merciless and fast are the changes that are hurling women into the wage slave class and that are pressing harder and harder upon their means of subsistence when once women have been thrown into that class. But the faster the changes come, the faster wealth becomes concentrated in the hands of a few, the faster great inventions displace thousands and hundreds of thousands of laborers, so much the swifter and more violent will be the reaction of the laboring class, and of the wage women in the laboring class. Memories and traditions of a life free from the menace of starvation and with leisure for enjoyment will excite them into great resistance to the blank life of a "slave at the machine," or to slow death in the army of the unemployed.

Wage women, whoever you are, and wherever you may be employed, these words are for you. For whether you are an overworked school teacher "holding a position at a salary" or a stenographer and typewriter, priding yourself upon the respectability of your mechanical toil, or a shop girl at \$4 a week, or a factory girl almost reduced to prostitution, or an apprentice, or a servant girl, you are proletarians, every one of you, and as proletarians your only hope lies in socialism. The Socialist Labor party is organizing the proletariat for the inevitable class conflict. In its ranks is your proper home and only as workers for the emancipation of your class can you have a taste of the free, broad life that is to come.

Myra H. Strawn.

THE "MAN WITH A HOE."

A Useless Appeal to the Present Ruling Class.

In the Ben Franklin "Saturday Evening Post," Philadelphia, December 16, we are told by Edward Markham "How and Why He Wrote 'The Man With the Hoe.'" It is a naked bit of truth-telling, with the light and shade of mental color belonging to the rate of consciousness correspondent to the stage of social attainment of the last century. It swings the octave high and low of despair and prophecy of that period of human society in which hand tools are the dominant industrial power. It is a burning call for the rich to do for the poor not a trumpet blast to awaken the poor to their obligation to emancipate society from the degradation of servile labor. The "articulate form" of the questions troubling the consciousness at the end of this century must be pitched to the key of democracy. It must be an appeal to the men not an appeal to the masters. The psychology of today is correspondent with the new strata of industrial development, with its modern mechanical inventions and its perfected commercial organization, world-wide in its operation. Its rate of intensity has changed its quality, a well-known law of physics, from individual domination to social domination, to conscious social control. We shall arise to fraternal direction of industrial

affairs or revert back to a lower form of political organization, to socialism of back to imperialism. We have our choice. The classes must take political power from the masses or the masses must take industrial power from the classes.

The masses in fraternal control of industrial and political power may create an environment which will elevate the whole social structure. The classes in aristocratic control of industrial and political power must create an environment of servility on the one hand and domination on the other, with all that is thereby implied.

So lofty is the spirit, so poetic is the expression, so crucial is the sympathy of Mr. Markham's letter that were not mankind in dire distress for the knowledge that lies between the two epochs it were a brutal task to lay bare the real import of the message.

The touchstone is a physical thing. The reduction of the ideal to practical application reveals whether it is the pharisee praying at the street corner or a savior that would bind up the wounds of a broken humanity and make it whole.

We have the key-note in the following extract, "It does not matter much what a man does—whether he builds a poem or hoes a field or corn. The thing of chief importance is the spirit in which he does his work. It must be done thoroughly and in the spirit of loving service. Work of this order is a perpetual prayer. Work of this sort is sacred however lowly—sacred though it be the sweeping of a gutter or the carrying of a hod." It is not the work which is high or low but the relation that men sustain one to another that is high or low. The relative degree of intensity in the labor-power required in making a photographic lens and a stone ax is the only difference. One is as honorable as the other.

The rate of social intelligence between the intensity required to equip an electric plant and that required to build a country road is indeed great. Our grandfather worked out his taxes on the road one day and on the next he was elected moderator at the town meeting. The Italian laborer of today occupies a very different social relation. The servile position of the wage slave precludes the possibility of "loving service." Work may be "done thoroughly," it may be done patiently, it may be done "prayerfully"—but for a man who feels welling up in his breast his right before God to his life there comes along with it his right before God to the means by which that life is sustained, hence the downfall of kings. The race sustains the race. The right to life proclaims the necessity of fraternal relation in natural resources and to social inheritance, proclaims socialism a necessity.

The psychology of "The Man With the Hoe" and the fall of its birth is Feudalistic not Capitalistic. With hand tools one man may carve his fate. With the knowledge of science and the skill art transplanted to the brain of the iron slave whose many cunning fingers never tire and whose numberless feet need no rest. Society alone has the power to achieve the fate of society.

We may be free in the social law of interdependence when we obey the social voice.

Martha Moore Avery.

Boston.

CONVENTION AT DETROIT.

Socialists Stir Up the Dry Bones in the American Federation of Labor.

The convention of the A. F. of L. this year will not go down in history as remarkable for its progressiveness. Many of the same old resolutions that have grown musty with age were once more sent through the hopper in a perfunctory sort of manner without arousing the slightest discussion. Much of the valuable time of the convention (valuable in that it costs all of a thousand dollars a day) was taken up with trade fights. Machinery and newer methods of production and distribution have so diversified the trades that it is almost impossible to discover the line of demarcation, and the vehement and increasing talk of "trade autonomy" is becoming quite amusing. Thus the printers hardly know whether they are compositors or machinists; the brewers are kept in continuous hot water to guard against inroads from engineers and firemen, teamsters, painters and laborers; the wood-working crafts are in a never-ending jangle, and it is much the same in the iron industries, painting trades and other occupations.

The painters created a row on an average about once a day, and finally their troubles and grievances were got rid of by saddling them on the incoming executive council, which was instructed to call a convention and organized a new union.

Aside from the trade disputes, the questions that aroused the most interest were the ship subsidy resolution, independent political action, the Idaho affair, trusts and the Philippine policy.

The Federation took a slightly advanced position on the independent political line, as the following resolution as adopted will show:

Whereas, The various reports submitted by our trade union officials are in effect that, so far as our efforts by petitions and interviews with the legislatures of the various states and the Federal government are concerned, little has been accomplished by the above mentioned methods, for where a so-called labor law is passed, it is either declared unconstitutional by the courts or allowed to remain unenforced, a dead letter on the statute books;

Resolved, That this Federation recommends that the various central and local bodies of labor in the United States take steps to use their ballots, their political power, on their own lines from the capitalist parties, in harmony with the action of our brother trade unionists of Europe, Australia, Canada and other civilized communi-

