

# MISSOURI SOCIALIST.

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF ST. LOUIS.

Volume I.

St. Louis, Mo., Saturday, January 12, 1901.

Number 2.

## THE POPULIST CONFERENCE

Not Yet Ready for Class-Conscious Socialism; But Declared in Favor of the Co-operative Commonwealth—Speeches of Socialists.

The members of the Populist National Committee met in conference at the James Hotel in St. Louis on December 29th. There is no doubt that the Populist party are with the Socialist movement, although most of them are woefully confused as to what the movement really is. The Populists will eventually become Socialists, will all themselves Socialists. There is no question about that. Whether they will become class-conscious Socialists depends upon the attitude of members of the Socialist party. If we ignore the Populist movement now, or attack it as an enemy, we will soon be confronted with a party of "confused" Socialists. But if we treat them as friends, guiding them with good intentions, and endeavor to teach them the foundation principles of our movement, then by 1904 the great majority of the mid-road Populists will be in our party and will know why they are here. It was with this idea in mind that a number of Social Democrats attended the Populist conference, not as representatives of the party, but as individuals, and availed themselves of the opportunity to preach class-conscious Socialism.

The morning session of the conference was devoted to hearing speeches of members of other parties. Copies of the first issue of Missouri Socialist, containing an emphatic statement of the position of the Social Democratic party, were distributed and were read with much interest.

The final result of the conference was the adoption of resolutions amending the Populist platform so as to make it more Socialistic. The resolutions are as follows:

Resolved, That the National Executive Committee of the People's party is and is hereby instructed to submit a referendum vote of the membership of the party the following propositions:

First—To change the name of the people's party from "People's party" to "Socialist."

Second—To change the second plank of the Cincinnati platform to read as follows: "Second—We demand public ownership of such means of production and distribution as the people shall from time to time elect."

Third—To change plank No. 7 of the Cincinnati platform by dropping off the last three words, "of public utility."

Fourth—To add the following as the last plank of the platform: "We declare as the fundamental principle of our party the principle enunciated at Omaha in 1892, that 'wealth belongs to him who creates it, and every dollar taken from labor without an equivalent is robbery'; and we pledge the Populist movement to such legislation as to eventually destroy the system which makes it possible for one man to live on the labor of another. We are opposed to physical revolution and the confiscation of property, but hold to the doctrine of evolutionary justice with the ultimate end that the race shall progress from the industrial slavery of capitalist competition to the ideal co-operative commonwealth, or the perfect brotherhood of all mankind. Upon this basic rock of political and economic justice we invite the cooperation and support of all lovers of freedom regardless of past party affiliation."

It is further instructed that the result of the referendum vote herein ordered shall be announced not later than June 1, and that a committee of five shall be appointed to attend the reform conference to be held at Detroit, Mich., on July 4, to publicly invite the support of all reformers there represented upon the platform as amended upon by the rank and file of our party.

### PROF. HERRON'S SPEECH.

Prof. Geo. D. Herron was present by special invitation and addressed the meeting. His remarks in substance were as follows:

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee—Some of you may not understand the class-conscious appeal of Socialism. Socialists have no thought of attacking individuals. Class-consciousness does not mean class hatred. What the Socialist means by class-consciousness is this: That nothing can be done for the masses of the human beings is living off another class, that a capitalist class is heaping upon the products of the producing class, and he appeals to labor to become class-conscious because he knows perfectly well that the laborer cannot believe his freedom and secure the products of his labor until he becomes conscious that he is the real producer and owner of the earth. The end of Socialism is the abolition of all classes and parties.

"We cannot wait until the Socialist movement is just to our liking before we take a creative part in it. Our place is in the blood and the dust, the struggles and the disgraces that always inhere in the beginnings of every great movement. Now can we respect ourselves or help make the Socialist movement what it ought

to be if we fail it in its moment of direst need?"

"I respect the men and the motives of all sects and parties which are now unconsciously converging into the Socialist movement.

"I am a Socialist. The Socialist movement does not seem to me to have yet taken its coherent and conquering form in the politics of America. It may be that the American Socialist party is yet to be formed. All of us who call ourselves Socialists are ready to form in any party that truly stands for the cause and philosophy of Socialism.

"It is to Socialism itself that I would like for you to commit yourselves, not to any particular Socialist party as a final expression of Socialism. Let your party now become a Socialist party and then later, a call can be issued for a union convention of all Socialist parties into one great American Socialist movement. The particular name or party under which Socialism shall finally come is not here important. Socialists, under whatever name it appears, or by whatever party it is brought before the people, must base itself directly upon the fundamental fact that those who live by selling their labor power to capital must become conscious of the fact that they are the real producers, and the right owners of the earth, and that this producing class must bravely and coherently set to work to achieve its own freedom from the capitalist system. Socialism does not come to destroy, but to fulfill the ideals of liberty, fraternity and equality.

"No man can be free, or ought to consider himself free, until all men are free. The whole world is enslaved as long as there remains a single slave on earth. American Democracy, which originally meant voluntary co-operation as the order of the State, will soon be lost even as an ideal, unless it realize itself in democracy and co-operation in production and distribution.

"Private property in the natural resources upon which all men depend and private property in capital, which labor creates, is nothing less than private property and traffic in human souls. The liberty of the soul can be achieved only through the passing away of the capitalistic form of society and the coming of the free and co-operative state. We who are at once the receivers and victims of special privileges know that we are on the backs of our brothers. Socialism in some form is coming without any regard to what you or I want. The next stage of the world will be one of collective production and distribution. We are nearing the end of an old stage of production and distribution, for competition and private industry no longer work, and ought not to work.

"What is the attitude of the two great national parties toward this evident world-crisis? The Republican party is frankly of the capitalist order. Under the priesthood of Mr. Hanna, the Republican party is so openly the capitalist party that we need waste no time in discussing it. But the Democratic party pretends to be in favor of social reform. There is not in any of Mr. Bryan's utterances, nor in the platform of his party, a syllable that indicates the slightest knowledge of the real problem that confronts us. Mr. Bryan is trying to solve twentieth century problems with eighteenth century methods. The Democratic propositions for economic and social reforms are meaningless. Their talk of anti-trust legislation is childish and silly.

"The Populist party of the United States to-day occupies a position of strategic importance. A declaration by your party for Socialism, and the resolving of your party into a Socialist party would accentuate the evolutionary political forces now converging toward Socialism."

### GREENBAUM'S SPEECH.

Comrade Leon Greenbaum was called upon and spoke as follows:

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen—I do not come here as the authorized representative of the Social Democratic party, but as an individual Socialist who is affiliated with that party and would like to see your party endorse Socialism and unite with the Socialists of this country. Mr. Sheridan Webster, who preceded me with an argument for the Union Reform party, charged among other things that the Social Democratic party claims it is the only perfect and immaculate party in existence. You cannot find such a claim in our platform, and I have never heard a Social Democrat make such an assertion. The Union Reform party is the only one that claims to be so perfect that it can satisfy everybody. They tell the Single-Taxer who is opposed to Socialism that he can accomplish his aims through their party, and they tell the Socialist who is opposed to the single tax that the Union Reform party will give him just what he wants. The Union Reform party is the only one that claims to be so perfect that it extends the hand

of fellowship to the advocates of a high tariff and a low tariff; prohibition and anti-prohibition; woman suffrage and anti-woman suffrage. In fact, the Union Reform party claims to be a cure-all for every political ill that government is heir to, and I regard such a party as a quack reform party, wherein reformers of all shades and revolutionists, who are not reformers, may come together and fight each other instead of fighting the common enemy, which is capitalism. The question of direct legislation, is an incidental one in the programme of Socialism. It is merely a matter of administration. It is not the end, nor the means to the end. One of the members of your committee (ex-Congressman Fisher of Iowa), who favors free coinage of silver, asks the Socialists to explain the coincidence between the shrinkage of metallic money in the 15th century and the misery of the masses." In answer to that I would say that in Prof. J. E. Thorold Rogers' book on 'Six Centuries of Work and Wages,' he states that at no time in history was the condition of the workers so good as at the very period referred to by Congressman Fisher. During this period of scarcity of metallic money, the relationship between capitalists and laborers was more amicable than at any period before or since. The reason for this was that every worker in the towns and cities owned his tools, was necessarily his own capitalist, and got the entire product of his labor. He did not have to divide this product with any capitalist. The condition of the country workers, or serfs, in the 15th century was doubtless very degrading, but the average serf retained a larger share of the product of his labor than the average worker receives in wages under capitalism.

"Some of the members of this committee have expressed alarm because Socialists propose to abolish private ownership of capital. They say this would be confiscation. Now, I believe that it is impossible for the people to confiscate their own. If, by some jugglery, a few have obtained possession of what rightfully belongs to all of the people, then the latter, acting collectively, cannot commit confiscation by restoring to themselves what never morally belonged to anyone else. If you had lived on the 4th of July, 1776, would you have objected to the Declaration of Independence because it abolished the title or private ownership by George III. of the lands and wealth comprised in the American colonies? Did those among you who are veterans of the civil war vote against the public land act, 1860, because the platform did not contain some provision for compensating the slaveholders? Did you object to the platform because it might result in confiscation of slaves?"

"Some of the members of this committee have inquired whether Socialism means collective ownership and operation of land, saying that if it does, it would be impossible to advocate it, because every farmer would claim that the Socialists propose to turn him out of house and home."

"Now, in reply to that, I want to ask how many farmers in this country own their own homes? How many are there who may not be turned out of house and home to-morrow? What is the cause of this? It was certainly not caused by Socialism. Socialism is the only system that will restore the homes of the farmers, that will guarantee the farmer perpetual possession and use of their homes. Socialism, instead of confiscating the farms and homes, is the only method by which confiscation can be prevented. It is the only safeguard against the farmers and their families being turned out to wander as beggars on the highways. I desire to call your attention to the fact that Socialism would do away with the present planless system of production on the farms of this country. Every one here knows that under individual ownership and operation of farms, together with the use of machinery, which multiplies results, and the competition for profit which stimulates production; the results are profitless and ruinous to the farmers. In avowing myself a class-conscious Socialist, I would not have you think that class-consciousness means class hatred. A class-conscious Socialist is one who is conscious that the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interest of the capitalist class. He realizes that the class struggle is not founded upon mutual hatred between poor and rich, but is a battle between conflicting economic interests in which individuals align themselves according to their sympathies. The class-conscious Socialist realizes that he is part of a brotherhood of socially useful workers whose interests as a class are irreconcilable with the interests of the capitalist class, composed of parasitical exploiters."

"Mr. Chairman, I believe that the time has come for the Populists to take a decisive step. From what I know of the spirit of your party, I do not believe you can become more conservative; you must become more radical. The platform of your party at present upholds competition for the private ownership of property, the profit system and wage slavery. It would be impossible to effect a union between your party and the Socialists unless you condemn capitalism and make an uncompromising declaration for Socialism. Your platform declares for free silver and paper money, and while you make the main fight about the quantity and quality of media that shall be used in exchanging property, you overlook the fact that the work-

## THE INTERNATIONAL

Address of the Executive Member of the Bureau.

The International Organization Becoming More Definite—An Inspiring Feature of the Socialist Movement.

The executive members of the International Socialist Bureau, established by the recent international congress at Paris, have issued the following communication to the Socialists of the world:

Bear Comrades—We have the pleasure to announce to you the definite constitution of the International Socialist Bureau. Most of the countries of Europe have already chosen their delegates, and other countries will do so in a few weeks. The seat of the bureau is established at the "Maison du Peuple," Joseph Stevens street, Brussels, Belgium. The nomination of Comrade Victor Serwy as secretary has been ratified by many nationalities, and unanimously by the congress of the Labor party of Belgium on the 18th of November last. The designation of Edward Anseele and Emil Vanderveelde as delegates has also been approved. Those willing to bear their quota of the expense of establishing the secretariat can address him as follows: "Edward Anseele, Rue de Japon, Gand."

We believe it is necessary to call attention in this first circular to the terms of the resolution of the congress establishing the International Bureau, defining precisely its powers and duties:

**RESOLUTION ONE.**  
The International Socialist Congress at Paris considers:

That as the International Congresses are destined to become the parliament of the proletariat, it is necessary to formulate resolutions for the guidance of the proletariat in their struggle for freedom:

That these resolutions resulting from international agreement should be translated into acts. The following measures are decided upon:

1. An organization committee shall be named as soon as possible by the Socialist organizations of the country where the next congress is to be held.

2. A permanent committee consisting of two delegates from each country shall be formed to handle the necessary funds. They shall regulate the order of proceedings in the next congress, and shall receive the reports from each nationality connected with the congress.

3. The committee shall choose a salaried general secretary, who shall—

(a) Procure all necessary information.

(b) Edit an explanatory code of the resolutions passed by the previous congresses.

(c) Distribute the reports of the Socialist movement of each country two months before the next congress meets.

(d) Publish a general summary of reports on the questions discussed by the congress.

(e) Publish at different times leaflets and pamphlets on questions of facts and of general interest; also on important reforms and essays upon serious political and economic questions.

(f) Take all necessary measures to facilitate the international organization of the proletariat of all countries.

**RESOLUTION TWO.**

The International Socialist Committee shall form from the national organizations of Socialists in parliaments, a special inter-parliamentary commission to facilitate common action on great political questions and international economics. This Commission shall work in unity with the International Socialist Committee.

**RESOLUTION THREE.**

The International Secretariat located at Brussels shall have the custody of the International archives of socialism, and shall collect all books, documents and reports concerning the labor movement in different nations.

The congress has also decided that the nomination of two delegates from each country shall be subject to the ratification of the proletariat of those countries. They have fixed the budget of the International Bureau at 10,000 francs (\$2,000). The principal countries (Germany, England, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Holland, Italy, Switzerland, United States), shall each furnish 800 francs (\$160) of this amount, the other countries (Norway, Argentina, Bohemia, Bulgaria, Rou-

man, Sweden, Hungary, Australia, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Russia, Japan, etc.) shall each contribute 200 francs (\$40).

There are other proposals in accordance with the above which your Committee has prepared with the assistance of our Socialist friends from all nations. Already we have received from many delegates different proposals, which we are now examining and upon which we shall consult you.

At present we think that the most important tasks before your bureau are as follows: (1) To establish communication with all Socialist organizations, labor parties, parliamentary groups, press, etc. (2) The codification of resolutions of the congress and putting them into execution.

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In the meantime we ask you to indicate the questions which, in your judgment, are of a nature to render more efficient the work of our bureau. Finally, we would ask all those organizations which have not yet been heard from to send us—

1st. The names and addresses of their delegates.

2d. The name and address of their correspondent.

3d. The name and address of their party secretary.

4th. The name and address of the party treasurer.

5th. The place of meeting of their organization.

6th. The names and addresses of their principal newspapers and reviews.

Through us the Belgian Labor party thank most heartily the comrades of all countries for the confidence and trust they have reposed in us by choosing our country as the seat of the International Bureau. We shall strive to show ourselves worthy of the task which has been assigned to us.

The Members of the Bureau Executive:

EDOUARD ANSEELE,  
EMILE VANDERVEELDE,  
VICTOR SERWY.

Secretary.

**NOTICE TO LOCALS.**

To the Locals of the Social Democratic Party:

Comrades—The Paris Socialist International Congress has adopted a resolution creating the Socialist International Bureau, with headquarters in Brussels, Belgium. The chief duties that will devolve on this bureau will be to draw the Socialist parties into closer relations, receive reports and make arrangements for the International congress. Its other functions will be defined later.

The Socialist party of parties of each country, which adhere to the resolutions of the International Congress, may be represented at the International Bureau by two delegates, or secretaries.

In pursuance of this resolution the locals are hereby called upon to make nominations of candidates for two secretaries. Each local may nominate only two candidates. Any member of the party in good standing may be nominated. In nominating candidates the comrades will bear in mind that the secretaries may be called upon to pass not only upon matters concerning the Socialist movement of our country, but upon questions concerning the movement of other countries.

The officers of the locals are requested to forward the NAMES and ADDRESSES of the candidates nominated to the National Secretary, not later than February 9th, 1901.

Fraternally,

LEONARD D. ABBOTT,  
MORRIS HILQUIET,  
HENRY L. SLOBODIN.

Committee.

**Socialist Students.**

From Cincinnati Enquirer.

Higher education as exemplified at the University of Cincinnati has recently taken a decidedly queer bent.

The doctrines of the Socialists have become a fad, the... along with long hair and spectacles, and many of the upper class students have become disciples of Karl Marx, and are enthusiastic students of his doctrines. Socialism and its theories number believers not only in the political economy classes, where it might have been expected to originate, but in all branches of the academic department the students are engaged in debating the relations of capital and labor and the centralization of industry. The new ideas have taken deep root among the students and have resulted in the formation of a Socialist Society for the purpose of studying the doctrines of this economic party.

The society made a temporary organization during the week and will elect officers and permanently organize after the holidays. The students composing the club are not fanatics, but really believe that Socialism is to be the coming order of things, and they are preparing to study it deeply. Some are not quite clear as to the tenets of Socialism and the question as to what Socialism does and does not include will be one of the first things discussed at the weekly meetings. After the Socialist club has been well organized it will put itself in communication with other Socialist organizations and prominent speakers will be secured to give addresses. The university Socialists are deeply in earnest in their theories and claim that this is only one of many organizations which are being formed in colleges throughout the country.

## Campaign Fund.

HAS BEEN OPENED BY ORDER OF LOCAL.

Every Member Should Contribute Early and Often—A Lively Campaign Before Us.

To Socialists of St. Louis:

The Social Democratic party of St. Louis met in regular convention in December, 1900, adopted a platform that is an uncompromising class-conscious demand for Socialism and nominated a ticket composed of men who possess the confidence, not only of the Socialists, but of the many workmen who are beginning to study our principles. Now there is a pause, which is the silence that precedes the storm. The enemy has his plan of battle completed and his forces are now being aligned for the fray. As usual, the election in April, 1901, will be preceded by a sham battle of capitalist political parties, it being their intention to divide the votes of the working class by diverting their attention on false issues. The capitalist class will spend thousands of dollars to continue their reign of power and profit in the City of St. Louis. In order to do this it is necessary to capture the working class vote, and the capitalist politicians are already beginning to beat their political tom-toms in order to attract the attention of the ignorant voters.

The newspapers are working up sentiment for capitalist candidates, and their orders are to fool all of the workers part of the time and part of the workers all of the time, and if possible to fool all of the workers all of the time. It is reported from reliable sources that a certain business man of this city, who is chief stockholder of a noted hardware firm that furnished the riot guns to Sheriff Pohlman, has offered certain politicians forty thousand dollars to educate (7) the workers of St. Louis, provided said politicians will nominate a certain man for Mayor. The man proposed for Mayor, or by the hardware merchant, who proposes to educate the workers, was a member of the Sheriff's posse, which shot daylight through the street railway men last June. There has been considerable resentment among the workers ever since.

May study at the St. Louis in the over two hours caused so capitalist hardware merchant who furnished the riot guns to shoot down defenseless strikers is now willing to spend four hundred thousand dollars to educate the remaining workers upon the beauties of capitalism and fool them to vote once more for a government of the capitalists, by the capitalists and for the capitalists. Then there are other capitalist political parties, each of which will have some peculiar reform or bogus issue for a rallying cry, and some of them will be assisted by certain men in the labor movement most of whom are sincere, but of others, the least said is soonest mended. The straight cut capitalist parties and the so-called reform parties contain men who say they are Socialists, too, but if it may come "a step at a time." They say that Socialism is a hundred years off. In view of the fact that the average able-bodied man takes at least a million steps in a year, it may be readily calculated that the "step at a time" reform party is in favor of bringing about Socialism after it has made about three hundred million steps.

The capitalist political situation in St. Louis at the present time is a perfect revelry of political horrors. The shrieks and groans of the thousands of victims of the competitive system being intermingled with the victorious cries and brutal boasts of the victors; meanwhilst, plots and counterplots, conspiracies and intrigues, both political and industrial, all having as their objective the continued exploitation of the working class, are going on day and night; and out of the confusion of private gain and the babel of the wealth drunken horde there appears but one gleam of hope—the Social Democratic party of St. Louis.

Comrades, the future is ours. Upon us rests a great responsibility. Are we equal to the occasion? There is, there must be, but one answer; it is "Socialism." Not a hundred years from now, but immediately—at once. In order to battle with the enemy, comrades are already organizing by wards and precincts. Will you do your share?

We must have a campaign fund for the municipal campaign. Contribute your share—no man is expected to do more. Who will be the first contributor to the Socialist municipal campaign fund of 1901?

Up, comrades, and at them!

Send all contributions to WM. J. HAGER, SECRETARY, ROOM 7, No. 22 N. FOURTH ST. All donations will be published in these columns.

**A Word of Praise.**

Dear Comrade: You will find fifty cents enclosed, for which please send me Missouri Socialist for the year ending Dec. 31, 1901. I have received and read your initial number and am much pleased with it. Allow me to wish you all kinds of success. Yours fraternally,

EUGENE V. DEBS.



Missouri Socialist.

Issued Every Saturday at Room 18, 22 N. 4th St., St. Louis, Mo.

Owned and Published by Local S. Louis of the Social Democratic Party of Missouri.

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Managing Editor: E. VAL PUTNAM

Subscription Rates in Advance.

One Year: 30 Cents; Six Months: 18 Cents

Address all complaints against management of the paper, to C. R. Davis, 217 Market St.

EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Contributions 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 constitute Missouri Socialist in any opinion expressed therein.

Contributions and items of news concerning the labor movement are requested from our readers. Every contribution must be accompanied by the name of the writer, but not necessarily for publication, but as an evidence of good faith.



YOU'LL HAVE TO HUSTLE.

A glorious opportunity is offered to the Socialists of Missouri in the establishment of this paper. Through it a campaign of propaganda and organization can be carried on that will result in the organization of a hundred new locals within the present year and an enrolled membership of at least two thousand.

There are over seven thousand Socialists in Missouri and we must have them all on our mailing list before 1912. Everyone who voted the ticket will want to keep track of the movement and will gladly take the paper.

Missouri Socialist wants to talk to your neighbor once a week for a year. Kindly introduce it to him.

The railroads are preparing to let out fifty thousand useless traveling passenger agents. The days of competition are numbered.

The "New Light" has been combined with "The Socialist" of Seattle, Wash., which is now a handsome six-column, four-page paper.

"Failures in 1906 were slightly more numerous than in the preceding year and the liabilities also showed a slight increase," says Braintreest's. The small business man is walking the plank—that is all.

"No reforms, moral or intellectual, ever came from the upper classes of society. Each and all came from the protests of martyrs and victims. The emancipation of the working class must be achieved by the working class themselves."—Wendell Phillips.

"The Wage Worker" is the name of a new Social Democratic monthly, located at Detroit, Mich., that like Missouri Socialist, started with the beginning of the new century. It contains some excellent Socialist reading matter, is well gotten up, and has sixteen pages. Price, 50 cents per year.

Socialism would destroy the "incentive to wealth" would it? Now, really, wouldn't it be better for people to have an incentive to labor (in order to secure their share of the product) than an incentive to get wealth at other people's expense, which is the only incentive you now have?

HAVANA, January 5.—The strike of stevedores and sugar handlers has been declared off, an amicable settlement having been hastened by the presence of cavalry.

The above press dispatch is very interesting. We wonder if the cavalry was called out to make the bosses treat their employer better. All workingmen that think so, raise your hands.

In the "Address to Populists" of last issue, the writer stated that in presenting the address he was not animated by unkindness or hostility to them as individuals or to their party as a political factor.

"I make the prediction that, unless those in charge and in whose hands legislation is reposed, do not change the present system of inequality, in less than a quarter of a century there will be a bloody revolution in this great country of ours," says ex-Governor Plagze.

Don't worry Governor. Those who

are at present in charge will not change the present system, but the workmen of this country will, within the next few years, put men in charge who will change it. There is no occasion for a bloody revolution, but there will be a mighty big peaceful revolution.

Under the present system the farmer is worse off now than he was before the invention of modern farm machinery. In former days, the boys grew up on the farm and plenty of work was found for them at home and the farm furnished a livelihood for all. Now the machine has taken their places; the old man does all the work himself and works harder than ever and receives less for his products; and the boys come rushing to the cities in search of employment, only to find that thousands of men there have also been thrown out of employment by machines.

The Socialist vote made a large gain in 1906, and may possibly rise to still larger proportions in 1908, as Socialism is "in the air" in all the great nations at the present time. It is only, however, when a clear-cut division among the great parties is lacking, when absorbing questions are absent, or when neither party honestly grapples with the issues of the day, whatever it may be that any "third" party has a chance to hold the balance in any important State or to menace either of the great organizations.—St. Louis Globe-Democrat.

That's it. It is only by keeping the workmen divided and having them into a sham battle over some "absorbing question" that the capitalist class retains its hold on the powers of government. Our first victory will be gained when we drive the two old parties together.

A special to the Post-Dispatch says: "The President has given George Steuenerberg, corporal in Troop A, Eleventh Cavalry, a surprising lift over the heads of sergeants and second lieutenants and made him a first lieutenant." When the President was criticized for sending troops to Idaho during the mine troubles there and was held responsible for the "bull-pen horrors," Gov. Steuenerberg, although a Populist, upheld him, saying he did only his plain duty. The Governor also testified to this effect in the congressional investigation. The corporal promoted is the Governor's brother-in-law.

Now you see how it works. The members of the capitalist class and their agents are very much divided on "paramount issues" until it becomes a question of working class versus capitalist class, then they are united. The workingman was only as careful as McKinley to pay his debts to those who stand by him, he could soon wipe out capitalism.

Says a writer in "George's Weekly": "The radical Socialist makes a mistake in carrying this principle too far. He wants all things owned by the public, failing to recognize that many things are purely private in their character. A man's home and all things pertaining thereto are essentially private."

Hold on there. Who told you the Socialist wants all things owned by the public? The platform of the Social Democratic party declares that its purpose is to "abolish the institution of private property in the means of production."

There is not a word in the whole platform about public ownership of a man's home or the "things pertaining thereto." On the contrary, Socialism furnishes the only possibility of every man possessing a home of his own. But we will give you a tip, that in the co-operative commonwealth, no man is going to be able to spread himself out over a thousand-acre hunting preserve, while some less fortunate individual is forced to locate his home and "all the things pertaining thereto" in one little room of a tenement house.

Kidnaping.

The Cudahy kidnaping case is attracting much attention, especially on account of the twenty-five thousand dollar involved. The capitalist press always did make more noise about dollars and cents than about human life. But there are other kidnapings that ought to be mentioned, especially if the proposed law to hang kidnapers is passed. There are thousands of little children kidnaped annually in this city and compelled to spend their lives in the foul air of miserable factories, or to wear their young lives away in the big department stores. The loving fathers and mothers of these children are unable to pay the ransom, that is demanded. These kidnapings do not occur in the dark. They are open and above board, and the kidnapers are called "influential business men." Every parent who cannot pay the ransom—pay for the child's support—must see him taken from his home and placed in this slavery of the factory.

The anxiety of young Cudahy's parents can be appreciated, but what do you suppose must be the grief of a fond parent who is forced to allow his child to enter some factory where his tender young body will become worn and diseased long before it is of age and its mind hopelessly ruined?

Do you think this kind of kidnaping can go on forever? What kind of a race of beings would the human family degenerate into under a century of such conditions? You may be able to stop kidnapings of the Cudahy kind by hanging the offender, but if you want to stop the kidnaping of children into factories and of women into sweatshops, you will have to vote to hang the whole system that makes such things possible.

The "Missouri Socialist" is the name of a new four-page paper that hails from St. Louis, Mo., under the editorship of E. Val Putnam. The first number looks well and has some bright reading matter. The "Haverhill Social Democrat" extends to the New Champion a fraternal hand-shake and wishes the St. Louis comrades great success.—Haverhill Social Democrat.

Timorous Pops.

The cautious manner in which the Populists as a party are approaching Socialism would be amusing were it not for the importance of the final outcome. They seem to be constantly afraid that something about this new-fangled movement (that is, new to them) will "blow up." Like an elderly lady venturing upon the ice, they advance in great trepidation lest something may drop.

The whole secret is that they have not yet gotten over that trait that comes from old party methods of organization, namely, the desire to catch votes. They have heard all the buzz about these wild-eyed Socialists and their red flag and, although they themselves now realize that the Socialist is not such a horrible creature, nevertheless they fear the public will not be willing to accept the Socialist doctrine unless it is surrounded with a lot of glittering generalities.

In their proposed new platform they say: "We declare as the fundamental principle of our party the principle enunciated at Omaha in 1892, that 'wealth belongs to him who creates it, and every dollar taken from labor without an equivalent is robbery,' and we pledge the Populist movement to such legislation as to eventually destroy the system which makes it possible for one man to live on the labor of another."

That sounds well. They recognize the right of the laborer to all of his products and they are going to destroy the wage system. But they cannot stand the thought of meeting that oft-repeated argument, "The time is not ripe for it," so overcome with cowardice, they insert the word, "eventually."

Then, under pressure of their old prejudices and superstitions against Socialism, they add: "We are opposed to physical revolution and the confiscation of property." Now, there is a new issue for you. Physical revolution. This is the only platform of any political party that says a word for or against a physical revolution. No party is advocating a physical revolution, but the insertion of that phrase is absurd on the face of it. What did George Washington think of "physical revolution"? "Confiscation of property." There is an inconsistency. The first paragraph quoted says, "every dollar taken from labor without an equivalent is robbery," yet they want to pay the robber for what he has stolen.

No, my dear Mr. Populist, you are not a Socialist yet, although we are delighted to see you making efforts in the direction of becoming one. The first essential of a good militant Socialist is courage—courage to proclaim the exact truth, regardless of how much in the minority he may be. So long as you cater to popular prejudices and false ideas of Socialism you will not do the cause any good. The only way to overcome prejudice is to walk right over it.

Greeting From Our Friends.

The "Missouri Socialist" is a paper started in St. Louis with the beginning of the century. It is edited by E. Val Putnam, the young orator who is putting so much energy, learning and talent into the work. It is 50c a year.—Missouri Push.

The Missouri Socialist, published at St. Louis, is the property of the S. D. P. local, and starts out with a brave front and the assurance that it has a mission in life, which in itself ought to be a guaranty of permanence. The Exponent expects to hear of a large increase in the S. D. vote of Missouri, as a result of the seed scattered by the Socialist.—The Exponent, Saginaw, Mich.

St. Louis now has an English Socialist paper. The "Missouri Socialist" made its first appearance this week, and is a bright, well-edited and neatly printed four-page weekly. Its editor is E. Val Putnam, who was the youngest delegate to the national convention of the Social Democratic party last spring. We wish the new venture the success that it merits and hope it will receive the unqualified support of the working class of Missouri.—The Toller.

The "Missouri Socialist" is the youngest of the family, a family, by the way, that is growing at an astonishing rate. It is of the same size as "Public Ownership," and presents a most attractive appearance. The official organ of Local St. Louis, whose property it is, jumps into the arena with its coat of arms and declares that the 20th century shall not be allowed to pass without seeing its (the paper's) mission fulfilled. Its managing editor is Comrade E. Val Putnam, whose name is known in Socialist and trades union circles in every industrial center in the land. The first number is a corker.—Public Ownership.

The Socialists of St. Louis are determined not to let the 20th century open without helping along the movement whose consummation will be its most remarkable feature. They have added another Socialist weekly in the English language to the rapidly growing number of Socialist publications already in existence. The "Missouri Socialist," as the new arrival is called, is a four-page weekly of about the same size as this paper, of good typographical appearance, and better than all filled with straight class-conscious, revolutionary socialism from beginning to end. We welcome the coming of the "Missouri Socialist," realizing that it has a vast field to work in amongst the fourteen or fifteen million laborers who yet listen to the siren song of capitalist politicians. There is an ample harvest for the Socialist reapers, and every assistance which helps overthrow capitalism brings the social revolution, which is our common object ever nearer.—Workers' Call.

A Socialist students' club has been organized in Columbia University, N. Y. Meetings will be held fortnightly, and will consist alternately of lectures and discussions.

The New Century.

(Read by Edward Markham in New York New Year's Eve.) We stand here at the end of ninety years. And a great wonder rushes on the heart. While cities rose and blossomed into dust. While shadow lines of kings were blown to air. What was the purpose brooding on the world. Through the large leisure of the centuries?

Lo, man has laid his scepter on the stars. And sent his spell upon the continents. The heavens confess their secrets, and the stones. Silent as God, publish their mystery. Man calls the lightnings from their secret place. To crumple up the spaces of the world. And snatch the jewels from the flying rays. The white, white, smoking horses of the sea. Are startled by his thunders. The world-powers. Crowd round to be the lackeys of the king.

His hand has torn the veil of the Great Law. The law that was made before the worlds—before. That far first whisper on the ancient deep. The law that swings Arcturus on the North. And hurls the soul of man upon the way. But what avail, O builders of the world. Unless ye build a safety for the soul? Man has not harness on Leviathan. And hooks on his incorrigible jaws. And yet the perils of the street remain. Out of the whirlwind of the cities rise lean lungs and the worm of misery. The heartbreak and the cry of mortal terror.

But hark, the bugles blowing on the peaks. And hark! a murmur as of many feet. The cry of captains, the divine alarm. Look! The last Son of Time comes hurrying on. The strong young Titan of Democracy. With swinging step he takes the open road. In love with the winds that beat his hairy breast. Baring his sunburnt strength to all the world. He casts his eyes round with Julian glance. Searches the tracks of old tradition, scans. With rebel heart the books of pedagogue. Peers into the face of Privilege and cries. "Why are you halting in the path of man? Is it your shoulder bears the human load? Do you draw down the rains of the sweet heaven. And keep the green things growing? Back to hell!"

We know at last the future is secure. God is descending from eternity. And all things, good and evil, buffed the road. Yes, down in the thick of things, the men of greed. Are thumping the inhospitable clay. By wondrous tales the men without the dream. Led onward by a something unawares. Are laying the foundation of the dream. The kingdom of fraternity foretold.

The Twentieth Century.

For 400 years the human race has not made a step but what has left its plain vestige behind. We enter now upon great centuries. The sixteenth century will be known as the age of painters, the seventeenth will be termed the age of writers, the eighteenth the age of apostles and prophets. To satisfy the nineteenth century, it is necessary to be the painter of the sixteenth, the philosopher of the seventeenth, the philosopher of the eighteenth, it is also necessary, like Louis Blanc, to have the innate and holy love of humanity, which constitutes an apostolate, and opens up a prophetic vista into the future. In the twentieth century war will be dead, the scaffold will be dead, animosity will be dead, royalty will be dead, and dogmas will be dead; but man will live. For all there will be but one country; that country the whole earth; for all there will be but one hope—that hope the whole heaven.

All hail, then, to that noble twentieth century, which shall own our children and which our children shall inherit. The great question of the day is the question of labor. The political question is solved. The republic is made, and nothing can unmake it. The social question remains. Terrible as it is, it is quite simple. It is a question between those who have and those who have not. The latter of these two classes must disappear, and for this there is work enough. Think a moment! Man is beginning to be master of the earth. If you want to cut through an isthmus, you have Loayses. If you want to create a sea, you have a Roudaire. Look you, there is a people and there is a world, and yet the people have no inheritance and the world is a desert. Give them some other, and you make them happy at once. Adornish the universe, my heroes deeds that are better than wars. Drive the world into co-operation. No, it is yours already. It is the property of civilization. It is already waiting for you, no one disputes your title. Have faith then, and let us feel the our humanity as citizens, our fraternity as men, our liberty in intellectual power. Let us love not only those who love us, but those who love us not. Let us learn to which to benefit all men. Their sorrows will be changed, truth will jump ahead, the beautiful will arise, the supreme law will be fulfilled, and the world shall enter upon a peaceful state. I say, therefore, happy folk! Labor ye hard, and struggle ye hard!—Luther Hugo.

MAN AND MACHINE

Robert G. Ingersoll's Eloquent Arraignment of the Present Social System.

Invention has filled the world with competitors not only of labor but of mechanics—mechanics of the highest skill. To-day the ordinary laborer is for the most part of a cog in a wheel. He works with the tireless—he feels the insatiable. When the monster stops the man is out of employment—out of bread. He has not saved anything. The machine that he fed was not feeding him—the invention was not for his benefit.

The other day I heard a man say that it was impossible for thousands of good mechanics to get employment, and that in his judgment, the government ought to furnish work for the people. A few minutes after I heard another say that he was selling a patent for cutting out clothes—that one of the machines could do the work of twenty tailors, that only the week before he had sold two to a great house in New York and that forty cutters had been discharged.

On every side men are being discharged and machines are being invented to take their places. When the great factory shuts down the workers who inhabit it—add give it life, as thoughts do the brain, go away, and it stands there like an empty skull. A few workmen by force of habit gather about the closed doors and broken windows and talk about distress, the price of food and the coming winter. They are convinced that they have not had their share of what their labor created. They feel certain that the machines inside were not their friends. They look at the mansion of the employer, and think of the place where they live. They have saved nothing—nothing but themselves. The employer seems to have enough. Even when employers fail, when they become bankrupt, they are far better off than the laborers ever were. Their worst is better than the toilers' best.

The capitalist comes forward with his specific. He tells the workman that he must be economical—and yet under the present system, economy would only lessen wages. Under the great law of supply and demand, every saving, frugal, self-denying workman is unconsciously doing what he can to reduce the compensation of himself and his fellows. The slaves who did not wish to run away helped fasten chains on those who did. So the saving mechanic is a certificate that the wages are high enough. Does the great law demand that every worker should live on the least possible amount of bread? Is it his fate to work one day that he may get enough food to be able to work another? Is that to be his hope, that and—death?

Capital has always claimed, and still claims, the right to combine. Manufacturers meet and determine prices, even in spite of the great law of supply and demand. Have the workers the same right to consult and combine? The rich meet in the bank, clubhouse or parlor. Workingmen, when they combine, gather in the street. All the organized forces of society are against them. Capital has the army and navy, the legislature, the judicial and executive departments. When the rich combine it is for the purpose of "exchanging ideas." When the poor combine it is a "conspiracy." If they defend themselves it is "treason." How is it that the rich control the departments of the government? In this country the political power is equally divided among men. There are certainly more poor than rich. Why should the rich control? Why should not the laborers combine for the purpose of controlling the executive, the legislative and judicial departments? Will they ever find how powerful they are? A cry comes from the oppressed, the hungry, from the down-trodden, from the unfortunate, from the desisted, from the men who despair, and from women who weep. There are times when men will become revolutionists—when a rag becomes a banner, under which the noblest and bravest battle for the right.

How are we to settle the unequal contest between man and machine? Will the machine go into partnership with the laborer? Can these forces of nature be controlled for the benefit of her suffering children? Will extravagance keep pace with ingenuity? Will workmen become intelligent enough and strong enough to become the owners of machines? Will these giants, these Titans, shorten or lengthen the hours of labor? Is man involved in the "general scheme" of things? Is there no pity, no mercy? Can man become intelligent enough to be generous, to be just; or does the same law or fact control him that controls the animal or vegetable world? The great oak steals the sunlight from the small trees, the strong animals devour the weak—crying at the mercy of beak and claw, and hoof, and tooth—of hand and claw, of brain and greed—inequality, injustice everywhere. The poor horse standing in the street with his dray, overworked, overwhipped and undeterred, when he sees other horses groomed like mirrors, glittering with gold and silver, scorning with proud feet the very earth, probably indulges in the usual scintillating reflections, that this same horse does when worn out and old, deserted by its master, turned into the dusty road, he leans his head on the topmost rail, looks at donkeys in a field of clover and feels like a nihilist.

In the days of cannibalism the strong devoured the weak—actually ate their flesh. In spite of all the laws that man has made, in spite of all advances in science, the strong, the heartless still live on the weak, the unfortunate and the foolish. True, they do not eat their flesh or drink their blood, but they live on their labor, their self denial, their weakness and want. The poor man who deforms himself by toil, who labors for his wife and children through all his anxious, barren, wasted life—who goes to his grave without ever having one luxury—has been the fool of others. He has been devoured by his fellow men. The poor woman, living in the bare and lonely room, cheerful and fireless, sewing night and day to keep starvation from a child, is slowly being eaten by her fellowmen. When I take into consideration the agony of a vilified life—the failures, the anxieties, the tears, the withered hopes, the bitter realities, the hunger, the crime, humiliation, the shame—I am almost forced to say that cannibalism, after all, is the most merciful form in which man has lived upon his fellow man.

It is impossible for a man with a good heart to be satisfied with this world as it now is. No man can truly enjoy even what he has, when he knows that millions of his fellow men are in misery and want. When we think of the famished we feel that it is almost heartless to eat. To meet the ragged and shivering makes one almost ashamed to be well dressed and warm—one feels as though his heart was as cold as their bodies.

In a world filled with millions and millions of acres of land waiting to be filled, where one man can raise the food of hundreds, millions are on the edge of famine. Who can comprehend the stupidity at the bottom of this truth?

Are the laws of "supply and demand," invention and science, monopoly and competition, capital and legislation, always to be the enemies of those who toil? Will the workers always be ignorant enough to give their earnings to the useless? Will they support millions of soldiers to kill the sons of other workingmen? Will they, always build temples and live in huts and desecrate themselves? Will they forever allow parasites and vampires to live upon their blood? Will they remain the slaves of the beggars they support? Will honest men stop taking off their hats to successful fraud? Will industry, in the presence of crowned idleness, forever fall upon its knees, and will the lips unstained by lies forever kiss the robber's hand?

CORRESPONDENCE.

The Public Welfare Commission.

Editor, Missouri Socialist. In to-day's issue of the Globe-Democrat I notice a comment on the public welfare commission recently organized—whose duty it will be to study the needs of the city, make recommendations and shape public opinion. The writer demands publicity and writes reasons for every action. This is well. The S. D. P. being the third party in the city and as the voters must finally decide what is or what is not for the public welfare, it behooves Social Democrats more than ever to do some recommending of their own. Not that we have been lax in fulfilling our duty, or secret, for the Socialists are always campaigning and always in the open; but I suggest that we strike in higher places than heretofore. The public welfare commission is not too high for us. Why should we not advise them of the Socialist's doctrine? If the citizens are to see, hear, and know it all, the Socialist platform must be included, because it goes to the root of our ills. It starts at the bottom. Will the "commission" do likewise? We know they will not. They are destroyers of clean-up boys now on account of the World's Fair, so as to draw more people here and increase their profits. Heretofore they were so busy chasing the dollar they didn't know we had an election. And now in one election, and only a few months left for educational work, they propose to accomplish what it has taken more advanced cities than St. Louis ten and twenty years to do by striking at the base and ignoring the cause.

Workingmen should be cautioned against approving measures that tend to the interest of their masters. Of course, all Socialists desire clean streets and an honest municipal administration, but they also want the full product of their labor, the abolition of wage slavery and its accompanying effects. They want to abolish a system of which "Ashley Buildings," "sweet shops," and child labor are some of the glorious results. Socialists will continue to fight for the whole loaf and let the temporary moral spell of the profit-takers wear itself away. In conclusion, I wish success to Missouri Socialist and its editor and to the "boys." Keep on grinding. Fraternally yours, OTTO VIERLING.

Triumph of Labor.

Children of labor, the day dawned breaking. The day when the despots can plunder no more. See in all lands, how the people are waking. Rejoice for the night of oppression is over! Children of labor, the day dawned o'er us. Shall know only justice and full liberty. Shout, for the law shall no more stand before us. But all live like brothers in true equity. —Gluck.

If you wish to organize a Local write to A. L. Stone, State Secretary, Room 7, 22 N. 4th street, St. Louis, Mo.



# A FAIR WORLD MAYOR.

A Campaign Pamphlet by Leon Greenbaum.

Author of the Last Days of the Nineteenth Century and Formerly Editor of the Review of Reforms. Lecturer in the Trade Union movement and candidate of the Social-Democratic Party for Mayor of St. Louis.

I have gone on a strike against capitalist political parties. A capitalist political party is one that is controlled by capitalists; that makes laws and administers government in the interest of the capitalist class. A capitalist political party is one that elects men to office, who use the Federal troops, State militia, police, Federal judges, sheriffs, possemen and Pinkertons, to protect the capitalist class, while they steal 86 per cent of the wealth produced by the working class. A leopard may be recognized by its spots. So with the Republican and Democratic parties. Federal injunctions are issued by Democratic judges and "publican judges. Federal troops are used against the working class by Democratic Presidents and Republican Presidents. Militia, possem, police and marshals are used by Democratic and Republican Governors, sheriffs and mayors to protect the capitalist class, in possession of the wealth which they have stolen from the working class. Beware of so-called "independent reform parties" with attractive propositions for fooling the workers. They will offer us municipal ownership, direct legislation, merit system and anything to get into office, but they won't promise to give up their profit making system; nor abolish the private ownership of capital or capitalist class rule, both of which are the cause of the working class.

All independent reform parties are new capitalist political schemes for fooling the workers. These independent reform parties are never brought forward by the capitalist class until the Democratic and Republican parties make so much profit out of political power that they both give the snap away. This is, they are both in politics for all the profit there is in it, just as a capitalist is in business for his profits.

When the workers get the green extracted from their eyes, the capitalist class pretend to get very angry at their Republican and Democratic stool pigeons, and with many professions of purity they bring forward their independent reform decoy duck. If the independent, business men's, citizen's civic federation, reform or whatever you call it party gets into power and carries out every measure in its platform, it will not improve the condition of the working class. All of these quack administrations have been tried in Glasgow, Birmingham, Detroit, Toledo and many other places, and in all of these cities the working class are just as poorly off comparatively as in Chicago, New York and Philadelphia, where these virtuous capitalist parties have not yet had their turn.

If the public improve the schools, streets, sewers and lights, by raising heavy taxes on worker and capitalist alike, the capitalist class raise their rents and prices on houses, groceries, dry goods, shoes, etc., to cover increased taxes and something besides.

The working class pay their own taxes and also the taxes of the capitalist class in increased rent and prices. The working class have to move into cheaper and lower quarters to meet increased expenses. If the working class seek to protect themselves by demanding increased wages, the capitalists will say, "Instead of asking for more wages, you ought to work for less. Ain't street car fares less? Hasn't the price of gas been cut? You don't have to pay for school books now, do you? You can live for less. I have to pay bigger taxes for your sake. I must reduce your wages 25 per cent." And thus the net result of a quack reform party is better living and increased income of the capitalist class and poorer living and lower wages for the working class. The trouble with the decoy political party is that it is only in favor of abolishing private ownership in a few utilities, leaving the people at the mercy of the private owners of other capital. In order to rescue the people from the clutches of the capitalist class, we must have public ownership of land, houses, groceries, dry goods, shoes, etc., and all other capital. Then the private capitalist will no longer squeeze us with his profit system.

The public will be its own capitalist. It won't squeeze itself. It will just hug itself for joy.

It's the only way out. "A business administration" is the campaign yell of the decoy capitalist party. What does "business" stand for, if not for profits, skinning the people and making all the money you can? After using the city government to obtain privileges by which they can skin the people out of millions, the capitalists cry for a "business administration," so that the city government won't be used to skin them. By a "business administration" they mean one that won't be used for the private profit of the political party in power. They want a business administration because it's "business" to buy labor as cheap as possible and work it long hours. The capitalist class want the profits themselves in the form of rent, streets, sewers, lights, etc., all of which increase the valuation of the property and interests of the capitalist class. While I am in favor of great municipal improvements, the cry of a "business administration" is merely a capitalist class issue, meaningless in results to or relief of the working class.

If the workers are out of jobs, "look at the good streets!"

If their families are in need, "look at our fine boulevards!"

If they hide their wretchedness, "look at our lighting system!"

If a starving man steal a loaf of bread, "look at our police force!"

If the workers die in want, look at our potters field!"

I am utterly opposed to business administrations. I am in favor of a working class administration and therefore I am a Socialist.

What is Socialism?

ANARCHY. A Socialist is not an anarchist. An anarchist does not believe in any form of government. A Socialist believes in the perfection of government.

SOCIALISM does not mean anarchy. The Encyclopaedia Britannica says, "The ethics of Socialism are akin to the ethics of Christianity."

Webster's Dictionary says, "Socialism is a theory of society that advocates a more precise, orderly and harmonious arrangement of the social relations of mankind than that which has hitherto prevailed." Look up Socialism in any dictionary.

LIVELY UP. Socialists do not believe in dividing up equal. They never proposed anything so absurd. The public ownership of waterworks is an example of Socialism. Does the city divide the water equally among each man, woman and child? The public library is an example of Socialism. Does the city divide the books equally among the people? Under Socialism, we would have public ownership and private use. This is what you have under public ownership of waterworks, library, fire department, schools, etc. Read up on Socialism.

SOCIALISM means the public ownership and operation of all the means of production and distribution. It means, among other things, public ownership of industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines; all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all waterworks, gas and electric plants; all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal and other mines and all oil and gas wells.

SOCIALISM means abolition of the private ownership of capital and of wage slavery. Abolition of competition for bread, men against each other, women against men, children against women, and machinery against all. It means abolition of sweatshops, convict labor, child labor, coolie labor, scab labor, blacklisting, government by injunction, regulars, militia, Pinkertons, possem, police and marshals.

CORRUPT GOVERNMENT could not exist under Socialism. The school system, park system, fire department, post office, etc., are examples of public ownership. The St. Louis Transit Company is an example of private ownership. Which is most corrupt?

DESPOTIISM could not exist under Socialism.

Socialism includes the initiative and referendum, proportional representation and right of recall of representatives by the voters. Do you know what these things mean? Read up about Switzerland and New Zealand.

SOCIALISM IS COMING. Don't say it is far off. It is almost here. The private ownership of capital has already been abolished among the masses. The masses have attended to that. The masses are now crying for the abolition of the private ownership of capital by the trusts. This will result in social ownership of capital by the public. And that is Socialism. Twelve per cent of the people of this country own 86 per cent of the capital. This means that the private ownership of capital has been abolished among 88 per cent of the people.

HURRY IT ALONG. If you believe in Socialism, vote for it. It will never come any other way. Vote for the platform and candidates of the Social Democratic Party. That is the party which stands uncompromisingly for Socialism. Refuse to vote for the palliatives, the halfway measures of the decoy capitalist political parties. Don't use a hand shovel to remove a big pile of dirt, when you might as well save time and labor by using a steam shovel.

YOUR CONSCIENCE will rebel if you continue to vote against the interests of yourself, your family and your class, the brotherhood of workers. A vote for a capitalist party is a vote for robbery of the working class.

Is this unionism? Vote for the interests of the working class. Be a conscientious Socialist.

STRIKES are unknown among letter carriers, firemen, railway mail service men, police, engineers, postmasters, judges, clerks, janitors and other public employees. They get good wages. How would you like to work for the public? Strikes, lockouts and boycotts would never be heard of. Vote for what you want.

A Fair World Mayor.

The World's Fair means big profits for the capitalist class, through increase of rents, prices on necessities of life and increased valuation of the vestal interests of the capitalist class. The working class will put up the whole show with their labor, and be paid as little in wages as the capitalist class can compel them to accept. When the show is over the capitalist class will have all of the profits and the working class all of the poverty.

The World's Fair will provide an escape valve of employment for a few months, but with labor coming from all quarters, the supply will be greater than the demand. The "World's Fair Mayor" is the latest big issue in capitalist political circles. They are trying to fool the workers. In order to fill the bill he must be an aristocrat—a millionaire preferred—who can buy his way into popularity and office; well read, polished and tactful; to make careful speeches to the envoys of the benighted and despotic courts of Europe, Asia and Africa. While the idle working class who wrought the World's

## SOCIALISM INEVITABLE

Socialism has Passed the Stage of Dreams and Entered Upon that of Scientific Fact.

By Wm. Edlin of the Haverhill Social Democrat.

The appearance of the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" by Marx and Engels in 1848, marks an important epoch in the history of the Socialist movement. Considered as a Utopia before, Socialism now became a science. It no longer appealed to the moral sentiments and altruistic motives of the people, but to the brains and self-interest of that class which suffered most under existing conditions—the working class. Socialism dropped its sentimental and philanthropic mantle and assumed the garb of the class struggle. Since then Socialism has become a class movement.

To the modern Socialist, all socialistic and communistic theories, previous to 1848, are more or less Utopian. The Marxist fully appreciates the labors of such men as Owen, Fourier, Cabet, and many others like them, in so far as they were excellent critics of capitalist society. But their positive philosophy and all practical measures proposed by them were of a Utopian character. There is a slight difference between Moore's "Utopia," Fourier's "Phalansteries," Bacon's "New Atlantis," Cabet's "Icaria," the somewhat religious Socialism of Saint Simon and many others. Their "ism" are chimeras springing from fantastic minds. To all of these authors Socialism was an ideal, which could be more or less realized when all mankind were inspired by the beauty and grandeur of that ideal. The Socialists of the first half of this century, who dreamed of realizing their ideals relied only on the moral sentiments and emotions of the people. They had faith in the altruistic motives of mankind. They were idealists pure and simple. But not so with the modern Socialists. The modern Socialists—mostly Marxists—are far from being "illusionists," as they are often called. They are not dreamers, but class-conscious workmen, with a definite program based on historical facts, scientific truths and clear observations of the tendency of the development of our present industrial forces.

What is the essential difference between Utopian and modern Socialism? In the first is implied a lofty ideal; in the second, a science. Utopian Socialism is simply an enterprise in the mind of a certain individual, to reconstruct society according to his ideal. It appeals to the heart, goodness and brotherly love of all men, and not until all men become emotional and good and are inspired by brotherly love does the Utopian Socialist hope to realize his ideal. Modern Socialism is a theory of social organization, which must soon be realized, as the inevitable result of the present industrial development and consequence of the class struggle which originated in our present mode of production and distribution—the capitalist system. Modern Socialism does not appeal to the hearts and emotions of men, but to their brains and self-interest. It does not appeal to all men, but to the working class. The movement of modern Socialism represents only the working class, not all classes. In short, it is a class movement which voices the interests, hence the ideals and aspirations of only the working class. Modern Socialism was not invented by either Marx nor Engels, nor by any one else. It was only pointed out as the next inevitable stage of society by Marx and Engels, who as scientists and far-sighted thinkers, discovered in existing economic development the elements—the class struggle—which must finally result in the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

There is another essential difference between Utopian and modern Socialism. Utopian and modern Socialism had the same aim, as if only "man" had the say in matters relating to the social organization. This fallacious conception of the forces governing history naturally follows from their Utopianism, or, it may be the other way, that their Utopianism follows their false conception of the forces at work in human society. But modern Socialism recognizes forces at work in human society against which "man" is powerless. These forces are material and economic. Man always fits himself and his institutions to the progress of economic development, and all the laws, constitutions, morals, manners, etc., which prevail at a certain time, are only the reflex of the material and economic conditions. As the economic conditions of society change, so also change our principles, constitutions, laws, morals, etc. The history of mankind is not shaped in accordance with the ideals of man, but is shaped in accordance with the economic development.

For instance, one will often hear a Utopian Socialist (a few abound to-day) shout at the top of his voice that there are no classes and that "Socialism" (this kind of Socialism) recognizes no classes. To this the modern Socialist answers that it is beyond the power of "man" to create economic classes at his will; that if classes do exist, they are the result of certain material conditions existing at that stage of human development and that Socialism must recognize everything that is. It is by no means "man" who controls these material conditions. Just the opposite. It is the conditions and environment of men that control their actions and mould their lives. Modern Socialists, therefore, say that classes DO exist as the result of the material conditions prevailing at present.

The bulk of the working class does not as yet know that it is a class with interests diametrically opposed to the interests of the capitalists. In the present as in the past, the enslaved class does not become class-conscious until the society in which it is a class, has worn reaches the highest stage of development. Then only does

## Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

Owing to the big increase in its membership, the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union has been compelled to look for larger quarters, and has secured a five-year lease on the large hall at the northwest corner of 22d and Franklin ave. The hall has been handsomely furnished in the most modern style and is now ready for use. Three adjoining rooms have also been furnished and one of these will be used as an office for a business agent, soon to be chosen by the union. The wonderful progress made by this union of late is attested by its members to a system of high dues, its sick and death benefits adopted by the last convention, and the discarding of the old method of strikes for arbitration in the settlement of all disputes.

The demand for the union stamp which is used in all union factories, is constantly growing, and the future of the Shoe Workers' Union seems very bright.

Socialists of Oklahoma met in convention at Guthrie on December 25th. Sixty-six delegates were present. The name "Socialist Party" was adopted and a general plan of organization was drafted.

the enslaved class become conscious of its existence as a class (as a separate social organism), and also of its mission in history.

It is a capitalist society we are living in to-day. Capitalist laws, capitalist morals, capitalist manners, capitalist conception of what is right and wrong, just and unjust, good and bad, etc., etc.—everything in society is tinged with capitalism. When people speak of the welfare of the social organism, they mean, consciously or unconsciously, the welfare of the capitalist class. The workingmen, so long as they are unconscious of their class interest, adopt the capitalist laws, morals, manners, customs, etc., as their own. It is only when the ruling capitalist class is about to be destroyed by the powers it alone helped to develop, when the old social organism—capitalist society—is about to die that things present a different aspect. Then the bulk of the population is gathered in the class of workmen, who begin to look upon themselves as members of a different society—the working class—with laws, manners, customs, morals, principles, conceptions, etc., which are different from those of the old society of capitalism.

Thus we have at present two different societies with different institutions, laws, manners, etc., the result of certain material conditions surrounding these societies. One is that of capitalism, in which we lived for the last generation, which has now divested its usefulness and is dying. The other, that of Socialism, which is rapidly replacing the former as the result of the bitter conflict between the two. And Socialism is inevitable because of this struggle!

Modern (scientific) Socialism is based on the materialistic philosophy. The Socialist's conception of the universe is the materialist conception. Hence the uncompromising stand taken by the modern Socialists. It is for this reason that the Social Democratic Party of the United States of America opposes all Utopian schemes of remedying the existing social evils. The tactics of the Social Democratic Party are based upon the incontrovertible truths of modern Socialism, and it is only this party that is thoroughly capable of leading the workers to their final emancipation.

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## American Items.

The Alpena, Mich., trades' council has declared for Socialism.

The cigarmakers' union gained 6,000 new members during the past year.

Socialists of Nashua, N. H., will start a Socialist weekly in the French language.

A Chicago man has invented a machine for digging ditches that will save the labor of 150 men.

The National Building Trades Council will hold its annual convention in Cincinnati, January 13.

Comrade Chas. H. Vail has been engaged by the N. E. C. as national organizer for a term of one year.

The Socialist Party of Chicago has 978 members and is organized in thirty-four out of thirty-five wards.

F. G. R. Gordon spoke in the Second Congregational Church of Manchester, N. H., on "Municipal Ownership."

The Social Democratic Party of Cleveland, O., will hold a public meeting each Sunday afternoon during the winter.

Prof. George D. Herron will deliver a series of twelve lectures in Chicago on "The Economics of the Kingdom of Heaven."

Business failures in the United States for the week ending January 11th number 322, says Bradstreet's. Last week there were 268.

The Social Democratic Party of New Jersey held its state convention in Jersey City on January 1st and nominated Chas. H. Vail for governor.

Local Eric has nominated Comrades Leonard D. Abbott, of New York, and A. M. Simons, of Chicago, for members of the International Socialist Bureau.

There are more tramps and paupers in the United States to-day than there were men, women and children in the original thirteen colonies at the time of the Revolutionary War—Eric People.

There are now 32,000 sweatshops in New York in which clothing is made. The average worker in one of these shops earns from \$1.50 to \$3.00 per week and toils a hundred hours per week in the busy season.

The international jury of the Paris exposition awarded the grand prize of honor to the American Federation of Labor for its exhibit of trade union objects and methods in the department of education and social economy.

The American Window Glass Workers' Association has voted an assessment of one-half of 1 per cent of the weekly earnings of the members to aid the striking window glass workers in Belgium. The assessment will yield \$900 a week.

A movement is now on foot to amalgamate all the metal workers of the United States into one central body. This will include all the iron and steel workers, machinists and kindred trades, with a membership of 400,000 or 500,000.

The next convention of the United Mine Workers will, in all probability, be the largest delegate meeting of organized labor ever convened in the United States. The convention will open in Tomlinson Hall, Indianapolis, on January 21st.

There is a peculiar strike on in Lyons, Ga. Lately the people of the town voted to issue bonds for the purpose of building a school house for white children only. Because they will be taxed to pay the interest and

principal of these bonds from which their race has no benefit, the colored washwomen have struck and decided at a meeting to do no washing for white folks until the bonds are cancelled—Exponent.

Three hours of a man's labor was required to produce a bushel of wheat in 1800; to-day the time required is only ten minutes. In the same period the cost of the labor needed to create that bushel has been reduced from 18 cents to 3 1-3 cents.

In 1892 the finest labor temple in the world was built at Paris at a cost of \$400,000. Eighty-two trades and organizations have meeting places and offices under its roof at a normal rent. The municipal council appropriates \$10,000 annually for its maintenance.

"Century starts with a hold-up," says a Tribune headline, in the issue of January 1st. Nothing particularly strange about that. The 15th century itself was one continuous hold-up of the working class. "Human nature" can't be changed in a day.—Workers' Call.

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Song of the Trust.

Said the Monster Trust: "I am born of lust,  
And a lustful horde I lead,  
My dam was Desire, and my lawless sire  
Is known by the world as Greed.  
At the hour of my birth there was sorrow on earth,  
Toil covered her face and wept,  
And Progress stood back as I rushed down the track,  
And blindefolded Justice slept.

Like a mountain of snow, I grow and grow,  
As the millionaires push me along,  
They sing at their labor and crush their neighbor  
Down under my weight with a song.  
For the little men must make way for the Trust;  
They must give us the right of way,  
It is folly to fight with a thing of such might,  
And a thing which has come to stay.

As I roll on my path I leave sorrow and wrath,  
And poverty, hunger and cold,  
But the millionaires laugh and a bumper they quaff  
To the Trust, the monster of gold.  
But they push me too fast, and the Many at last,  
The Many who curse and rave,  
Shall seize me and bind me, and lo, they shall find me  
A willing and competent slave.

Though I fatten the purses and win the curses  
Of thousands as I roll by,  
Yet time draweth near, when in love, not in fear,  
Shall the labourer look in my eye,  
For the People shall claim me and men shall rename me,  
Though born and begotten of Greed,  
I yet shall befriend them, I yet shall defend them—  
Since only God's purpose can speed.

Unions of St. Louis.  
AMERICAN AND CONTINENTAL TOBACCO CO.  
HAMILTON-BROWN SHOE CO.  
BLANKE TEA AND COFFEE CO.  
D. CRAWFORD & CO.  
ST. LOUIS COOPERAGE CO.  
WELLS-BOETTNER BAKERY CO.  
MCKINNEY BAKERY CO.  
ST. LOUIS BREWING ASSOCIATION.  
AMERICAN CAR AND FOUNDRY CO.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, Room 34, Theatre Building, Court Square, Springfield, Mass. Wm. Butcher, Nat'l Sec'y.

MISSOURI STATE COMMITTEE—Chairman, Geo. H. Turner, 307 Whitney Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.; Secretary, A. L. Stone, Room 7, 22 N. 4th St., St. Louis, Mo.

ST. LOUIS CITY CENTRAL COMMITTEE meets every Monday evening, 8 p. m., at Room 7, 22 N. 4th St.; Wm. J. Hager, Secretary, Room 7, 22 N. 4th St. Office hours, 1 p. m. to 6 p. m.

LOCAL ST. LOUIS, meets every Friday, 8 p. m., at 312 N. 12th Street. Membership dues, 25 cents per month and 10 cents additional at beginning of each quarter. Each member receives a weekly paper.

ST. LOUIS WARD BRANCHES

2ND WARD BRANCH—Sec. H. J. Steigerwalt, 112 Chambers St.

6TH WARD BRANCH—Meets every 2d Tuesday of the month, 8 p. m., at 1031 S. 12th St. Sec. Chas. Specht.

7TH AND 8TH WARD BRANCH—Meets 1st and 3d Wednesdays at Dewey Hall, 2301 S. Broadway. Sec. Fred Vierling, 1908 S. 3d St.

9TH WARD BRANCH meets 2d and 4th Tuesdays, 8 p. m., at 13th and Wyoming Sts. Sec. J. Stoll, 2543 Salena St.

10TH WARD BRANCH, meets 2d and 4th Wednesdays, 8 p. m., at South-west Turner Hall, Potomac and Ohio Av. Org.—Wm. Ruessche, 2734 Oregon Av.

12TH WARD BRANCH meets 3d Sunday of each month, 2:30 p. m., at National Hall, Dolman and Allen Av. Sec.—Wm. E. Eckart, 1211A Armstrong Av.

22ND WARD BRANCH meets every Tuesday, 8 p. m., at 2526 Locust St. Sec.—Wm. J. Hager, 2206 Locust.

KANSAS CITY CENTRAL COMMITTEE meets every Thursday night at 307 Whitney Building. Sec. J. A. Clarke, 307 Whitney Bldg. Secretaries will please send prompt notice of changes and corrections.



# THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

Whenever a Socialist mentions the fact that there exists a struggle between classes for supremacy, he is immediately attacked by the hivelings of capitalism, for the crime of "arraiding class against class."

The imbecility of the charge is so apparent to any intelligent man that it seems superfluous to enter into a discussion of the subject, but in order to clear up another point in this connection let us look the class struggle squarely in the face.

Capitalistic editors, many magazine writers and sleek economists, sycophantic beneficiaries of the balance system of industry and government keep the hypnotic machines clicking with their hypocritical gush about the absence of classes in this country.

They try to make you believe that there is always abundant opportunity for superior merit in every direction, that riches are the reward of rigid economy and thrift; that while to-day you may be skating around on your uppers in painful suspense as to the time and place of the next meal, tomorrow may find you lolling among plush cushions, nibbling delicately broiled Belgian hare and sipping Sauterne.

These fairy tales make nice holiday reading and possibly have been known to buoy up the fast flickering hope of some despairing slave who has "lost out" but you know how little truth there is in them. You know that they are cunning fables intended to jolly the poor, deluded working class into tame submission and brutal hopelessness because, under the present system, their escape from the bondage of wage-slavery into the economic freedom enjoyed by the capitalist class means the trampling of many weaker fellows under foot.

Politically human progress has always come about through the struggles of classes—the master class and the slave class—the latter, when further endurance was impossible, throwing off the yoke and making an upward stride toward true liberty; the former, master class, resisting any encroachment upon their special privileges, have ever been the chief obstruction to advancement, and as the pages of history record their overthrowing and the establishment of an order more in harmony with our ideas of justice we perceive that the revolution was the essential to progress.

But now, in the presence of the new slavery, we are sympathetic and seem not to see that this wage system of to-day must be abolished as were chattel and feudal slavery. Have appeals to the master class ever accomplished the emancipation of slaves? Did the feudal lords and slave owners in their time, "the best people"—ever fail to resist any infringements on their "rights" as such?

Why, then, do we expect the plutocrats, our economic masters, to make right the immemorial injustices, perditions, wrongs, immedicable woes, inflicted on the working class by the capitalistic method of wealth distribution?

That there are two classes is because of this system. That there is a struggle between the two classes is because that spirit of liberty which fired the patriots of '76 is awakening determined men to revolt.

That there is certainty of a glorious outcome to the revolution is because scientific Socialism has been born, and long-suffering mankind, degraded and disheartened by inhuman toil and forced idleness may safely strike the blow for economic freedom in the full knowledge that the Co-operative Commonwealth to be substituted for the present system of commercial cannibalism is as far superior to it as heaven is to hell.

—W. T. R., in Southern Socialist.

Comrade Greenbaum has been spending his evenings visiting the labor unions of this city, making them Socialist speeches and selling Socialist literature. In this way he has disposed of quite a quantity of "To What Are Trusts Leading," "The Class War in Idaho," and "Merrie Englands." Wednesday evening, January 26, he addressed Machine and Bench Woodworkers No. 2, Steam Fitters No. 23 and Glaziers, No. 128; Thursday evening, Jan. 3, Brotherhood of Railway, Carmen, Juvenile Electrical Workers, Brewers' Advisory Board and Painters' Unions No. 115 and No. 131.

Saturday evening, Jan. 5, Engineers' Union No. 2, and Stationary Firms No. 6; Sunday afternoon, Jan. 7, Hod-Carriers No. 1, Stonemasons' and Laborers No. 11, Monday, Jan. 8th, Gas Fitters No. 89, and Tobacco Workers No. 5.

Editor Missouri Socialist:  
I have read the first number of Missouri Socialist. Allow me to offer my sincere congratulations to you for the health, spirit, aims and compactness of the paper. You have begun the best thing. Success is sure, and whatever I can do for its betterment I am your most humble servant.

Socialism is the pivot of human salvation. I am in the work heart and soul. I have introduced this truth into my church and am delivering lectures as often as I can.

REV. T. D. RHYS.  
Bever, Mo.

Comrade R. C. Y. Brown, of Ozark, Mo., writes: "Ozark Local, S. D. P., has twenty-two members, all very enthusiastic and anxious to see the great day come when Socialism shall be installed and the principles of truth and brotherly love be established. We are doing sufficient work to cause comment on the streets, and the capitalist parties give us a 'cussing' occasionally. We have taken into our organization since the election four Republicans who voted the Republican ticket and three Democrats who voted the Democratic ticket. There are others who are ready to come in as soon as we can make arrangements for another meeting."

Your paper is one to be proud of.  
—C. R. Martin, Tiffin, Ohio.

# The Missouri "Gang."

Comrade Berghem turned in eleven subs. this week.

Local Poplar Bluff is preparing to put up a municipal ticket.

Comrade Wilcox is preparing to organize a local at Burlington Junction.

Comrade Peabody raised thirteen dollars on his list before the paper started.

Comrade O'Hare took three five subscriptions and has disposed of nearly all of them.

Comrade Van Rutsche takes a walk every Sunday morning in search of subscribers.

Send in that list of subscribers. Keep on moving. Be constantly doing something for the cause.

Buy a bunch of our subscription cards. Yearly fifty cents, half-yearly twenty-five cents. They are very handy.

Enclosed find my subscription to "Missouri Socialist." It is a neat little red-hot paper.—W. D. Hart, Pleasant Hill, Mo.

Comrade Murphy invaded East St. Louis with a bundle of No. 1. He is after the Central Labor Union of that city just now.

The secretary of Local St. Louis, Wm. J. Hager, can be found at headquarters, Room 7, 22 N. 4th st., every afternoon, except Sunday, from one to six p. m.

One of Comrade Kober's subscribers said to him: "That one editorial on the P.-D.'s charity dinner is worth the fifty cents I have paid for my subscription."

Local Sedalia expects to cut some ice in the coming municipal election. It is composed largely of active trade unionists, and therefore the expectations are not without good foundation.

The state committee has sent out copies of a draft of a State constitution for a referendum vote of the members. Locals should see that the members vote at once and the secretaries should return all ballots to the State Secretary as soon as filled out.

A. W. Dyer, Lamar, Mo. The baby Local of the S. D. P. sends New Year greetings to the comrades throughout the land. May they bury the corpse of commercialism before the middle of the present century so deep that it will never hear Gabriel's horn. Local Lamar was born at 12:10 a. m. January 1st, 1901.

The "Pleasant Hill Local" has granted the S. D. P. Local at that point (Pleasant Hill, Mo.) the privilege of using one column of its space each week to advocate Socialism. The column is edited by Comrade W. D. Hart and from its make-up we are led to believe many converts will be made through it.

At its regular meeting on January 3th, Local St. Louis elected the following officers: Chairman, Richard Murphy; Secretary, Wm. J. Hager; Organizer, Leon Greenbaum; Treasurer, S. G. Gelbart; Literature Agent, L. E. Hildebrand. It was decided that the Secretary should spend half his time at headquarters and should receive a regular weekly salary until after the election.

ACROSS THE WATERS.

The Socialist party in Bavaria has been holding a congress.

Seven members of the Polish Socialist party have been sentenced to death.

At Marburg, Austria, all the Socialist candidates for the municipal council were elected.

The Socialists have gained seats in the municipal councils of Dessau, Frankfurt and Frankhausen, Germany.

Twenty-one thousand six hundred women are now engaged in the pottery factories of England as laborers and last year 1878 were the victims of lead poisoning.

The editor of the Socialist paper at Bremen has been sentenced to three months' imprisonment for criticizing the senate (i. e. the ruling body of that town, which is one of the old Hanse-towns).

At Carmaux, France, the Socialist, Calvignac, has been re-elected Mayor. Five years ago he was sentenced to five years' deprivation of his political rights, and he had therefore to vacate his office as Mayor. The Socialist who was elected in his place, however, resigned in his favor as soon as Calvignac was again eligible.

A correspondent reviewing the organized labor situation in Austria writes that the Social Democrats are doing nearly all the unionizing so that unionism and social democracy are practically interchangeable terms. The Christian Socialists and German Nationalists claim a few adherents in labor bodies, but probably nearly 90 per cent march in the ranks of the Social Democrats. The latter are well represented in the newspaper press, publishing 34 political and 27 trade papers. Exponent.

# MUNICIPAL TICKET

Social Democratic Party of St. Louis.

For Mayor.....Leon Greenbaum  
For Comptroller.....Wm. M. Braudt  
For Auditor.....M. Ballard Dunn  
For Treasurer.....Leonhard Stoll  
For Register.....C. R. Davis  
For Collector.....John Mueller  
or Inspector of Weights and Measures.....Johannes Rudolph  
For Marshall.....John C. Lyons  
For President of Board of Assessors.....G. A. Hoehn

For President of Board of Public Improvements.....Bernard McCaffery  
For President of the City Council.....John Zach  
For Members of the City Council:  
WM. HAGER, H. STRICKHOFF,  
S. G. GELBART, H. P. NELSON,  
PHIL MUELLER, JOHN GOEDEKER

For Members of the Board of Education:  
HENRY MAACK,  
GEORGE GRUND,  
DR. L. H. DAVIS,  
H. J. STEIGERWALT.

# Municipal Platform.

Adopted December 2d, 1900.

The Social Democratic party of St. Louis, in convention assembled, reaffirms its allegiance to the revolutionary principles of International Socialism and declares the supreme political issue in America to-day to be the contest between the working class and the capitalist class for the possession of the power of government. The party affirms its purpose to use those powers, once achieved, to destroy wage slavery, abolish the institution of private property in the means of production, and establish the Co-operative Commonwealth.

In the United States, as in all other civilized countries, the natural order of economic development has separated society into two antagonistic classes—the capitalists, a comparatively small class, the possessors of all the modern means of production and distribution (land, mines, machinery and means of transportation, and communication), and the large and ever-increasing class of wage-workers possessing no means of production.

The evil effects of the private ownership and operation of the means of production and distribution are intensified by the recurring industrial crises continually rendering the existence of the greater part of the population more precarious and uncertain, which amply proves that the modern means of production have outgrown the existing social order based on production for profit.

Human energy and natural resources are wasted for individual gain. Ignorance is fostered that wage slavery may be perpetuated. Science and invention are perverted to the exploitation of men and children. The lives and liberties of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit. Wars are fomented between nations; indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged; the destruction of whole races is sanctioned in order that the capitalist class may extend its commercial dominion abroad and enhance its supremacy at home.

The notorious corruption and inefficiency so prevalent in the administration of this and other large cities are the logical fruit of capitalism. The working class has no interest in common with what are designated "Business Men's" tickets or "Good Government" parties. They should not be deluded by promises of clean streets, while their wives and children are in hunger and want.

The introduction of a new and higher order of society is the historic mission of the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflict, are interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the means of production. We therefore, charge that in this country the Democratic, Republican and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production are alike the tools of the capitalist class.

The working class cannot, however, act as a class in its struggle against the collective power of the capitalist class except by constituting itself into a political party, distinct and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied class.

We, therefore, call upon the wage-workers of St. Louis, without distinction of color, race or sex, and upon all citizens in sympathy with the historic mission of the working class, to organize under the banner of the Social Democratic party, as a party truly representing the interests of the toiling mass, and uncompromisingly waging war upon the exploiting class, until the system of wage slavery shall be abolished and the co-operative commonwealth shall be established.

While we recognize that it is not in the power of the municipality to restore to the people all of their rights, we are fully conscious that the municipality can, and should place at the disposal of the people and of civilization every power that it possesses, to the end that no further injustice be done, and that mankind may be permitted to continue to progress to a greater and nobler life; therefore we demand:

1. Such amendments to the city charter as are necessary to enable the people to elect a municipal program in accordance with the principles of the Social Democratic Party.

2. Adoption of the principles of the initiative and referendum, and proportional representation. All officers to be subject to recall by their constituents.

3. Public ownership and operation of street railways and gas and electric light plants.

4. Public construction, ownership and operation of all subways and underground conduits and all overhead

wires to be removed and placed therein.

5. Public ownership and operation of brick yards, stone yards and asphalt plants.

6. Public ownership and operation of Eads and Merchants bridge for the erection of a free municipal bridge across the Mississippi River.

7. Substitution of public ownership and operation for private ownership wherever feasible through the exercise of municipal power.

8. Construction and operation of free municipal hospitals, foundlings and orphan's homes, homes for abandoned women, a modern insane asylum adequate to the needs of St. Louis, and homes for the aged, crippled and disabled poor.

9. Establishment and maintenance of modern public lodging houses as resting places for the poor instead of police stations.

10. Erection of a suitable building for the Public Library.

11. Abolition of the contract system on all public work. Street sprinkling, sweeping, removal of garbage, dead animals, etc., to be performed by the city with its own outfits and by its own employees.

12. Classified civil service; all appointments and promotions to be based upon merit and not for political reasons.

13. On all municipal work an eight-hour workday, with a minimum wage of two dollars per day, and the union scale of wages and union conditions to govern on all public work.

All the powers and influence of the municipal administration to be used in support of the principles of organized labor.

14. The inauguration of great public works by the city whenever necessary to provide a livelihood for unemployed workmen.

15. Prohibition of child labor under seventeen years; compulsory education; the municipality to furnish free books, meals and clothing when necessary.

16. Establishment of a Municipal Labor Bureau.

17. Inspection of factories and workshops with reference to health and safety of the workers. Suppression of the so-called sweating system.

18. Rigid system of food, milk and dairy inspection.

19. Establishment and maintenance of public bath houses.

20. Public ownership and operation of laundries.

FOR GENERAL VOTE.

Springfield, Mass., Dec. 29, 1900.  
Comrades:—The National Executive Committee has received a number of resolutions on the subject of unity from various locals of the party, and it now becomes our duty to submit the positions contained in the same to a general vote of the members in accordance with the provisions of our constitution. The resolutions referred to are partly original and partly indorse those coming from Boston, Chicago, and other locals and those adopted by locals Seattle, Wash., and Saginaw, Mich.

In order to give the membership an opportunity to pass on all questions involved in the said resolutions, we hereby summarize them in the following:

Vote "Yes" or "No" on each of the following questions:  
Question 1. Shall a National Convention of the Socialists of the United States for the purpose of effecting a union of Socialist forces and establishing a solid party organization be called for an early date?

Question 2. Shall all locals of the Social Democratic Party affiliated with the Springfield N. E. C. be invited to participate in such convention?

Question 3. Shall all branches of the S. D. P. affiliated with the Chicago N. E. C. be invited to participate in such convention?

Question 4. Shall all sections of the Socialist Labor Party be invited to participate in such convention?

Question 5. Shall all Socialist state organizations not affiliated with any national committee be invited to participate in such convention?

Question 6. Shall all other Socialist organizations recognizing the class struggle and the necessity of independent political action of the working class be invited to participate in the convention?

Question 7. Shall the basis of representation for all such organizations be one delegate for each local organization and one additional delegate for each one hundred members or major fraction thereof?

Question 8. Shall two or more organizations be permitted to co-operate for the purpose of sending delegates on the above basis?

Question 9. In what city shall the convention be held? Name city.

Question 10. Shall the N. E. C. be authorized to fix the date and change the place and basis of representation of the convention in conjunction with the Chicago N. E. C. or any state organization if requested by such organization?

Respectfully submitted,  
THE PROVISIONAL N. E. C.,  
WM. BUTSCHER, Secretary.

P. S.—Any person or organization can have copies of the above by applying to the National Secretary, Court Square, Springfield, Mass.

The German Workingmen's Educational Society, organized recently, will meet at Dewey Hall, Sunday, January 13, 2 p. m. The principal features of the new organization, which is a very progressive body, are semi-monthly discussions on political and economic questions, the study of the English language and an employment bureau.

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Master Voney, a weakly boy, learned the science of cooking at Heidelberg. It is the greatest university on earth, mother of physical culture, of Turners' Societies. Its students are renowned as the best specimens of mankind. They are fed scientifically, their food prepared by scholars, savants of cookery science. His study of the system there imbued M. Voney with an idea that the secret of long life and vigor was eating right of victuals cooked right. He grew robust, and so replete with vim and vigor as to win more medals in athletic sports than he can wear.

He was selected in Vienna, that splendid capital and home of classic cooking by the Emperor of Austria to direct the imperial kitchen. After preparing the diet of many potent men, and, sure of his secret, he opened a neat, modest cafe in St. Louis, that has grown rapidly. Soon as folks found that old men grew young, young men strong, withered women plump and sixty girls developed into rosy, buxom women after eating at VONEY'S RESTAURANT the trade grew enormously and the customers styled him "Dr. Voney," which is significant.

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