

MISSOURI SOCIALIST.

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

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Why Women Work.

You think that it is a shame for women to engage in occupations followed by men? You think that if women would only quit taking the places of men, and would confine themselves to housekeeping, gossiping, etc., or would only undertake such work as women are "fitted for," the world would all be lovely, the men would all have work, and there would be no end of happiness in this mundane sphere? Well, you are sadly mistaken. There is a reason why women work and why they are encroaching more and more every day on the field heretofore exclusively occupied by men. Women do not work from choice. They work because they are forced to it.

There is a law in the industrial world that says the man who is willing to work for the lowest wages will get or hold the job. There is a condition in the industrial world, brought about by the invention of marvelous labor-saving machinery, that makes the number of men who want jobs greatly exceed the number of jobs to be had. Consequently laboring men are particularly anxious to hold on to jobs, or to get jobs.

Now, it stands to reason that so long as these laboring men are competing with one another for employment the one who is successful must bid so low (that is, offer to work for such low wages) that the others cannot bid under him—cannot offer to work for any less wages. What is the lowest bid a workman can make; what are the lowest wages for which he can possibly work?

Well, let's see. A horse can work for what it costs him to live—that is, for but feed and shelter. If he works for any less he will die.

A workman can work for what it costs him to live—that is, for the cost of his clothes, food, etc. If he works for less he will perish. So there is the limit—the cost of living. So long as these workmen are fighting for the same job, one of them is going to bid down to that limit and secure the prize.

That is the iron law of wages. To be sure all workmen are not working for the bare cost of living yet, but the tendency is in that direction. There is a sort of a standard of living among the majority of the working class. One laborer says his fellow-laborer's wife wearing a new dress occasionally or indulging in some little thing that is not exactly an absolute necessity, and he thinks his wife must have the same things also. He includes these items in his cost of living (and also adds a few nickels for his personal expenses) and says to himself that that is what it costs him to live, and he can't work for any less and might as well starve as to try to do so. But the pressure of competition with his fellow-workers is gradually teaching him that he can dispense with this and that item in his daily expense account, and as the competition for employment grows fiercer and fiercer, his wages are steadily tending towards the bare cost of subsistence.

There was a time when there were not so many labor-saving machines, and therefore not so many laborers whose labor had been saved and who were looking for a new job. In those days nearly every man was married or expected to marry at a reasonable age, and therefore in the "cost of living" of the average workman was included the cost of supporting a family. But as the competition increases with the increase of labor-saving machinery, the man who is single finds he has an advantage over the man who is married. He can offer to work for only sufficient wages to maintain himself while the married man cannot possibly work for so small an amount, because he must support a family. For instance, the single man might be able to live on \$10 per week, while the married man must have at least \$15. Of course, the single man got the job. But the married man soon discovered something. He could work for \$10 and send his 18-year-old daughter out to work for \$5 per week in some retail store. He did this and the beginning of women's work in the store, shop and factory was made. As this same economic law continues to operate, the women are forced into more and more occupations and in greater numbers. So long as the present wage system, which keeps the workers competing with one another, lasts, so long will women have to work at occupations not of their own choosing. It is useless to rail against the women. They are following the dictates of an economic law that is irresistible. You men vote to continue the system that makes the law operative.

But, you say, we are mistaken about the necessity of these girls working; you know many of them whose fathers or brothers are quite able to support them. We speak of a class, of all these girls who work. Take them as a whole class and you will find that all but a few exceptions are working because of actual necessity. The few instances you observe are simply cases of women who wish to keep themselves in better circumstances than the average of the working class. So they enter the store or the factory before actual necessity drives them to it.

Socialism will change all this. It will place the labor-saving machinery, all the means of production, under the collective control of the people. Then when a new machine is devised to save labor it will not throw men out of employment, but will shorten the hours of labor of all workmen. There being no private owner of the tools of production under Socialism do take the major portion of what the laborer produces, every laborer will receive all that he produces and will be able to support a family in abundance. It will

no longer be a question of whether he or his fellow-workmen can live on the lowest wages. No man will have to feel when he is at work that he is keeping some other man from an opportunity to earn a living. Every man will be guaranteed an opportunity to earn a living—for surely we have enough machinery, etc., to produce all that is needed to keep all men alive and in comfort. Women will be allowed to engage in work that is both pleasant and healthful, and instead of having their beauty marred and their loveliness destroyed, as it is by the present method, we shall have women that are healthy, intelligent and beautiful.

Do not cry out against the women who work, but direct your protests to the men who are voting to continue the system that compels them to work.

"What we want to do now is to be prudent in our prosperity, save while we can and be strong if the storms should come, and they do now and then. Whatever comes, let us be fortified by the practice of economy while we are so well employed."—Wm. McKinley, President of this Ranch.

Well, no wit's too bad the head of our capitalistic government doesn't even understand the workings of the system he supports. In the same speech that he uttered the above he sang songs of praise about new markets. What does a market mean? What is a market? Why, bless you, a market is nothing more nor less than people who buy your goods. The working class constitute the bulk of those who buy products for consumption, such as food and clothes. The more these working people spend the bigger is the market. Suppose the working people should suddenly decide to take McKinley's advice and save one-half of what they receive in wages, and should begin next week. The result would be that the home market would suddenly be reduced to one-half its size, and those storms would come before Mack could reach the cyclone cellar. Within a week after the workmen took McKinley's advice so seriously (presuming for argument that it were possible for them to lay aside one-half their wages), the manufacturers of each line of goods would say: "I see the sale of my goods are suddenly decreased one-half and is likely to remain at that stage; I'll just reduce my force one-half until this blows over." As each manufacturer would naturally do the same thing, the result would be that the working-class would get a little vacation until it consumed its savings; besides there would be a strong probability of a spell of hard times generally, as the outcome of a contracted market.

If we thought it wouldn't hurt his feelings, we might send our national figure-head a copy of The Parable of the Water Tank.

In Passaic, N. J., the girls employed by the cigar trust went on strike and the police treated them with no more consideration than if they were men, says the press dispatches. Most of the girls were clubbed and the four leaders were arrested and dragged along the street by the hair. Now, sir, if you are a man, just lay aside for a moment your sacred reverence for "law and order" and ask yourself what kind of a civilization it is that makes such things possible. Did these young girls engage in rioting for the pleasure of it or because it was a question of bread and butter? Is there anything praiseworthy about a system that puts your daughters or sisters (or daughters or sisters of some one else—it's all the same), in a position where they must engage in rioting in order to compel their employers to pay them enough to enable them to live? It does seem that if there was a spark of manhood in you, you would not rest until such wrongs as these are righted.

A dispatch from Columbus, O., says that Adjutant General Gyger has decided to supply the Ohio militia with cartridges loaded with shot instead of balls, to be used when troops are called out for riot duty. General Gyger says the new shells are reasonably effective at short range, and will not kill innocent people at a great distance from the rioting, as is universally the case where cartridges loaded with balls are used. The State militia are organized solely for the purpose of putting down the workman when he gets down. Some young men are allured into joining these organizations by the thought of blue uniforms and shoulder straps, but it is time to have it distinctly understood that whoever enters a State militia is an enemy of the working class, and will be treated accordingly. The class line is being drawn sharper every day and they are blind who cannot see. Such cool announcements as the above of intentions to shoot down the working class should rouse every wage-slave in the land to a sense of the danger that confronts him and make him realize that his interests lie with his own kind, his fellow-workmen, and that he should love them and die for them, instead of for "what is called 'his country'."

When a crew of pirates rob a vessel and play poker for the spoils you consider it a criminal act; but when a class of men called capitalists help themselves to three-fourths of what the workmen of the country produce and then proceed to gamble on "Change for the spoils, you regard it as a sign of prosperity.

Organization is our watchword. The working class can capture the Government in no other way.

Special rate to subscribers outside of St. Louis, thirty-five cents in clubs of ten.

At Roanoke, Va., President McKinley said to several thousand people: "We are expanding our markets. Our productive capacity has become so great that we are not only able to supply the home markets, but we require a foreign market for our surplus, and so we are seeking the open door in the Orient for the products of American soil and American labor."

You will note that he says our productive capacity has become so great. By that he means that we have enough men and machines, etc., to produce enormous quantities of commodities. He did not credit it to "confidence" this time, but said plainly that the man and the machine can produce far more now than formerly. Now, when a man (with a machine he himself has made), is able to produce twice as many good things as formerly, you would expect him to have twice as many good things for his own consumption, would you not? Yet here the American workman, who has made all the machines, able to produce more than ever before, yet not receiving any more than formerly, and all the increase of their products being shipped abroad. McKinley says that we have more than enough to supply the markets, why does he not say that we have more than enough to supply the people—to feed and clothe and shelter every human being in the land. If he could say that it would then be time to talk about shipping something abroad. But he cannot say it, for he knows, that there are thousands perishing in want while this surplus is being carried away. This surplus does not signify the prosperity of the laboring class. It merely indicates the extent to which they have been skimmed.

We know that the working-class, taken as a whole, spend practically every cent they receive in wages in buying the products they have created on the market; and if after they have exhausted their money anything remains on the market it simply shows that the working class have not received enough wages to buy back the products they have created, and is prima facie evidence of robbery. The entire surplus, which McKinley boasts is nothing else than the fleecing of labor—wealth which rightfully belongs to the workers. Yet when the smooth-tongued President tells them that this wealth which they should have for their wives and children is to be shipped to the Orient they go into ecstasies of delight.

John D. Rockefeller delivered an address on "Giving" in New York, in which he said: "In thirty years the business in which I am engaged has paid to workmen between \$600,000,000 and \$700,000,000, and that I regard as the best kind of giving." Hully gee! He calls it giving; and here we've been thinking all these years that what wages the workmen received were "labor's just share of the proceeds of its toil." Now John says he considers the payment of wages an act of charity. Well, perhaps it is; if a highwayman should meet us on the road and after relieving us of our purse, should return us ten cents for car fare, we would call the latter an act of charity. No wonder John kicks about unions being organized for the purpose of forcing him to be more charitable. But then we find justification of our action when a little later he says: "Nothing pleases me better than to make a man give money who just wanted to hang onto it. That is just where the union stands. It takes a special delight in making some employer 'give' his employes some more money than he 'just wanted to hang onto'."

If you have any lingering doubts about the early frustration of all things pertaining to this universe, if you still have dreams of smashing a trust or two, if you still expect competition to rise from its grave and smite something, we ask you to kindly glance over the following press dispatch and wake up before the procession is all over.

Beaumont, Tex., April 26.—The Beaumont Oil Exchange to-day posted the statement that the Standard Oil Company had purchased the railroad terminals, wharves and shipping facilities at Port Arthur and 90,000 acres of land surrounding the port. The price was not given.

Port Arthur is the nearest deep-water port to the Beaumont oil-field, and by controlling this outlet the Standard Oil Company can control every barrel of oil taken from the Beaumont fields. The railroads cannot compete in freight rates with pipe lines and ship via Port Arthur to New Orleans and Galveston. Thus, owning Port Arthur, the Standard Oil Company will control even the domestic trade in crude oil.

L. G. Rogers, chairman of the S. D. P. Central Committee at Battle Creek, Mich., accepted an appointment at the hands of a capitalist party Mayor, and the "Exponent" very promptly and very properly calls him to time. Socialists do not want any offices except those they capture with votes, and any member of the party accepting favors at the hands of the enemy by that act is no longer considered a Socialist.

At the school election in Glen Ellyn, Ill., April 20, May Wood Simons, candidate of the Social Democratic Party, received 27 votes out of a total of 128. The local was organized only last December. Mrs. Simons is an active party worker and well known as a Socialist worker.

These are stirring times and the man who doesn't help do the stirring is likely to get stirred himself.

Thirty-five cents a year in clubs of ten outside of St. Louis.

Ease-Up's Fables.

As we have already related, there was a certain land called "Merky," in which all mules had a right to vote, and these mules were extensively jollied, being deluded into the notion that they were all free and the equals not only of one another, but of the men in the land also, because their votes counted for just as much. It mattered not that astride of every mule was a human biped; it had always been thus and the scriptures said it would always remain so. Such things had no connection with the question of liberty and equality anyhow. So they continued to sing songs in honor of their freedom and complained not at the loads they were carrying.

But, mark you, there came a change in the land called "Merky." As a result of much riding some men began to grow fat and strong, and one mule, being unable to carry these strong men, or to pull them in a cart, the aforesaid strong men took to laying about them with heavy competition clubs, and knocked small riders from their mounts and possessed themselves of these mules, which they then hitched by twos and threes and four to carts in which they rode. And this procedure continued, and more and more of the little riders, now called "little-capitalists," found themselves without mules upon which to ride, and many of them, having no means of livelihood left, were forced to get into the harness, beside the mules that pulled the carts for the strong men (called "big-capitalists"), in order that they might secure food along with the mules. And things continued to evolve, thus, finally the more powerful of the "big-capitalists" beginning to even seize the mules of the less powerful of the "big-capitalists." And as the "little-capitalists" were going out of the mule business in great numbers, it began to look as though there would soon be left only a few "big-capitalists" on the one hand and a whole lot of original working mules and a number of "man-mules" on the other.

At this juncture arose throughout the land an outcry of immense proportions emanating from the little-capitalists and a new political party was formed which said: "These big-capitalists are ruining our country. Little-capitalists are no longer allowed to haul their goods because the big-capitalists take all the mules. We will change this. We propose that we have national ownership of the transportation business, that these mules be ridden by direction of the government and draw loaded carts driven by government officers. The government business can do it cheaply and need only charge a small rate to the business men for carrying goods; then all the little-capitalists can engage in business again and our land will be happy and free as it used to be, and these poor working mules will not have to slave for these horrid big-capitalists."

Having formulated this platform they sent a committee to the mules to ask for their support. But there happened to be among the mules a wise old mule named "Agitatus," who could tell them a thing or two. And Agitatus acted as spokesman for the mules. Emitting a rebellious sounding bray, which he had a habit of using just before saying something pointed, he addressed them in this wise: "My dear little-caps, in the excitement of your extremity you have learned to bray almost like an ordinary working mule, and therefore your utterances might easily fool some mules. But we have been thinking, and by thinking have reached the conclusion that if we are to be ridden at all, if we are to draw loads, it makes little difference to us whether it be for the benefit of a few big-capitalists or many little-capitalists. Your scheme of public management of the transportation business has a beautiful sound to it, and to an ordinary jackass might appear to be the same thing as a little plan we ourselves are agitating for the public management of all work—for both mules and men. But there is as much difference between our proposals as exists between our ears. You desire public ownership and management of the transportation business in order that you may continue to engage in your little business enterprises. We desire public ownership of the transportation business for the opposite purpose—to stop your engaging in business and make you do your share of the work along with us mules. We want public ownership and operation of all business so that both big-capitalists and little-capitalists will have to go to work. We are tired of being ridden at all and have formed a party of our own for the purpose of abolishing the distinction between men and mules. Gentlemen, the time has come when you'll all have to get into the harness."

And the mules did as Agitatus said, not very long thereafter, for things had evolved to the proper notch.

The Director of Public Safety of Philadelphia decided that it was not conducive to the safety of the inhabitants of that city to allow Emma Goldman, the noted Anarchist, to lecture anywhere within his jurisdiction, and he had the police intervene and prevent the holding of a meeting by the Social Science Club, before which she was to speak. The members of the club were not even allowed to enter the hall. Later they ordered her not to speak before the Shirtmakers' Union on "Trades Unionism." The police then notified all the labor organizations in the city not to have Miss Goldman speak at their meetings, and also informed proprietors of halls that they

must not rent them for meetings of "Anarchistic tendencies."

Now, Socialists, have nothing in common with Anarchists, but they do insist on every individual having the right to speak his opinion so long as he conducts himself properly.

The action of the Philadelphia police is a violation of the most important right that the working class has today, and that right will not be abandoned so long as a Socialist remains above ground. It is gratifying to note that some of the trades unions openly defied the police and held meetings at which Anarchists were invited to speak. When the tools of capitalism go so far as to prevent the exercise of free speech, there is only one thing to do—to speak anyhow. It would be an easy step from stopping Anarchist meetings to stopping Socialist meetings. Once grant the right of the police to pass upon the sentiments uttered by a speaker and the right of free speech is gone. If a policeman can decide that an Anarchistic speech is unlawful he can decide that a Socialist speech is unlawful. It is quite apparent that a tendency exists, fostered by business interests, to give the police more and more power, to clothe them with discretionary powers. Let the Socialists always be on guard and when the authorities infringe upon the rights that have already been acquired at such a cost let them take a defiant stand, come what may.

"Step-at-a-time" is very bad policy, because there are so many mis-steps.

On his way to Europe, J. P. Morgan exposed a sure-thing gambling game—but it was not his own.

All the principal stove companies of the country are about to combine, and will warm a trust for Bryan to bust.

The Cleveland Social Democrats will hold a grand celebration on May 5. They will be invited by the Central Labor Union.

The International Socialist Review will keep you posted. Send us one dollar and we will see that you get it for one year.

It begins to look as though we are on the home-stretch. A few more trusts, then a few less trusts, then one big trust—which is us.

Let every Socialist do his share of the work. Comrade Morgan is doing all that lies in his power, and it is not fair to make him do all the propaganda work.

Sixteen votes were cast in November for the Social Democratic Party in Aberdeen, S. D. In the receipt city election our vote was 118. Climbing up, up, gentlemen. You can't stop it.

You can get extra copies of this paper for distribution at one-half a cent a piece—if you order before we go to press. A bundle every week would help thin out the ranks of the enemy.

It may only be mere force of habit from describing King Edward's doings that causes the St. Louis Globe-Democrat to head an account of the President's tour. "Demonstrations of loyalty."

It now develops that 83,576 votes in the State of Texas were returned as scattering, and since in many counties the S. D. P. vote was not returned at all, the comrades in Texas have a grave suspicion that they cut some figure in swelling the grand total of that "scattering."

If you are receiving this paper without having paid for it, you may rest assured someone has paid to have it sent to you. Do not refuse it, but read it carefully, as it contains food for thought.

Missouri Socialist is going to the country. Thirty-five cents a year in clubs of ten, outside the city limits.

A Demand for Cranks.

Poultney Bigelow, the American historian and traveler, declares that the United States is headed towards revolution, because of the "blighting influence of the money kings upon the consciences of public servants," and states further that the country needs a deliverance from the slavery of capitalism through an "epidemic of cranks." Mr. Bigelow is partly correct; but the "cranks," who wish to do the delivery act, will not be impelled thereto because the consciences of public servants are being blighted, but rather because capitalism has managed to couple slavery and starvation together, and force them upon the mass of the people. These "cranks" understand that official corruption is an effect instead of a cause, and that it will disappear when the cause (capitalism) is removed. They call themselves socialists, and Mr. Bigelow will no doubt find it interesting to watch the spread of the "epidemic."—Workers' Call.

Vienna, May 1.—After holding thirty mass meetings early to-day, the Socialists marched in procession to a rendezvous on the Ringstrasse, where 50,000 of them assembled, and formed at noon in a grand procession.

Berlin, May 1.—The director of the government ship-yard at Wilhelmshafen has issued a warning to all laborers employed at the yard against absenting themselves from work to-day and participating in May processions. The laborers are threatened with dismissal.

Two Different Mobs.

In the early days of the Twentieth Century, in a community supposedly composed of people of average intelligence, there was enacted a scene which for brutishness and devilry equals anything done in the Dark Ages. A human being was actually burned to death at the stake, because he had attempted a crime, and was suspected of having committed another. It is true that the negro was of bad character, a genuine specimen of the dregs of the capitalist system, and his attempted crime was one which human nature does not contemplate with calmness; but that such a spectacle should have been deliberately arranged without interference from any of the "pillars of society" or the "strong arm of the law," passes the understanding of the average man. This particular community is remarkably favored with the presence of those whose duty it is to uphold the "majesty of the law"—upon certain occasions. There is a metropolitan police force, a county Sheriff, with power to deputize any necessary number of citizens a few companies of the State militia and last, but not least, several hundred United States troops. And yet, with all this, there was not a move to thwart the well-known intentions of a frenzied man and his associates, not an effort to have the dignity of the law upheld, or to maintain order and decency in the community. Yet, let not the barbarians who perpetrated this outrage on civilization, nor the barbarians who aided and abetted them by their presence, think for a moment that these forces of government will always be so inert. Circumstances alter cases. In the case just cited the powers that be had nothing to lose by letting the mob have its bent, so, not even by aiding it. On the contrary, such diversions as this are a great help to the privileged classes in blinding the eyes and senses of the people, in order that weightier matters may be lost sight of. Race hatred is an old and time-tried staff for those who rule.

Let us imagine a scene in that same place, say two years hence. The capitalist system has about reached another crisis. Times are bad. All over the country industry is coming to a standstill. The number of unemployed is steadily increasing; the larger enterprises are endeavoring to keep open by cutting wages down. And a certain institution in this same community is not an exception. Its employes, however, having received pretty good wages, are not so humble that they will accept the reduction. They strike. The company expected this same thing and was prepared for it. They had other skilled workers ready to start at the reduction, having lost their places elsewhere. First the strikers try moral suasion, they ask the scabs to quit; but the scabs preferring the chance of a poor living to none at all, refuse. Shortly there are fights, and lo! the police are quickly on the scene, and a few broken heads are the portion of the strikers. But the strikers have friends; there are many unemployed in the city; the workers are becoming restless; they are feeling ugly. A few more fights, again the police, but this time the police are worsted—the crowd is too much for them. A court issues an injunction which restrains every person not having actual business with the company from going near the premises, or even talking to anyone about the trouble. The injunction is, of course, disobeyed. The Sheriff is fearful that he cannot get men to enforce it, and suddenly the militia is out; a lot of duds officers, a rank and file composed almost exclusively of poor clerks, all of them, however, burning with fancied importance as members of the "upper classes" and filled with a desire to wreak vengeance on the "riff-raff" they consider the laboring class to be. Without waiting for any formalities, the order "Fire!" is given, and the corpses of several strikers, sympathizers and others are in the street. The crowd flees, but only to congregate in other places, and talk in angry tones that bode no good for peace and quietness.

But the forces that seemed so powerless two years ago, are now powerless no more. Before the shades of night begin to fall the Federal troops pour out and the city is under martial law.

The same newspapers that brazenly justified the outrage of two years ago now appear in scare heads praising the "vindication of the law." The preachers and public men who spoke cautiously then, now praise the efficiency of the officials.

Yet there is no inconsistency in this. This time it was capitalist privilege that the mob attacked; before—well, that incident was a good thing.—The Socialist, Kansas City, Mo.

Rev. Charles H. Vail delivered some hot shot at modern churches at Music Hall, Kansas City, and they are true as the Ten Commandments are good. He says the reason laboring men do not attend church is because we have a capitalistic religion instead of Christianity. He further said that the Socialists are doing more to bring the kingdom of God on earth than all the churches in christendom combined, which is also true.—Daily Letter, Independence, Mo.

The time is ripe, and rotten ripe, for change. Their let it come; I have no dread of what is called for by the instinct of mankind. Nor think I that God's world will fall apart. Because we tear a parchment more or less.

Lowell.

Missouri Socialist

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The fact that a stated article is published does not constitute Missouri Socialist to all opinions 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, not necessarily for publication, but as an evidence of good faith.

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SPECIAL OFFER.

We are anxious to extend the circulation of the Missouri Socialist to all parts of the country. Heretofore we have confined our efforts mainly to this city in order to build up the local movement, but we now intend to secure a foothold for the paper in every state in the union.

In order to make a beginning we will allow a special rate of thirty-five cents a year to outside subscribers when sent in clubs of ten. All our outside readers are urged to make a note of this and send in a club at the earliest possible moment.

Weekly Guarantee List:

The following comrades have determined to secure several thousand subscribers to Missouri Socialist before next January, and they have therefore agreed to purchase subscription cards to the amount set opposite their respective names every week until further notice. Every Socialist is expected to join in this effort to make our paper an unprecedented success. Send in your name:

M. Ballard Dunn	\$ 3.00
E. M. Peabody	1.00
W. H. Baird	1.00
Richard Murphy	1.00
Louis Kober	1.00
M. McCaffery	.50
Chas. Hager	.25
A. Winkler	.25
Wm. Eckart	.25
H. P. Nelson	.25
W. C. W.	1.00
W. H. Scott	.25
J. H. Buttler	.25
F. J. Coomeenes	.25
Louis Froehlich	.50
F. F. Gomes	.25
Louis Meyer	.25
Otto Vierling	.25
S. Schmol	.25
Aug. Zimmermann	.25
Hy. Struckhoff	.50
F. J. O'Hare	2.00
C. J. Meyer	.50
Wm. Detjen	.25
C. Schaeffler	.50
Jos. Spalti	.25
Chas. Budt	.25
Wm. A. Joos	.25
L. W. Evans	1.00
H. B. Ferham	.50
Wm. M. Brandt	.50
E. H. Hellman	.25
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Fred Spalti	.25
N. S. Franke	.50
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A. L. Stone	.25
Otto Kaemmerer	.25
No. 1	.25
Proletarian	2.50
Henry Platzmeyer	.25
Wm. Stiefelich	.25
Hy. Klaus	.25
F. Tombridge	1.00
Wm. Kaiser	.50
Wm. Voeger	.25
Suburbanite	.50

Still There Are Poor.

(World's Work.)

Coincident with this consolidation there has occurred a revolution in industrial methods before which earlier achievements sink into insignificance. A few decades ago the blast furnace was an enlarged blacksmith shop, and the finished product, whether a steel rail or a horseshoe nail, was largely the result of manual labor. By present processes, from the moment the steam scoop, handling tons of native ore, touches the soil in Minnesota or Michigan, until the raw material issues as a hundred-pound steel rail on the banks of the Monongahela River, the element of human labor is scarce appreciable. Trains in the Superior district are loaded by steam scoops. At the docks the cars are unloaded into bins or pockets. From these pocket-ships of 5,000 to 7,000 gross tons capacity are loaded in a few hours' time. Into the holds of the vessels, in the Mesaba range a half dozen men will mine 5,000 tons of ore in a few hours. An ore vessel is loaded almost without the use of pickax or shovel. Gravitation does the work formerly done by

man. On the lower lakes the vessels are unloaded in a few hours' time by hoisting devices or clam-like scoops, which will do the work of sixty men and transport ten tons of ore in a single clasp of the scoop. Steel cars with a capacity of sixty tons are unloaded at the furnaces by immense cranes, which pick the cars clear from the tracks, transport them to an ore pile and dump them as simply and easily, and with as much precision as if they were but buckets of sand. The earth is tapped, and gem-like enginery, with man's hand on the throttle, turns out the finished product.

Great Moral Reformer

That indefatigable reformer, Episcopalian Bishop Potter, of New York, is still trying to purify a wicked world. The good Bishop, who is fat and sleek, is now taking a fall out of old Political Corruption. In his lecture to Harvard students Sunday night he solemnly declared that "if the United States is to free itself from Political Corruption the individual himself must be purified." This is the good, fat bishop's cure for every ill. He recognizes that there is gross injustice in the distribution of wealth, and his way to equalize things is to make all the capitalists good men—reform the individual. In view of the fact that this "reform-the-individual" cure has been proved, by history and hard logic to be impossible—in fact, a veritable quack nostrum—it is interesting to hear the good, fat Bishop say:

"The trouble in America is that the people are not frank enough. They lack moral courage. When they see things which need correction they have not the frank, open spirit, which readily acknowledges vice (wrong)."

This is positively rich. If the Bishop has a brain to think with—and there's not much doubt about this—he cannot help but know that it is the capitalists who corrupt politics, and not the people, the working class. It is the railroad magnates and captains of industry—not the working class—who buy Legislatures and debauch courts. Politicians could not sell themselves, courts could not be debauched, if there were no debauchers, and the capitalists are the only ones who have the money to buy. That's a plain proposition. Why doesn't the good, fat Bishop practice what he preaches and show some frankness?

The good, fat Bishop deplors the inequality in the distribution of wealth. If he has brains—and we have conceded that he cannot help but know the reason for this inequality. It is because the worker does not get the full product of his toil because a capitalist class appropriates the larger part of the wealth created by every wage-worker, because capital is privately instead of collectively owned. Under private ownership of the means of production and distribution wealth concentrates in the hands of the few, in accordance with a law as certain in its operations as the law of gravity.

It is to the interest of the capitalists to confuse the issue, and it is natural that the little preachers and professors and editors should accept as gospel truth what the capitalists say, but we have a right to demand moral and intellectual integrity of men of Bishop Potter's caliber. As a clergyman he is pledged to speak the truth. The truth as to the workings of the capitalistic system is so plain that a child should see it, yet the good, fat Bishop, who knows the injustice of the wages system, has the cold, nickel steel nerve to say the American people "lack moral courage. When they see things which need correction they have not the frank, open spirit which readily acknowledges wrong."

In the words of the heathen Chinese—Rats!—Southern Socialist.

Vail at Bevier.

Comrade Charles H. Vail spoke at Bevier, Mo., on the 24th of April. In reporting the meeting the Bevier Appeal says:

"Mr. Vail is a clear reasoner and logical talker, and thoroughly understood what he talked about and, therefore was able to present his views entertainingly and also so lucidly that all could comprehend his meaning. He spoke for about an hour and a half on the theme very instructively and convincingly. He briefly reviewed the various stages of development in the social and economic life of man from the earliest period, the semi-communistic life being followed by chattel slavery, then feudalism and that superceded by the present capitalistic, competitive system. The vast changes in the industrial world through labor-saving machinery and the formation of the great combinations of capital and trusts of the present age were next dwelt upon. Mr. Vail is a representative of the Social Democratic Party and gave Socialism as the remedy for social and economic evils, and urged all to identify themselves with the clubs of that party, to be loyal to the principles it advocates and consistent in supporting it. The relation of the capitalist to labor he described as that of the flea to the dog, a parasite living on and appropriating the products of labor. The difference between the Democratic and Republican parties he described as merely a question of numbers of parasites. The former's policy was to have a few parasites (or great combinations) and the latter more parasites (more capitalists) but the Social Democratic Party proposed to free labor entirely of parasites. The question up to the people to-day, however, he stated, was: 'Will the people own the trusts or the trusts own the people; that was the issue.' After the address a number of questions were asked and satisfactory answers given by Mr. Vail. He has written a number of books on Socialism and many of them were sold after the lecture. He made a very good impression on the audience and added to the strength of the Socialist movement."

Fifty-two speeches for 50 cents is a big bargain, but Missouri Socialist will make that many on Socialism to your neighbor if you will pay the bill.

In clubs of ten to readers outside of St. Louis this paper will be sent for thirty-five cents a year.

Extra copies, 50 cents a hundred.



KARL MARX.

POEMS OF LABOR.

Property Rights.

I met a little person on my land,
 A fishing in the waters of my stream.
 He seemed a man, yet could not understand
 Things that to most men very simple seem.

"Get off!" said I. "This land is mine,
 my friend!"
 "Get out!" I said. "This brook belongs to me.
 I own this land, and you must make an end
 Of fishing here so free!"

"I own this place, the land and water, too!
 You have no right to be here, that is flat!"

Get off it! That's all I ask of you—
 "Own it!" said he. "What's that?"

"What's that?" said I. Why, that is common sense!

I own the water and the fishing right—
 I own the land from here to yonder fence—
 Get off my friend, or fight!"

He looked at the clear stream, so neatly kept—
 He looked at teeming vine and laden tree,
 And wealthy fields of grain that stirred and slept—
 "I see!" he cried. "I see!"

"You mean you cut the wood and plowed the field,
 From your hard labor all this beauty grew;
 To you is due the richness of the yield—
 You have some claim, 'tis true!"

"Not so!" said I, with manner very cool,
 And tossed my purse into the air and caught it;
 "Do I look like a laborer, you fool?
 "It's mine because I bought it!"

Again he looked as if I talked in Greek,
 Again he scratched his head and twirled his hat,
 Before he mustered wit enough to speak—
 "Bought it?" said he. "What's that?"

And then he said again, "I see! I see!
 You mean that some toiled with plows and hoes,
 And while those worked for you you toiled with glee,
 At other work for those!"

"Not so!" said I, getting a little hot,
 Thinking the man a fool as well as funny.

"I'm not a workingman, yet I bought it with my money!"
 And still that creature stood and dropped his jaw.

"If I could have destroyed him where he sat,
 Money!" said I. "Money, and moneyed law!"

"Money!" said he. "What's that?"
 —CHARLOTTE PERKINS STETSON.

What We Want.

We are the hewers and delvers who toil for another's gain.
 The common clod, and the rabble, stunted of brow and brain,
 What do we want, the gleaners of the harvest we have reaped?

What do we want, the neuters of the honey we have heaped?

We want the drones to be driven away from our golden hoard;
 We want to share in the harvest, we want to sit at the board;
 We want what sword of suffrage has never yet won for man,
 The fruits of his toil God promised when the curse of toil began.

Ye have tried the sword and scepter, the cross and the sacred word,
 In all the years, and the kingdom is not here yet of the Lord.
 We are tired of useless waiting; we are tired of fruitless prayers,
 Soldier and churchman and lawyer—the failure, is it not theirs?

What gain is it to the people that God laid down his life;
 If twenty centuries after his world be a world of strife?
 If the serried ranks be facing each other with ruthless eyes,
 And steel in their hands, with profit a Savior's sacrifice?

Ye have tried and failed to rule us; in vain to direct have tried,
 Not wholly the fault of the ruler, not utterly blind the guide;
 Mayhap there needs not a ruler, mayhap we can find the way,
 At least ye have ruled to ruin, at least ye have led astray.

What matter if king or council or president holds the rein,
 If crime and poverty ever be linked in the bondman's chain?

What careth the burden-bearer that Liberty packed his load,
 If hunger presses behind him with a sharp and ready goad?
 There's a serf whose chains are of paper, there's a king with a parchment crown;
 There are robber knights and origands in factory, field and town.

But the vassal pays his tribute to a lord of wage and rent,
 And the baron's toll is Shylock's, with a flesh and blood per cent.

The seamstress bends to her labor all night in a narrow room,
 The child, defrauded of childhood, tips toes all day at the loom;
 The soul must starve; for the body can barely on husks be fed;
 And the loaded dice of the gambler settles the price of bread.

Ye heed'shorn and bound the Samsø and robbed him of learning's light;
 But his sluggish brain is moving; his sinews have all their might.

Look well to your Gates of Gaza, your privilege, pride and caste,
 The giant is blind, but thinking, and his locks are growing fast.

JAMES JEFFREY ROCHE.

The city central committee has the following books for sale:

1. Merrie England, by Robert Blatchford, 10c;
2. Socialism and the Labor Problem, by Father T. McGrady, 10c;
3. A Paradox Explained, by George A. Eastman, 10c;
4. To What are Trusts Leading, by James Smiley, 10c;
5. The Mission of the Working Class, by Rev. Charles H. Vail, 5c;
6. The Trust Question, by Rev. Charles Vail, 5c;
7. Wage, Labor and Capital, by Karl Marx, 5c.

Special rates will be made on lots of five or more. Comrades, get in your orders for literature now. Address William Detjen, agent, 22 N. 4th st., Room No. 7.

The Begging Policy

What the A. F. of L. Accomplished by It in the Last Congress.

FROM THE WORKER.

Here is the answer to the question: "What did the Fifty-sixth Congress do for labor?"

In closing this report, which is practically the record of the efforts during the Fifty-fifth and Fifty-sixth Congresses, on the part of labor to obtain effective legislation for the improvement of labor's condition, it is undeniably true that as to this Congress it may be summed up in one single word, failure, with the exception of the abolition of slavery in Hawaii.

This extract is taken from the report of the legislative committee of the American Federation of Labor, published in the American Federationist for April. Those who wish to read the complete story of the defeated attempts of organized labor to secure needed legislation should get the Federationist. It will repay reading. As a calm exposition of the methods of capitalist legislators to block and kill legislation, to thwart the efforts of labor for tangible laws, the report is invaluable.

To some people the main strength of the report will lie in its authorship. Those who wrote it are not Socialists, and yet the tale they tell is no more than many Socialists have already told. But the Socialists have been called "radical extremists" for telling these truths, while Messrs. Furness and Tracy delight to be known as safely conservative gentlemen, who disdain the "wild vagaries" of the Socialists.

And yet a more frank confession of the failure of the present policy of the anti-Socialists in the American Federation of Labor could not have been penned. The authors undoubtedly did not intend their report to be a confession. But it is a confession so plain that he who runs may read.

The principal measures advocated by the Federation Committee were the anti-injunction, prison labor, eight-hour and the seamen's bills. Efforts to have 30,000 copies of the testimony and arguments in the Coeur d'Alene bulletin investigation printed were nullified by the committee on military affairs, which "succeeded" in entirely smothering the evidence and arguments, not only so far as the public is concerned, but even to the extent of refusing to furnish copies to the minority members of the Congress.

A FAMILIAR TRICK.
 By a shrewd move characteristic of the capitalistic "friend of labor," the anti-injunction bill was defeated, and that by the consent of the labor lobbyists themselves. The bill was amended so that, according to legal advisers, "the meat and bone, blood and sinew" of the bill were eliminated. This confronted the Federation legislative committee with the alternative of either having the bill voted down or accepting the bill, with the amendments included. The former course was adopted, so that the committee had the satisfaction of consenting to the defeat of their own measure. We can imagine the feelings of the committee in their predicament, but as they evidently believe in being made fools of, they hardly excite pity.

What makes this experience interesting is that those who voted to kill the amended anti-injunction bill will use their vote as an evidence of their disinterested sympathy for the downtrodden toiler. The Federation committee, thus indirectly assisted in furnishing the enemies of the anti-injunction bill with a defense for killing it. The policy of "independent political action" inside the old parties, leads on indeed into devious and curious ways.

The blame for the defeat of the eight-hour bill is laid upon the shoulders of Senators Kyle, Aldrich, Wolcott, Platt, Sewell and others. Somebody has got to be blamed, of course. All the legislators, by any other names, would have acted just the same. They are animated by their class interests, which are those of the capital class. Working class representatives are absent from Congress. That's why working class measures are ignored.

UNFOUNDED OPTIMISM.

A pleasant feature about the different reports about the congressional work is the unfailing optimism of the anti-Socialist trade unionists. If patients is a virtue, then they are indeed virtuous. No matter how severe their reverses, they come up smiling with the same old rhetorical phrases about labor "making itself felt" in the legislative halls of the country. For instance, the Coast Seamen's Journal, commenting upon the failure to secure the passage of the seamen's bill, says: "The time of the representatives is fully taken up with the discussion of bills to establish a colonial army, to subsidize ship owners, etc. At any rate, the alleged importance of these matters is put forward as an excuse for the failure of the pending labor legislation. But, although for the present the people of the country must admit disappointment, there remains the certainty for the future that the labor bills will grow in importance, as other issues of the moment decline."

This sort of thing has been written after the close of every Congress for years, and yet the enactment of the labor laws demanded are no nearer than before. And everyone with any perception of the drift of political and industrial events knows that the tendency on the part of representatives of both old parties is towards greater and greater consideration of the question of colonial policy and subsidy measures. The shipping subsidy bill created an uproar, which will be repeated during the next Congress and the labor bills will again be defeated. The labor bills have been growing in importance to the working class, while, on the other hand, capitalist measures have been growing in importance to the capitalistic class; and the latter class is in control, its

measures will be considered, and labor measures neglected. This should be clear to the most dense advocate of "keeping Socialism out of the unions."

ADmits THAT NEW METHODS ARE NEEDED.
 Another derider of Socialism is the trade union is Mrs. Eva McKeown Valesh, who is furnishing the trade union press of the country with letters from Washington on what is going on at the nation's capital. Here is a sample of her walling since Congress adjourned:

"A Congress which assessed every man, woman and child \$19 annually, or each family \$50 a year, for the support of the government, has just adjourned without paying the slightest attention to the legislation desired by organized labor.

"The eight-hour and convict labor bills were entirely fair and reasonable in every way. They were for the general welfare of the wage-workers. Congress was too busy promoting standing army and seeing that speculators and franchise-grabbers have a free hand in Cuba and the Philippines to pay any attention to domestic affairs.

"The result is what might have been expected at a short session just following a presidential campaign, but it begins to look as if organized labor have to devise some new means of pressing upon Congress the need for the legislation which is ardently desired by wage-workers all over the country."

That is a very good argument, Socialists to use. But there is something else to be noted. The Federation have any real intention to use seriously to advocate any "new means" in the place of the lobbying policy has brought them such inglorious success.

As to the abolition of slavery in Hawaii, the deportation of starved workers from Puerto Rico to the emancipated island, furnish sufficient evidence why abolition was upon by the capitalist representatives in Washington. "Free labor" now lists in Hawaii, and the opportunity for exploiting the Puerto Ricans at lowest possible wages are free and confined. The assurance of profits under the "free labor system" is also greater than under chattel slavery.

The quotations made from the utterances and reports of trade unions as to the results of a policy of bargaining or lobbying for laws from a corrupt Congress furnish such convincing evidence of the wastefulness of that policy that Socialists can add little to the case stronger. And being conclusive evidence of the failure of that policy, it becomes proof that a better, more progressive policy should be adopted.

Socialists present that policy, for the members, the "rank and file" of the trade unions to say whether a better and wise policy shall be adopted.

OUR BOOK LIST.

If you are interested in the study of Socialism and want to learn more about it, send us your order for one or more of the following list of good Socialist books. Don't remain ignorant any longer.

- Principles of Scientific Socialism, Rev. Chas. Vail, paper.
- Modern Socialism, Rev. Chas. Vail, paper.
- Communist Manifesto, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, cloth 25c.
- The People's Marx, Deville, cloth \$1.50, paper.
- History of the Commune of 1871, Lassagay, cloth.
- History of Paris Commune, Berrham, cloth 75c, paper.
- Socialism, reply to the Pope, Blatchford.
- Merrie England, Blatchford.
- Wage-Labor and Capital, Karl Marx.
- Woman and the Social Problem, May Wood Simons.

- The Evolution of the Class Struggle, Noyes.
- Imprudent Marriage, Blatchford.
- Packington, A. M. Simons.
- Realism in Literature and Art, Darrow.
- Single Tax vs. Socialism, A. M. Simons.
- The Man Under the Machine, A. M. Simons.
- The Mission of the Working Class, Rev. Chas. Vail.
- Morals and Socialism, Chas. H. Kerr.
- No Compromise, Wm. Liebknecht.
- Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, Engels.
- The Trust Question, Rev. Chas. Vail.
- Liberty, Debs.
- Prison Labor, Debs.
- Socialism and Slavery, Hyndman.
- Oration on Voltaire, Hugo.
- Evolution of Industry, Watkins.
- Social Democratic, Red Book.
- Heath.
- Address.

MISSOURI SOCIALIST, Room 9, 22 N. 4th St., St. Louis, Mo.

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Did You Vote for Socialism?

If you did, then fill out the blank below and send it to this office. We do not expect to obtain the addresses of all who voted our ticket, but we will get enough to make interesting reading. If every reader who voted our ticket will notify us at once we will furnish some startling revelations very soon. If you do not wish to cut your paper, copy the blank on a piece of paper. Also send us the names of any others whom you know to have voted our ticket.

Missouri Socialist, Room 9, 22 N. 4th Street

I voted the Social Democratic ticket at the election on April 2d.

Name

Address

Ward Precinct

Society of the Future

BY LEONARD D. ABBOTT.

It is the custom nowadays to scorn all social ideals. The words "idealism" and "visionary" are almost used in a derogatory sense, for we pride ourselves on being a practical people and have no use for dreamers. The commercial world of to-day is a vast profit mongering machine, and it judges all men simply by their ability to accumulate private property. The only ideal that our generation will tolerate is the mean and sordid one of "getting on" at the expense of our less fortunate neighbors. Even the Gospel of Christ has been converted into a religion of individual regeneration, and, this being the case, it becomes inevitable that Christianity should relegate its ideal to the "next world," but poor consolation for those of us who find in this present life quite enough to occupy our minds and bodies.

Those who are content with present conditions are obviously incapable of realizing the emotions of the idealist. Men who are satisfied that civilization should mean the aggrandisement of the few and the degradation of the many, and who desire no lovelier environment than the noise and ugliness of modern cities cannot possibly have their emotions stirred by dreams of brotherhood and beauty. But some of us are thoroughly dissatisfied with the life of to-day, its strife, its heartlessness, its artificiality, its diabolism. We long to cast from our midst forever the black nightmare of poverty; we yearn for fellowship, for rest, for happiness. To such the Socialist bears a quickening message of hope and inspiration. This message is primarily one of industrial organization; it proposes that the means of life on the earth be controlled and administered in the interests of all. But how far-reaching in its effects will be the application of this principle? It will make secure the material side of existence and unlock the gate to the noblest social life that the world has ever yet seen.

It may be taken as an axiom that with the solution of the material and physical side of the social problem will come the solution of its moral and intellectual side. It is self-evident that men and women who are perpetually striving to satisfy the merely animal needs of their nature will in time become little better than animals themselves, and if proof were needed of this, we have but to turn to the slums of any city in the world. At the same time, it does not necessarily follow that a satiety of animal comforts will produce the highest mental results. On the contrary, luxury is often more degrading than poverty. In this problem, as in most others, we shall find in the golden mean—a sober, balanced life—the real solution of our difficulties.

To future generations there will probably appear nothing more incomprehensible, and nothing more significant of the heartless stupidity of the individualist life of to-day, than our inability to cope with the material side of social life. Nature is so bountiful, and man's command over nature so marvelous, that it would seem impossible for poverty to exist in our communities. There is no more excuse for the perpetual and unspeakable poverty that shames every country of the civilized world to-day than there would be for perpetual typhoid fever. The one is a disease of the social organism, the other of the bodily organism, and both can be cured in exactly the same way—by paying due attention to nature's laws. If some obstruction is caused in the circulation of the blood, fever will result; if we allow national wealth to stagnate in the hands of a few monopolists, poverty will result.

Clever statisticians in Europe and America have lately gone to considerable trouble in order to bring home to men's minds the waste and the ruin of modern industrial conditions. A professor at Vienna has marshalled columns of figures to show that if the labor of Austria were organized in rational fashion, instead of abandoned to the blindness of competitive industry, three or four hours' daily work from every man would suffice to provide a comfortable life for every person in the community. Such statistics simply supplement what must be immediately apparent to anyone who gives the matter a moment's serious thought. This North American Continent is more than capable of feeding the whole world, and the traveler is impressed by its undeveloped natural resources more than by any other of its features. In the face of this, what are we to think of the New York and Chicago slums, of the army of tramps and "unemployed" of the millions of poor struggling farmers, of the incredible meanness and poverty of our whole life? It all forms simply a gigantic object lesson of the unbalanced development of mankind. We have learnt to span the earth and sea with mechanism that would appear supernatural to men of an earlier generation; but we have not yet learnt to span the gulf between the palace and the tenement. We have invented steam plows and threshers that will enable five men to do the work of five hundred; but we have not even the smallest conception of how to grow enough bread to feed every mouth. The "trusts" have long ago proved beyond any doubt that the struggle of competitive units is a most wasteful method of carrying on a nation's industry, and we already know that it was ethically wrong. Yet the political economists can find no room in their learned text-books for any application of this fact to national life; they hardly seemed to understand that such an application is possible.

The time is surely not very far distant when men and women will for the first time seriously face this most important of all problems—the problem of life. Co-operative organization of industry, based on the Public Ownership of land and capital, will immediately make possible the practical extinction of poverty, and when once the specter of Want is removed from

our midst, the possibilities of social life becomes almost boundless.

Try to imagine the result simply of security. There is nothing more harmful and more lamentable in the life of our communities to-day than the fevered struggle for existence which has cast its blight not only upon the lives of the working classes, but even of the comparatively well-to-do. What is more common than the spectacle of "business men" whose whole energies are centered upon the acquisition of riches? They know nothing and care nothing about the truly noble side of life, literature, art, music; their imagination never rises above "stocks and shares" and the daily newspaper. The working classes are as much tainted as their wealthy masters, and the sordid, sullen types that one sees loafing at the doors of the saloons are the natural outcome of crushing work and degrading surroundings.

The gambler on the Stock Exchange and the poor, drunken wage-slave are the products of our present competitive society, and will alike disappear under more humane and rational conditions. A secure life for all, that is the share of food, shelter and clothing that organized society would be in position to grant to all its workers, would wholly remove the chance element which is so conspicuous in the competitive commercialism of to-day. It would free men's minds from the bondage of perpetual struggle, and provide exactly the environment in which the higher faculties would find expression. People would at last have the time to cultivate the better side of their natures, which would find an opportunity to expand in an atmosphere of co-operation and mutual helpfulness. Commercialism, with its mean, sordid influence and its price valuation of everything in the universe, would give way to altruism and brotherhood. Production for profit would be replaced by production for use. Industry would become man's servant instead of his master, and the upbuilding of human character would be recognized as the end and ideal of all industry. The noisy and unsightly factories of to-day, with their vast apparatus for making goods and crushing men, will be supplanted by pleasant and beautiful workshops. The hours of labor can be reduced almost indefinitely. The bitter shame of our civilization—child-labor—will come to an end forever.

We may be sure that "art" in its truest and widest sense, would thoroughly permeate a society based on brotherhood and fellowship. Everything that the hand of man touches is either ugly or beautiful, and we of to-day are content with a sordid ugliness because our workers are so miserable and so poor that they cannot produce what is beautiful. The hideousness is the fruit of ignorance on the one side, and the fruit of greed on the other. Freedom and freedom. The greatest monuments to art in the world—the wondrous cathedrals of medieval Europe—were reared by joyous and intelligent craftsmen, inspired by a religious ideal, and free and untrammelled in the execution of their designs. So in the future another ideal of brotherhood and devotion to the commonwealth will inspire men once again. The public buildings, town halls, libraries, art galleries, theaters, would afford scope to architect and artist alike in the treatment of their massive proportions and interior decorations. Architecture, domestic as well as public, is always one of the surest signs of a nation's true character, and a people such as we picture would make their environment truly noble. Freed from cramping considerations of cheapness, they could afford to discard wood, brick and the base materials that we see on every side to-day, and use good, solid stone.

There is another aspect of work in the future which will dignify and strengthen all human labor in a way which we can hardly conceive of to-day. Man is a dual creature with dual powers—physical and intellectual. In our present society we have separated the one from the other, to the obvious detriment of both. We have relegated to an "inferior" class all the manual or physical work of the community (thereby degrading and brutalizing that class), whilst retaining as the privilege of a small class the intellectual functions of life. We have divided society, as Ruskin well says, into "miserable workers" on the one hand, and "morbid thinkers" on the other. In the future man will gain morally and physically by reuniting once again these two functions. He will become healthier in body and more balanced in mind, and he will perform the necessary work of society with joyful ease. The hand guided by the intellect will make all that it touches a work of art. It will also be possible in this way to give real variety in work. Brain workers will be able to take out a few hours every day at agricultural and out-door work. The drudgery that can never be totally eliminated from toil might thus be divided between thousands of workers, and the crushing tasks which rest on the shoulders of a few poor slaves to-day would become almost unappreciable.

It is natural to suppose that under a Socialist organization of industry, such as has been described, the tendency would be towards equality of condition. Here again imagine the stimulus towards a nobler life! We of to-day are surrounded by cringing flunkies and overbearing superiors, and one hardly knows which is more detestable—the servility of the one or the vulgarity of the other. Our social castes are frankly based on the accumulation of money, and in the industrial arena the survival of the most selfish, the most cunning, the most unscrupulous. Half of human life to-day is wasted in the slums. In the future, universal education, universal comfort and universal leisure will make a new race of men, and give almost inconceivable strength and power to national life. To-day we talk vaguely about the "brotherhood of man"; but

we tacitly concede that brotherhood in any real sense is impossible in a class society. Brotherhood is unthinkable without some measure of equality—not equality of ability or temperament, but of opportunity and condition.

The equality of producer and user in the field of industry would prove a great stimulus to sound and beautiful work. A herd of factory "hands," working for a capitalist master whom they very probably and often rightly hate for his tyranny, and to whom they are bound by a cash nexus only, find it impossible to take any real interest in their work. In the case of free-co-operative communes, however, the situation would be very different. Instead of producing goods for their master to sell in some distant market they would be making articles of daily use for themselves and their friends. The incentive to good work would obviously be very strong indeed; the incentive to bad work would be nil. William Morris's dream would at last be realized of an "art of the people and by the people, a joy to the maker and user alike."

It may be noted in passing what new dignity and sacredness would be given to the marriage bond under these changed conditions. To-day commercialism has cast its blight over marriage, as well as all our other relations. It rends the father from the mother, and the mother from the child, and pits them against one another in the market of competitive industry. It puts a premium on vice, because it does not guarantee to wage-earners of either sex enough to support a family. Marriages "of convenience," based on all kinds of commercial considerations, are so common as to scarcely excite comment. In a society of equals there could only exist one motive for marriage, and that motive would be love.

Under Socialism crime would be almost wholly eliminated. Society to-day manufactures its own criminals by its ruthless crushing to the wall of all who have not the special ability needed in competitive warfare. The selfish struggle for individual supremacy naturally brings out all that is worst in human nature. The hordes of starving and propertyless men produced by our social conditions will always be a standing menace to the commonwealth, and the slums in which they live invariably become hotbeds of vice and wrong-doing. Almost all the crime of to-day owes its existence to the unjust distribution of property and there could be no possible incentive to theft in a society in which all were comfortable. Drunkenness and vice are in large measure due to the sordid and unnatural conditions of to-day. Our poor toilers, degraded by their environment and tolling amidst dust and grime, become slaves to the drink-habit almost before they realize it. They drink in order that they may forget the misery of their lives. The rich, on the other hand, are often drunken and vicious because they live such empty, idle lives. Socialism would do away with both extremes, and make a healthy and moral life possible for all. The great organizations which exist among us to-day for the repression and punishment of crime would become almost wholly unnecessary. For government and politics, as we understand them at present, the society of the future will have but little use. A truly educated community will at least learn the real meaning of "liberty." It will be free, truly free and fit to be free.

Don't Die—Are Killed.

When we look at the sky-scraper, how many of us think of the men who built it? How many of us have ever given ten minutes' thought to the dangers which these structural iron workers have to face every day? No insurance company will take these men as risks on any terms. Their union is their only protection. When one of them is disabled he receives \$5 a week from his union; and in the event of his death his widow receives \$75.

There are so many accidents that the union cannot afford to pay more. As one of them said to me not long since: "The motto of our craft is, 'We do not die—we are killed.'"

How few of us know the hardships endured by the men who dug the foundation for these sky-scrapers! In Manhattan the piers or caissons on which our high buildings rest, are sunk from sixty to one hundred feet below the surface. The "sand hogs" who do the digging work at the bottom of an iron shaft filled with compressed air, every one of them suffers severely sooner or later from the terrible air pressure.

They do not feel any evil effects while at work, but after they have reached the surface they frequently get what they call the "bends," a sort of tightening of the muscles, which is apt to leave them crippled. It gives them the most severe pain, and no doctor has been found who can cope with it. None but the most robust laborers can escape the "bends" and endure the compressed air work for as long as four or five years. When the shaft is 125 feet deep the pressure is so great that the men cannot stand it longer than forty-five minutes at a time. Two shifts or ninety minutes are counted as a day's work, for which they receive \$2.50 each—enough to pay for a back seat at the opera.

If all the members of the Albany Legislature were compelled to do the work of the structural iron workers of the "sand hogs," for just one week, there would be the greatest boom in good labor legislation that this State has ever seen.—Civic Councillor.

Vail at Liberal.

Comrade Charles H. Vail spoke here last night to a very good audience in the Opera-house. We had a programme of songs and recitations, while the audience was gathering, which was a new departure. This part was well received. After this Mrs. Vail talked to the women for a few moments, then Comrade Vail delivered an address that we think disarmed much prejudice. On every side our comrades wore a broad smile. We will long remember these comrades, and we feel that our cause has been much strengthened. Fraternally. C. LIPSCOMB.

Liberal, Mo., April 25.

Impending Danger To Socialism.

Capitalists Will Try to Substitute a False Socialism at the Critical Moment.

The International Socialist Review for April contains an editorial headed, "An Impending Danger to Socialism," which should be read with care by all Socialists of America. The substance of the editorial is a warning that the exploiters at the heads of the great trusts, realizing that they cannot stand against the tide of Socialist thought will attempt to establish State Socialism, which simply means that the trusts will absorb the government and use its machinery to conduct their business.

It should be impressed upon every friend of Socialism that only when the working class is in control of the government can public ownership be of any value to the workers. If the capitalist class adopts any public ownership measures while in control of the government, you may rest assured it is only to protect their own interests, or to head off the real Socialist movement.

We quote from the Review at length: "All along the line the outposts of capitalism are capitulating to the logic of events and admitting that logic has won the argument for Socialism. But here is the very hour of the victory of the producers, the exploiters seek to make one last effort to thwart the progress of the fruits of their toil. Governments are still in the control of capitalism, and unless the workers wake to a sense of their interests they will find those governments used to install a sham Socialism under the guise of ownership of industry by a plutocratic state while exploitation and wage-slavery will go on as before. Just how thoroughly the truths of Socialist logic are now accepted by those who have most to lose by their acceptance, and just how they expect to twist them to their own purpose is shown by the following, which constitutes the first article, and leading editorial in the April number of the Bankers' Magazine—the foremost organ of Wall street financiers and of the newly formed banking trust:

"The history of the progress of the human race abounds in instances of the power of government to influence the methods of trade and the power of organized industry to influence the form of government. There has always been a struggle between the forces that rule and the masses that are ruled. * * * The business men of the Middle Ages obtained scope for their energies in the midst of the oppression of the feudal system by organizing for themselves municipal governments suited to the pursuits of the governed. As paternal and proprietary governments have given way to such as are more or less representative and derived from the people, the idea has been to shape laws so as to encourage industry and the accumulation of property. But there is still, even under governments purely republican, a remnant of the old antagonism between the ruler and the ruled.

* * * When individual competition is uncontrolled the action of trade and productive industry on government is comparatively feeble, as the conflicting interests are so numerous and contradictory that they tend to neutralize one another. The growth of corporations and combinations tends to strengthen the forces which seek to control the machinery of government and the laws in behalf of special interests.

"In the United States the purely representative character of the ruling powers lends itself easily to the control of the influence of organized industry and commerce, and in no country has the organization of the forces of production proceeded so far with the promise of still greater concentration. Theoretically, the ballot controls everything; but the spirit of political organization which has grown up outside of legislative enactment now goes far to control the ballot. Industrial and commercial organization, when it desires to control the government, either Federal or State, finds a political organization ready for its uses. The productive forces are the purse-bearers. They furnish the means by which alone governments can be made effective. They also furnish the means by which the political organization which produces the government is created and becomes effective. The business man, whether alone or in combination with other business men, seeks to shape politics and government in a way conducive to his own prosperity. When business men were single units, each working out his own success, regardless of others in desperate competition, the men who controlled the political organizations were supreme. But as the business of the country has learned the secret of combination, it is gradually subverting the power of the politician and rendering him subservient to its purposes. More and more the legislatures and executive powers of government are compelled to listen to the demands of organized business interests. That they are not entirely controlled by these interests is due to the fact that business organization has not reached its full perfection. The recent consolidation of the iron and steel industries is an indication of the concentration of power that is possible. Every form of business is capable of similar consolidation, and if other industries imitate the example of that concerned with iron and steel, it is easy to see that eventually the government of a country, when the productive forces are all mustered and drilled under the control of a few leaders, must become the mere tool of those forces. There are many indications, in the control of legislatures, that such is the tendency at the present time in the United States. Whether the result of this tendency is desirable or otherwise, is another question.

"The dream of Socialism has been to have the action of government so directed that it would shape the population into a great industrial army, in which each individual should be provided with the means of occupation and subsistence. The natural growth of business combinations will produce a similar result. If carried out to its logical conclusion, every citizen will become the employe or dependent of some one of the great combinations, directed by a head, who, in his power of financial control, will be the autocratic ruler of every individual of his following. If all these great combinations, of particular lines of industry are again made the subject of still greater combination, including in its scope all industries and trades, the men or set of men who are at the head of this aggregation will be the real rulers of the nation. Every professional man, as well as those who pursue every other mode of livelihood, will be affiliated by the strongest ties to one or the other of the consolidated industries. Every legislator and every executive officer will belong to the same head. Forms of government may not be changed, but they will be employed under the direction of the real rulers. Of course, it is easy to see that individual independence, as now understood, is different from what it would be under such a novel state of things, but no doubt it would still be individual independence. Probably under a government directed by a great combination of industrial and productive powers, the degree of individual independence which each citizen sacrifices for the good of the whole would be no greater, and perhaps not so great, as the independence which each citizen now sacrifices in obedience to existing law and custom. The direction of the industrial and producing forces would enlarge independence in some directions, while it might restrict it in others. Wisely conducted, every citizen might, according to his merit and ability, attain higher prizes in life than is possible at the present time. Perhaps in this direction may lie some approximate realization of the dreams indulged in Bellamy's 'Looking Backward,' without the dangers from political corruption that would seem to be inevitable if Bellamy's scheme could have been attempted."

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Let no Socialist misunderstand this position. It is the announcement of the determination of plutocracy to defraud Socialism, the legitimate child of capitalism and brotherhood of its inheritance, by substituting in the confusion of the transition period a bastard son of capitalism and monopolistic greed, called State Socialism. The organized trusts of America, having first gained complete control of all the forces of government, would then transfer the titles of the instruments of production and distribution from the capitalists as individuals and corporations to the capitalists as a government.

Whether this scheme will succeed or not depends upon the action of the workers. If they are sufficiently intelligent, drilled and solidified to perform the mission which social evolution has created for them, they can come forward as an independent class-conscious political party and themselves seize upon the powers of government and use them for the establishment of a co-operative commonwealth. Will they do this? Or will they spend their energies in childlike quarrels over pride of organization and desire of leadership? No one but the Socialists can now prevent the early coming of Socialism in the United States, and anyone calling himself a Socialist at this time can most help the coming of Socialism by assisting in the organization of the Socialists of this country for political action, and he is equally criminal whether he stands outside all organizations in phrasal self-sufficiency or being in an organization dares to place an obstacle in the road of the most perfect consolidation possible of Socialist forces."

From National Secretary.

Comrades, attention! Since making my last report, the first S. D. P. Local was organized in Rhode Island, at Providence, with 26 charter members. We expect more to follow in short order. I have been trying for several months to get a complete list of our party membership and have repeatedly requested the Comrades through the party press to give me this necessary information. Some have complied but many have not, so I again bring this matter to the attention of those who have been negligent and request prompt action.

I have also repeatedly requested the State Committees to make complete returns for Int. Del. stamps, and again urge the secretaries to promptly close their accounts. Then there is the matter of assessment levied by the N. E. C. The sum raised from this source is being used entirely to pay off the party indebtedness and I urge the secretaries of all locals that have not yet remitted, to bring this matter before them at the next meeting and see to it that the amount due the N. E. C. is paid. Comrades, in your duty as secretaries and see to it that your local pays its obligation to the N. E. C. at once.

The attention of the locals is again called to the open air meetings of which you have all been informed direct, through circular letter. Many locals have as yet not made known their desires regarding this effective method of propaganda, and I trust that all are interested enough in the cause to participate in this work of education to advance the interest of the people for Socialism and the S. D. P. Therefore, Comrade Secretaries, advise the National Secretary at once if your local wishes to be included in the open air circuits, as we have all the speakers ready to begin work just as soon as enough locals agree to participate, so as to warrant the tours being a success.

Comrades, do not neglect to attend to all the above matters, for by so doing you lighten the work of the National Secretary and at the same time are helping the S. D. P. to carry on the work intended for it to do.

WM. BUCHNER,
National Secretary.

The Tenth Ward Branch has decided to have a speaker at every meeting, will speak next Wednesday night. The meeting place is Southwest hereafter. Comrade Baird the city or Tenth Hill, Potomac and Ohio avenue.

AMONG THE UNIONS.

The United States Department of Labor reports that the average monthly wages for farm laborers in North Carolina are: Men, \$8.91; women, \$5.27; children, \$3.58.

The third biennial report of the New Hampshire Bureau of Labor gives figures to show that the average wages of the 73,845 employes in industries covered was \$354.42 a year, or about \$6.85 a week.

All the carpenters at Huntsville, Ala., who have been erecting cottages for the Lome Cotton Company, went on strike last week. The contractor added an hour to their day's work without extra pay.

The Shamokin, Pa., silk mills started up last week, after an idleness of six weeks because the 300 girls employed there insisted on recognition of their union and were locked out. The company decided to recognize the union.

The Cleveland Citizen has exposed a "Manufacturers' Information Bureau," which hires spies to go among the unions and betray their fellow-workmen. The Citizen publishes a complete list of the spies employed and the companies connected with the scheme.

Business Agent Grant-Pdvy, of the Cigar-makers' Union discovered an agent of a Chicago cigar company, who was selling scab cigars made in the Michigan Penitentiary, and upon which he had placed a bogus union label. The man was arrested and fined \$200 in the Court of Criminal Correction Wednesday.

A recent bulletin of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor gives average earnings of working people in the industries named as follows: in boots and shoes in 1899, \$469.04 a year, or \$9.02 a week; cotton goods, \$331.92 a year, or \$6.38 a week; leather, \$470.47 a year, or \$9.05 a week; machinery, \$554.27 a year, or \$10.66 a week; and woollen goods, \$374.92 a year, or \$7.40 a week.

Surgical instrument makers are the latest class of workmen to organize a trade union in Chicago. They have been taken under the wing of the United Metal Workers' International Union and granted a special charter for themselves. The new union has 75 members, which number is said to be 99 per cent of the men engaged in that class of work in the city.

The declaration of principles adopted by the Central Labor Union of Flint, Mich., contains the following paragraph:

"We regard it as the sacred duty of every honorable laboring man to sever his affiliation with all political parties of the capitalists and to devote his energy and attention to the organization of his trade and labor union and the concentration of all unions into one solid body for the purpose of assisting each other in all struggles—political and industrial—to resist every attempt of the ruling classes directed against our liberties, and to extend our fraternal hand to the workers of our land and to all nations of the globe that struggle for the same independence."

Capital is Stored-Up Labor.

Capital does not support labor, and wages is not drawn from capital. A shoe manufacturer opens his establishment on Monday morning. He has capital in leather, building, machinery and money. On Saturday night he pays his operatives, but this does not diminish his capital. He has the same building, the same machinery less leather and less money; but he has more shoes. He has simply transformed capital of one kind into capital of another. The operatives have increased the wealth of the proprietor before they receive their compensation and the money they get in payment for their services is a draught on the world's wealth.

Capital depends on labor, but the latter does not depend on capital. If all the laborers would vanish from the world to-day, capitalists would perish in less than six months, for production would cease, and famine would reign from one end of the earth to the other. But if all the capitalists would pass down into the grave, and bury their wealth in their tombs, laborers would not only survive, but grow rich, for then they would get the full amount of the wealth produced by their exertions. It is true that they would be without money and without machinery, but they soon would create these as they have created the wealth of the world.

Labor has brought the blessing of civilization to the wilderness. It has invaded the mighty primeval forests, felled the pine and the oak, the beech and the elm, adorned the streams with the hamlet and the village, the town and the city. Labor has made our streets and mills and factories and palaces. It has plowed the furrow and raised the corn and reaped the grain. It has covered our fields with flocks, and transformed the unbroken woodland into smiling meads and leas. It has threaded our land with railroads, and built those magnificent iron-clad ships that carry the products of one clime to the shores of another. It has established our schools and colleges and universities. It supports our professors and scientists, and has enabled them to bear the sun of civilization over land and wave, from the ice-bound regions of the North to the foaming billows of the South. Since labor produces all wealth, it should own all wealth.

FATHER T. McGRADY.

The City Central Committee met Monday night and adopted a new set of rules to govern its work. Three standing committees are provided for—ways and means, press and literature and agitation and organization. This plan the work will be greatly facilitated and much good will be accomplished.

BEYOND THE SEAS.

ENGLAND.

Two "Clarion" vans begin their summer tour in England on the 1st of May. J. Kler Hardie introduced the following motion in Parliament on April 23:

"That, considering the increased burden which private ownership of land and capital is imposing upon the industrious and useful classes of the community, the poverty and destitution and general moral and physical deterioration resulting from a competitive system of wealth production, which aims primarily at profit-making, the alarming growth of trusts and syndicates, able by reason of their great wealth to influence governments and plunge peaceful nations into war to serve their interests, this House is of opinion that such a condition of affairs constitutes a menace to the well-being of the realm, and calls for legislation designed to remedy the same by inaugurating a Socialist Commonwealth, founded upon the common ownership of land and capital, production for use and not for profit, and equality of opportunity for every citizen."

This will be the first resolution on which a direct Socialist resolution has been submitted to the British House of Commons.

DENMARK.

No definite account of the elections in Denmark has been given by the old party dailies. The reason is easy to guess. The elections showed a splendid, healthy growth for the Social Democratic Party, and it is the policy of the capitalist newspapers to suppress such news.

The returns are very pleasing. The Social Democratic Party had candidates in 30 parliamentary districts. Fourteen were elected as against 12 in 1898. The total vote was 42,972—a gain of 11,100 over the last election, three years ago. This merely continues a steady growth of many years. In 1887 the Socialist vote was 3,408; in 1890 it rose to 17,232, in 10 constituencies; in 1892 it advanced to 20,094 in 15 districts; in 1895 it was increased to 24,508 in 17 districts; in 1898 it reached 31,872 in 23 districts; this year seven more districts were contested and the vote raised about 35 per cent. as above shown.

Of the 12 constituencies won at the last election one was lost by a narrow margin. To compensate for this three new districts were carried.

The Conservative Party went completely to the wall, electing only eight candidates, of whom three are against the present Conservative ministry. These were carried by very small majorities. The Moderates also lost heavily, their total vote falling from 36,587 to 23,606.

BELGIUM.

Our Belgian comrade, Piet Fabri, a short time ago most unjustly punished for disturbances in the last dockers strike in Antwerp and exiled from his country, has been banished from Rosendaal, a town near the Belgian frontier in Holland, where he had taken refuge. Comrade Van Kol intends to ask in the Dutch Parliament the Government a question about this shameful act. It was said Fabri held Socialist meetings in the town. That is nonsense, because his friends warned him against so doing, and he knew too well what would have been the result. The rich traders and shipowners in Antwerp hoped that Fabri would fall into the hands of the Belgian police, but he is safe in Paris.

The Belgian Workers Party held its annual conference at Easter at Liege. There was much enthusiasm.

The party is preparing for another great fight for universal suffrage. The warm-blooded Walloon people advocated the general strike. Others said they were ready for the revolution, and gave the feeling of the workers as being tired of waiting any longer. The Flemish, usually more reasonable but not less determined, favored the general strike as the very last policy. It was resolved that they should accept in this fight the help of any party, but that the Workers Party should rest its hope chiefly on its own power and action, and not give way this time before universal suffrage was granted.

We know that the Belgian comrades do not bluff, but do what they intend. It is needless to say what is the feeling of the Clerical parties.

The membership of women in the party is to be encouraged, and the party will assist in all ways the formation and development of trades unions.

Howling for Blood.

And still our jingo press, which proudly boasted twelve months ago of having engineered us into a war, is howling for more blood. The farm-burnings, the devastation of the country, the shooting of prisoners, the concentration of the women and children, after the fashion we so loudly condemned on the part of Gen. Weyler in Cuba, having all failed to crush the spirit of independence in the Boers, sterner measures are now demanded. The women and children whom we are feeding—or starving—on food declared to be unfit for human consumption, are now to be turned adrift to starve outright unless they can find their way to the Boer camps. We have made these poor creatures our prisoners, we have burned their homes over their heads and stolen their cattle and food, somehow this has not convinced the fighting burghers of our good intentions, and curiously enough, they do not love us any the more for these kind attentions. It is strange how ungrateful and unappreciative the Dutch nature is, but we are taking measures to make it more tractable. We shall not be content with robbing them of their country, their farms, and their national independence, but when the war is over—ah, that "when"—we shall prohibit the use of the Dutch language in the conquered countries, and the unfortunate inhabitants who may have the misfortune to fall into the clutches of the British authorities will be tried and condemned in a language they do not understand. We are getting on our methods in South Africa are quite worthy of Russia, but still our jingo press, our patriotic press, so proud of

English institutions and British freedom, shrieks for more repressive measures and howls for more blood.—London Justice.

Men whose boast it is that ye
Come of fathers brave and free,
If there breathe on earth a slave,
Are ye truly free and brave?
If ye do not feel the chain,
When it works a brother's pain,
Are ye not base slaves indeed,
Slaves unworthy to be freed?

Is true Freedom but to break
Letters for our own dear sake,
And with leathern hearts forget
That we owe mankind a debt?
No! true Freedom is to share
All the chains our brothers wear,
And with hand and heart to be
Fervent to make others free!

They are slaves who fear to speak
For the fallen and the weak;
They are slaves who will not choose
Hatred, scoffing, and abuse,
Rather than in silence shrink
From the truth they needs must think
They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three.

—Lowell.

NATIONAL PLATFORM.

Social Democratic Party of America.

The Social Democratic Party of the United States, in convention assembled, reaffirms its allegiance to the revolutionary principles of international Socialism and declares the supreme political issue in America today to be the contest between the working class and the capitalist class for the possession of the powers of government. The party stands its steadfast 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.

This economic supremacy has secured to the dominant class the full control of the government, the pulpit, the schools and the public press; it has thus made the capitalist class the arbiter of the fate of the workers, whom it is reducing to a condition of dependence, economically exploited and oppressed, intellectually and physically crippled and degraded, and their political equality rendered a bitter mockery.

The contest between these two classes grows ever sharper. Hand in hand with the growth of monopolies goes the annihilation of small industries and of the middle class depending upon them; ever larger grows the multitude of destitute wage-workers and of the unemployed.

The struggle between the capitalist class of the exploiters and the exploited, the capitalists and the wage workers, is the evil effect of capitalist production as intensified by the recurring industrial crises which render the existence of the greater part of the population still more precarious and uncertain.

These facts amply prove 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. The exploitation of the worker that wage slavery may be perpetuated. Science and invention are perverted to the exploitation of men, women 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, and the rights of the weaker classes may extend to the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are alike the tools of the capitalist class. Their policies are injurious to the interest of the working class, which can be served only by the abolition of the profit system.

The workers can most effectively act as a class in their struggle against the collective power of the capitalist class, only by constituting themselves into a political party, distinct and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied classes.

We, therefore, call upon the wage-workers of the United States, without distinction of color, race, sex, or creed, and without any compromise with the historic mission of the working class, to organize under the banner of the Social Democratic Party, as a party truly representing the interest of the toiling masses, and uncompromisingly warring against the exploiting class, until the system of wage-slavery shall be abolished and the Co-operative Commonwealth established.

The ultimate purpose, and objective of this, our ultimate purpose, we pledge every effort to the Social Democratic Party for the immediate improvement of the condition of labor and for the securing of its progressive demands.

As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

- First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people, through the ballot box.
- Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by the monopolies, trusts and combines.
- Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation and communication; all waterworks, gas and electric plants and other public utilities.
- Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.
- Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.
- Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.
- Seventh—Useful inventions to be free to the inventor to be remunerated by the public.
- Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local and international, when possible.
- Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment, and want in old age.
- Tenth—Equal civil and political rights for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.
- Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.
- Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

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

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SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, Room 24, 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, Wm. J. Hager, Room 7, 27 N. 4th St., St. Louis, Mo.; Treas., F. P. O'Hate, 4652A Finney Ave., St. Louis, Mo.

ST. LOUIS CITY CENTRAL COMMITTEE meets every Monday evening, 8 p. m., at Room 7, 22 N. 4th St.; R. Murphy, Secretary, Room 7, 22 N. 4th St.

ST. LOUIS WARD BRANCHES.
1ST WARD BRANCH—Julius Blumenthal, 857 Cowan St., Org.
3D, 4TH AND 5TH WARD BRANCH—Meets 2d and 4th Saturdays at 8 p. m., at room 9, 22 N. 4th St., Sec. C. R. Davis, 217 Market st.

6TH WARD BRANCH—Meets every 2d Tuesday of the month, 8 p. m., at 1931 S. 12th St. Sec., Chas. Specht.
7TH AND 8TH WARD BRANCH—Meets 1st and 3d Wednesdays at Dewey Hall, 2301 S. Broadway, Sec. Geo. Schleifstein, 2828 S. 9th st.

9TH WARD BRANCH meets 1d and 4th Tuesdays, 8 p. m., at 13th and Wyoming Sts. Sec. L. Stoll, 3543 Saleha St.
10TH WARD BRANCH meets 2d and 4th Wednesdays, 8 p. m., at South-west Turner Hall, Potomac and Ohio Av. Org.—Wm. Ruesche, 3734 Oregon Av.—Edw. Ottersky, Sec'y, 3821 Wisconsin Av.

ELEVENTH WARD BRANCH meets second and fourth Wednesdays 8 p. m., at Huth's Hall, Broadway and Stein Sts. Sec. Louis Meyer, 8312 Water St.
12TH WARD BRANCH meets 4th Friday of each month, 8 p. m., at 1211 A. Armstrong av. Sec.—Wm. E. Eckart, 1211A Armstrong av.

15TH, 16TH, 17TH AND 18TH WARD BRANCH—Meets every Sunday at 2 p. m., at Metal Trades Hall, 1210 Franklin avenue. Sec. Rich Murphy, 826 N. 16th st. Org. C. Scheffler, 1448 Mullaughy st.

KANSAS CITY CENTRAL COMMITTEE meets every Thursday night at 307 Whitney Building. Sec. J. A. Clarke, 307 Whitney Bldg.

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10th Ward Meeting,
Wednesday, May 8th 8 P. M. at
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Potomac St. and Ohio Ave.
WM. H. BAIRD WILL SPEAK

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WANTED—Young married man either has to have work or blood; a Western man and a rustler. G. 39, The Times.
That man is dangerous, is he?
No, the system that allows that sort of a product is dangerous. Seattle has hundreds of men and women who are beginning to think what that man wrote—"Work or blood!"
We Socialists discourage that sentiment. We urge men to vote together to abolish this hateful system.
But we are not surprised at such expressions. They are the bell-buoys that roll in the night, full of warning of rocks and wrecks.
Land and machinery enough to produce untold millions' worth of the necessities of life—and men with families must cry out, "Work or blood!"
Do you wonder that Socialists are increasing fast.—Seattle Socialist

HOW WE STAND.
We consider strikes and boycotts as historically necessary weapons to obtain the demands of trades unionism; we further recognize in the union label an important factor in strengthening the power of organization, and educating the public to demonstrate in a practical way its sympathy and assistance to the cause of labor; and we therefore endorse all the labels of the bona fide trades unions, earnestly recommend to the membership of the Social Democratic Party to patronize only such concerns selling products bearing the same.—Resolutions S. D. P. National Convention.

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N. W. cor. 10th and Pine Sts., ST. LOUIS, MO.
Phone Kinloch C 464.

Year	United States	Other Countries
1890	13,704	
1892	21,512	
1896	36,275	
1900	140,000	
Austria	18,500	90,000
"	18,800	750,000
"	1,900	1,000,000
France	18,850	20,000
"	18,880	91,000
"	18,900	590,000
"	18,920	1,000,000
"	18,980	2,125,000

THE SOCIALIST VOTE.
Do you think the Socialists are weak and that they will never amount to much? Do you think Socialism will never come and that there is no use wasting your time reading about it? Their read this record of the Socialists vote of Europe and America and tell us whether a movement that has eight million supporters does not deserve your attention. This list does not include the Socialist strength in Canada, Australia, Japan, Brazil, Puerto Rico and dozens of small countries where we have an organization.

Total Strength in the World . . . 8,000,000.
SOCIALIST REGISTER.
The name and address of every Socialist in St. Louis is wanted by the Central Committee. If you are a Socialist, fill out this blank and send it to the Organizer at once. Names received will be kept confidential.
WM. H. BAIRD, Organizer Social Democratic Party,
Room 9, 22 N. 4th Street
Dear Comrade—I believe in the principles of International Socialism and you may place my name on the roll of St. Louis Socialists.

Name _____
Address _____
Ward _____
Precinct _____