

Missouri Socialist

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EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS:
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The fact that a signed article is published does not commit 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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You call this "our" country, but you pay for the privilege of reading in it.

You say our individuality would be destroyed under socialism, but your number is 953 when you are at work.

The Social Democratic Women's Club sends in a donation of \$5 this week. The ladies are always doing something for the cause.

In glory in the fact that the humble can aspire to enter the White House, but you don't brag about the fact that even the poorest stand a chance of going to the poor house.

The Socialists of the world are looking to the Socialists of America to establish the first Socialist Republic. This thought should inspire us to great deeds. American Socialists have the grand privilege before them of leading the fight for the emancipation of the workers. Let them do their duty well.

An appropriation bill came up in the House of Delegates this week to cover the expenses of the police department and the 3 representatives of the Public Ownership party, who, some people imagine were elected to take a step towards Socialism, took a long step the other way by voting for an item in the bill to pay for the riot guns used during the street-car strike.

A British workman went out with a friend of his on a little yacht ride the other day, and a squall came up and blew down the rigging, and almost cracked the workman's skull, and would have done so if he hadn't looked up and saw his danger just in time to avoid the falling mast, and the papers cabled the news of the accident all over the world, and there was an awful excitement. Oh, beg pardon, it wasn't a workman, but his royal snobs of England. We thought it must have been someone who is very useful to society from the noise they made about it.

It has taken lots of patient hammering, but at last Bryan has been forced to mention Socialism. In an article in Collier's Weekly on trusts, he says:

"If the people decide that competition should be suppressed, they must choose between private monopoly and socialism. I do not mean that system of Socialism, even now called extreme, which would place the Government in control of all the forces of production and distribution, but a still more complete system, which would make the State the beneficiary of all services rendered and the distributor of all compensation."

Just what he is trying to say is a puzzle, but then we are really well pleased that he has been compelled at last to recognize the fact that there is such a word as "Socialism," and we publish the above to mark the beginning of Colonel B.'s investigation of Socialism.

Edward Green, married, 25 years old, born in St. Louis, a fireman by occupation, residing at 2312 North Ninth street, came to his death May 18, 1901, at the northwest corner of Eleventh and Olive streets, of shock and injuries, as the result of a fall while attempting to save his life by sliding down a hose from the roof of the building at 1191 Olive street; that the said Green was forced to resort to this means of escape on account of a fire in the building, extending from 1191 Olive street to 1195 Olive street, and that the spread of the fire was due to the faulty construction of the building, in violation of the ordinances of the City of St. Louis.

The above quotation is a verdict rendered by the coroner's jury. It is also an indictment against the present system. You, who are so much in love with the "practicability" of the present capitalist order of things, seldom stop to contrast these little events with what would occur under Socialism. Do you know that under Socialism there will be no incentive to erect cheap buildings that are not fire-proof? Cheap buildings are now erected because the builder makes a profit by it, at the risk of other people's lives. According to the present way of viewing things, that is one of the sacred rights of private property. Under Socialism all building will be done by the workers for themselves, and there will be no more reason for them to erect a defective structure than there is reason in a man punching holes through his own roof.

Nine-tenths of the deaths that occur to-day from unnatural causes are due to the "sacred rights of property."

or to the fact that some man's profits are held more sacred than human life. Under Socialism life will be held sacred above all things, and such accidents as resulted in the death of Fireman Green will be unknown.

As to Mr. Steinbiss.

If one H. W. Steinbiss of this city is guilty of the remarks accredited to him by the Globe-Democrat of last Wednesday, he deserves about the most energetic kick that the labor unions of St. Louis are able to administer. Mr. Steinbiss is an officer of an organization that is formed on class lines. He is secretary of the National Building Trades Council of America. This organization and the unions composing it was formed because the bricklayers, carpenters and other workmen engaged in building work are, as a class, compelled to sell their labor to the contractors and builders, who are decidedly of a different class—the employing or capitalist class. The carpenters, bricklayers, etc., desire to secure as large a portion as possible of the buildings they erect for the equivalent thereof in money—in fact, they would like to secure all the results of their labor, but not being able to do that immediately, they are demanding and obtaining all they can force their employers to give. Of course, the employers are diametrically opposed to this sort of thing. So right here we have the conflict of interest between the working class and the capitalist class. Now, if Mr. Steinbiss will demonstrate that there is no difference between the carpenters and bricklayers as a class, on the one hand, and the contractors and builders as a class, on the other, we will humbly apologize for all the mean things we are thinking of him. But until he proves that the trade unions, of which he is an officer, are organized to help their employers, instead of fighting them, we shall continue to preach that there are classes in this country and to hold in contempt any man who gives utterance to such nonsense as that reported to have emanated from the Building Trades' Council's secretary.

The remarks referred to are said to have been made by Mr. Steinbiss while in company with the World's Fair directors on their journey to the Buffalo Exposition. The report says that he "gave some splendid sentiments about the relations of labor and capital, and the interference of comagogues. He was convinced that the trash distributed among labor organizations about class distinctions is an exploded fallacy. In America, he said, intellect, good morals and integrity constitute the only class distinctions. Organized labor has many friends on this board. All are friends of properly organized and conducted labor." Mr. Steinbiss' remarks were very loudly applauded.

No wonder they applauded. The men who listened to his remarks are men who have everything to gain by making the working class believe that there are no classes, that such gentlemen are the friends of labor, etc. It is not often that the capitalists find such a jolly good fellow to pose as a labor agitator and when they do make the most of him. Mr. Steinbiss has a special attitude for norning around among "business men," "public spirited citizens," etc., for a chance to "represent labor"; in fact, he seems to be willing to do anything under the sun for labor except to agitate for its principles.

It is time that the labor movement of America is ridding itself of such superfluous "representatives," as the general H.W. and no better beginning could be made than with that gentleman himself.

The Brewers' Picnic.

The United Brewery Workmen of St. Louis, consisting of Brewers and Malsters, No. 6; Beer Drivers and Stabblers, No. 42; Beer Bottlers, No. 187; Brewery Firemen, No. 95; Brewery Engineers, No. 246; and Brewery Freight Handlers and Ice Plant Workers, No. 237, are making grand preparations for their big picnic at Concordia Park Sunday. Committees have been busy for the past two weeks arranging the details. The Herweze Vorwaerts and Freilicht singing societies will be present and participate in the programme. The speakers for the occasion are Comrades Chris Rucker, who will speak in German, and Leon Greenbaum.

The parade will start from 312 South Broadway at 1 p. m., and will march south on Broadway. John Gehbauer will act as grand marshal and Jacob Gabelmann and Herm. Krieger as aides.

The City Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party at its last meeting passed a motion urging members to attend the Brewers' picnic.

The committees are as follows: Arrangement Committee—Aug. Priestebach, chairman; Jacob Gabelmann, treasurer; Julius Radoff, musical director; Joseph Hahn, Fred Schreier, Jacob Pawonsky, Herm. Krieger, Adam Nitz, John Gehbauer, William Ege-man, Charles Seeburger, Charles Muesch, Julius Schwer, Wm. Schermer-dunn, Gabriel Throff.

Gate Committee—John Goedecker, Henry Kroll, Oscar Doerr, Henry Diel, Theo. Ott and Aug. Weinberg.

Park Committee—Joseph Esswein, Charles Fromm, Wm. Nagel, Victor Bosch, John Wetzel, Aug. Wieter, Geo. Schleifstein, John Glas, H. Barthels, Frank Voermehr and Matthias Hellner.

Floor Committee—Anton Hobbler, Isidor Herleth, Geo. Neurnberger, Otto Schneider, Philip Unterberg, Theo. Thomas, John Schwaerzer.

What John Ruskin Said and Wrote.

Dick Turple is blamed (suppose) by some plain-minded person for consuming the means of other people's living. "Nay," says Dick to the plain-minded person, "observe how beneficially and pleasantly I spend what I get." "Yes, Dick," persists the plain-minded person, "but how do you get it?" "The question," says Dick, "is insidious and irrelevant."

The guilty Thieyes of Europe, the real source of all deadly war in it, are the Capitalists—that is to say, people who live by percentages or the labor of others; instead of by fair wages for their own. All social evils and religious errors arise out of the pillage of the laborer by the idler, the idler leaving him only enough to live on (and even that miserably), and taking all the rest of the produce of his work to spend in his own luxury, or in the toys with which he beguiles his idleness.

I have been asked to contribute to the purchase of the Alexandra Park, and I will not; and I beg you, my working readers, to understand, once for all, that I wish your homes to be comfortable, and refined; and that I will resist, to the utmost of my power, all schemes founded on the vile modern notion that you are to be crowded into kennels until you are nearly dead, that other people may make money by your work, and then taken out in squads by tramway and railway, to be revived and refined by science and art. Your first business is to make your homes healthy and delightful; then keep your wives and children there, and let your enemies to them be your only "holly-day."

We, of the so-called "educated" classes, who take it upon us to be the better and upper part of the world, cannot possibly understand our relations to the rest better than we may where actual life may be seen in front of its Shakespearean image, from the stalls of a theater. I never stand up to rest myself and look around the house without renewal of wonder how the crowd in the pit, the shilling gallery, allow us of the boxes and stalls to keep in our places? Think of it: those fellows behind there have housed us and fed us; their wives have washed our clothes, and kept us tidy; they have bought us the best places; brought us through the cold to them; and there they sit behind us, patiently, seeing and hearing what they may. There they pack themselves, squeezed and distant, behind our chairs—we, their elect toys and pet pappets, oiled and varnished and incensed, lounge in front, placidly, or, for the greater part, wearily and sickly contemplative.

Hail to the Tramp!

I always feel like taking off my hat to a tramp. Suppose he should take the advice of some of his well-meaning friends and work for his board, where would your wages and mine go to?

True, I'm more stuck on his grit than his judgment. But if he chooses to live like a plutocrat (that is, without rendering any equivalent) so much the better for the labor market.

What if the thunders of the pulpit should reach his deadened hearing, the stinging arrows of the press penetrate his toughened skin? What if he should conclude that 50 cents for a day's honest toil were better than 30 cents for dyling beggary? What, in this event, would become of our 75-cent jobs?

I believe I could convince him, if he would give me a hearing, that tramping is the hardest kind of work. But I don't want to. No doubt, by the way, he knows it, but it would be hard for us if he acted on that hypothesis, for if he would work he could better his condition at wages that would more than put us on the hog.

But he won't work, and so I say, all hail to him, and cheerfully put up my contribution in the shape of a dime for a meal, boss, or a bed, please, sir, and scorn to ring a meal ticket or a lodging-house coupon off on him. If he chooses to squander my generous contribution in red liquor it is his own affair. He surely does not have so much money but he knows how to lay it out to the very best advantage.

The union man will only work for the union price, and so holds wages to a certain standard. The tramp, here's looking at him, will not work at all, and for all of him wages might go sky high.

The tramp from choice, on whose devoted head the anathemas of church and state break in vain, may not have chosen wisely for himself, but to his willingness to live on a dry crust if he may abstain from labor is due in no small degree the possibility of our obtaining soup bones to go with our crust as the reward of unremitting toil.—Big Eddy.

His Ideas They Are After.

The trouble with the pulpites is that Professor Herron has told too many truths about rotten Churchianity. He hits the John V. Farwells and other plutocratic hypocrites, too heavy blows for them to bear quietly, and so they stir up their theological servants until they are in a proper condition to attack giants like Herron, who will be a power when the parsons are rotten and forgotten.

Whether they down Herron or not, the ideas he has advanced will not go down, and other leaders will rise to take his place when he deserts the arena.

It would be perfectly safe to claim that had not Professor Herron taken up the promulgation of Socialistic ideas, or denounced the hypocrites in the so-called Christian churches, neither the Protestant priesthood nor baker Kohlsaat would have attacked him, but on the contrary, they would have spent thousands for a whitewash, and have procured him a professorship in the Rockefeller-Standard Oil Chicago university, with Doc Harper as defender-in-chief.

Were Hillis to take up Socialism it would not be long ere the same clique that has taken the Herron case in hand would be after the Brooklyn barnacle loaded for fear.—Brann's Iconoclast.

POEMS OF LABOR.

The Voice of Toil.

I hear men saying, Leave hope and praying,
All days shall be as all have been;
To-day and to-morrow bring fear and sorrow
The never-ending toil between.

Which earth was younger mid toil and hunger,
In hope we strove, and our hands were strong;
Then great men led us, with words they fell us—

And bade us right the earthly wrong,
Go read in story their deeds and glory,
Their names amidst the nameless dead;

Turn then from lying to us slow-dying
In that good world to which they led.

Where fast and faster our iron master,
The thing we made, forever drives,
Bids us grind treasure and fashion pleasure
For other hopes and other lives.

Where home is a novel and dull we grovel
Forgetting that the world is fair—
Where no babe we cherish, lest its very soul perish,
Where our mirth is crime, our love a snare.

Who now shall lead us, what god shall heed us,
As we lie in the hell our hands have won?
For us are no rulers but fools and befoolers,
The great are fallen, the wise men gone.

I heard men saying, leave tears and praying,
The sharp knife heedeth not the sheep;
Are we not stronger than the rich and the wronger,
When day breaks over dreams and sleep?

Come, shoulder to shoulder ere earth grows older!
Helps lies in nought but thee and me,
Hope is before us, the long years that bore us,
Here leaders more than men may be.

Let dead hearts tarry and trade and marry
And trembling nurse their dreaps of mirth,
While we the living our lives are giving
To bring the bright new world to birth.

Come, shoulder-to-shoulder ere earth grows older!
The Cause spreads over land and sea,
Now the world shaketh and fear awaketh,
And joy at last for thee and me.

—William Morris.

The Muse of Labor.

I come, O heroes, to the world gone wrong;
I bring the hope of nations; and I bear
The warm first rush of rapture in my song,
The first faint light of morning in my hair.

I look upon the ages from a tower;
I am the Muse of the Fraternal State;
No hand can hold me from my crowning hour,
My song is Freedom and my step is Fate.

I have descended from Alecto,
I am the Muse of Labor and of Mirth;
I come to break the chain of infamy
That Greed's blind hammers forge about the earth.

I have descended from the Hidden Place
To make dumb spirits speak and dead feet start;
I feel the wind of battles in my face,
I hear the song of nations in my heart.

I stand in Him, the Hero of the Cross,
To hurl down traitors that misspend his bread;
I touch the star of misery and loss,
To shake the Kingdoms of the living dead.

I wear the flower of Christ for a crown;
I weigh the stars and give to each a name;
And through the hushed Eternity bend down,
To strengthen gods and keep their souls from blame.

I come to overthrow the ancient wrong;
To let the joy of nations rise again;
I am Unselfish Service, I am song,
I am the Hope that feeds the hearts of men.

I am the Vision in the world eclipse,
And where I pass the feet of Beauty burn;
And when I set the bugle to my lips,
The youth of work worn races will return.

I am Religion and the church I build
Stands on the sacred flesh with passion packed;
In me the ancient gospels are fulfilled—
In me the symbol rises into Fact.

I am the maer of the People bread,
I bear the little burdens of the day;
Yet in the Mystery of song I tread
The endless heavens and show the stars their way.

—Edwin Markham.

About 500 machine hands and wood-workers of this city went out on strike Wednesday morning. The union men succeeded in bringing out with them a large number who were not members of the union. The bosses are divided and the men are confident of victory.

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

Our Sacred Constitution.

Framed in the Interests of Property Holders, McKinley Wants It Preserved.

Some Queer Sentiments Expressed by the Founders of the Republic.

"In peace or war, you have been faithful. We live, my fellow-citizens, under a constitution that was made by four millions of people, and yet it has proved quite adequate for seventy-five millions of people. It has embraced within it every national duty and purpose, and has never stood in the way of our development and expansion. That instrument seems almost to be inspired to carry forward the holy mission of liberty. It seems not to have been made alone for those who framed it and their successors; but for all ages and all mankind. That instrument stands today almost as it left the hands of its framers. Few amendments have been added, and those have only been to enlarge the priceless blessings of liberty and free government to the people, and no amendment can ever be made to the constitution of this country that will curtail the supreme and sovereign power of the people.

"To us, my fellow-citizens, young and old, the preservation of that constitution is committed. It is a sacred trust given to us to see to it that it is preserved in all its virtue and vigor, to be passed along to the generations yet to come. Glorious constitution, glorious Union, glorious flag. Seventy-five millions of people stand together as they never before stood to defend them all."—Speech of Wm. McKinley.

"Zounds! Who'd 'a' think it! What a useful document that old parchment has really proved itself to be. Framed for the purpose of keeping less than four million wage-slaves in bondage it now serves to inspire a respect and reverence for law and order in the bosoms of over seventy millions. Glorious constitution! Wow!

Excuse these expressions. They are too weak to express my feelings properly, but they will have to pass as an intimation that I am slightly disgusted and not a little riled at the gush of the Chief Executive. How many people know what lies the constitution really allows them? How many know what took place in the convention that framed the instrument that we are now asked to pass along to us many future generations as will be content to endure the rule of the dead?

They can be excused for their lack of knowledge on the subject for the records of that convention were not made public for half a century afterwards, and not very much is repeated within the hearing of many people even now. The sessions of the convention were secret, and it was not until 1829 that the records were published.

One question alone is enough to satisfy a man of average intelligence that the spirit that governed the convention was far from democratic. That question is: Why did the convention provide for an electoral college, which was expected to use its own judgment in selecting a president? This provision of the constitution to-day is practically inoperative, owing to an unwritten law, but the fact that it was framed by the constitutional convention with a view to preventing the people from selecting a president is sufficient proof that there was no democracy in that convention, and the fact that McKinley is lauding this document to the skies to workingmen who have their liberties in spite of it, instead of because of it, is proof that he is a most hypocritical demagogue.

I know that this attack will shock many who have been taught to look upon the constitution as an almost holy instrument. But when they are informed that Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry were opposed to the adoption of the constitution they may forgive me for objecting to its further laudation.

The four men who made the revolution—Thomas Jefferson, Sam Adams, Patrick Henry and Thomas Paine, were not delegates to the convention. These places were probably filled by bankers and slave-holders. The delegates were not chosen by popular vote, and which one of them, Mr. Rutledge of South Carolina, said: "If this convention had been chosen by the people in districts, it is not to be supposed that such proper characters would have been preferred."

Just to illustrate the character of the convention let us repeat the opinions expressed by some of the delegates. Mr. Dickinson of Delaware: "I consider a limited monarchy as one of the best governments of the world."

Roger Sherman of Connecticut: "I oppose the election of members of the National Legislature by the people. The people, immediately, should have as little to do as may be about the government."

Mr. Madison was evidently afraid the working class would some day take a notion to do the governing. He said: "In a republican government the majority, if united, have always an opportunity. The only remedy is to enlarge the sphere and thereby divide the community into so great a number of interests and parties, that in the first place the majority will not be likely, at the same moment, to have a common interest separate from that of the whole, or of the minority, and in the second place, that in case they should have such an interest, they may not be so apt to united in pursuit of it."

Alexander Hamilton said that: "In his private opinion he had no scruple the opinion of so many of the wise and good, that the British government was the best in the world, and he doubted much if anything short of it would do in America."

Mr. Butler of South Carolina: "An election by the people is an impractical mode."

"The evils we experience flow from the excess of democracy."
John Randolph of Virginia: "In tracing these evils to their origin, every man finds it in the turbulence and follies of democracy."

Mr. Gerry of Massachusetts admitted that it was necessary that the people should appoint one branch of the government in order to insure them with the necessary confidence.

Mr. Dickinson: "Wished the Senate to consist of the most distinguished characters, distinguished for their rank in life and their weight of property, and bearing as strong a likeness to the House of Lords as possible."

Mr. Madison made the prediction that "In future times a great majority of the people will not only be without landed, but any other sort of property," and he was afraid that these poor people would combine at the ballot-box against the rich. Well, they probably will.

RUSSIAN OUTRAGES

Address of the International Socialist Bureau.

The International Socialist Bureau at Brussels has addressed the following circular to the Socialists and labor parties of the world:

To the labor parties of all countries: "It is unnecessary to recount in detail the important events which are now taking place in Russia. Our comrades have learned the facts through the reports given by the press and through the communications of our Russian brothers in the Socialist papers.

"As the Russian delegates to the International Socialist Committee have written, the events of the last few months mark a turning point in the history of the empire of the Tsar. The troubles which began in the universities have developed into deep and serious troubles which agitate all Russia, which call in question the very foundations of Russian society, which make the intellectuals of the cities with its proletariat of the industrial centers a long and difficult, yet hopeful, struggle against the brutal force of tsarism.

"There in Russia the thousands of workmen in the factories and workshops and thousands of citizens of all classes are full of courage in the great task they have before them and find confidence in the solidarity of the brothers in Europe. In America in Australia, and in Asia, because they know that in battling against capitalism and against Russian despotism they are fighting for the emancipation of the workers—the common cause of the Socialist parties of all lands.

"Already in France public meetings have been held for the purpose of forming public opinion to the revolutionary situation in Russia. In Belgium meetings are being organized. It is hoped that the Socialist parties of England, Germany, Austria, Denmark, Holland, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, the United States, and all other countries will follow this example, in order that the international proletariat may be unanimous in its protest against the brutalities of tsarism.

"We urge that, in all large cities industrial centers, and university circles meetings be organized, and that resolutions of protest be submitted to the vote of the audience and, if practicable, such protests be circulated for signatures. We propose to you the following form of resolution to be ratified at such meetings:

"The citizens assembled in the meeting at _____ extend their greetings to the Russian proletariat. We recognize our solidarity with the workmen and intellectuals in their conflict with the coalition of capitalism and tsarism. We express our sympathy with the Russian revolutionaries and encourage them to continue their battle to a victorious end."

"We desire you to inform us with the least possible delay what will be done in this matter and to transmit us copies of the resolutions adopted in order that we may organize the movement of condemnation against the acts of an odious and barbaric government. Fraternally.

THE INT. SOCIALIST BUREAU.
—VICTOR SERWY, SECRETARY.
—Brussels, April 21, 1901.

Trouble is on at the National Cash Register Company's plant, Dayton, Ohio, and Co. N. P. Geiger has left Syracuse, N. Y., for that point with the intention of doing a little propaganda for Socialism. Dayton doubled its Socialist vote at the last election and the field is ripe.

CAPITALIST AND LABORER.
"Why so busy?" the jaybird asked.
"What are you doing, pray?"
"I suppose," said the robin, "I'm making a nest."
"For you, you blooming jay!"

Socialists of Oregon will hold a convention at Albany on May 21.

CHILD LABOR.

A Stinging Arraignment of the Present Iniquitous System, Delivered by Representative James F. Carey in the Massachusetts Legislature.

A speech made by James F. Carey of Haverhill, Mass., Social Democratic Representative from the Fifth Essex District, in the Massachusetts Legislature, March 25, 1899, upon the acceptance of the report of the Committee on Labor that a bill, introduced by him, to raise the school age and the age of employment from 14 to 16 years (ought not to pass.)

I could ask the Committee on Labor to submit their reasons for reporting adversely on this bill were it not that it would merely consume the time of the House to no purpose, because there is not a member of this House nor of the Senate who can advance a single rational argument why children should be allowed to toil in the workshops of this country to-day. I submit and I defy contradiction, that there is absolutely no rational basis for the report of the Committee on Labor, recommending that the bill ought not to pass, which contemplates the raising of the age of employment from 14 to 16 years.

Let us see if we can anticipate some of the arguments that may be presented against the bill. One of them, I confess, given by workmen themselves, is that it is necessary in certain instances for the children to be at work in order that they may supplement their wages the father and the mother may earn, and thus contribute to the support of the family.

To some this may seem to be an unanswerable argument against a proposition to prohibit the employment of children under 16 years of age, but let us examine it. Let us see what there is at the basis of the position of those who may present the argument that it is necessary to employ children in the factories in order that the family may exist. I submit to you that the man who makes such a proposition to this House or to any body of citizens in this Commonwealth, but presents to the people an indictment against the present industrial system that makes it necessary for the children to be put into the mills to help the fathers gain a living, when the productivity of the labor of those fathers is such that the warehouses burst with the superfluity of their product, there is a periodically recurring cry of overproduction, and you are obliged to seek foreign markets so that the surplus may be disposed of.

Until such time as your Committee on Labor and the members of this House can demonstrate to me and to the citizens of this Commonwealth that the labor of children is economically necessary, I say that you stand indicted as committing a crime against the children of the working class and against society by your rejection of this bill.

And further, let me ask you, those of you who may honestly advance this argument, have you ever considered and do you realize the effect of the employment of child labor upon the wages of men? Are you aware that the competition for work which the present industrial system forces upon the working class is one of the chief factors in reducing their wages and keeping them down? Do you not know that every time a child enters a factory the competition grows keener, and the child becomes the rival of the father in the economic struggle for existence, and brings an added pressure to bear upon the downward tendency of his wages? When women began to work in the factories, and had to leave their small children alone at home all day, a similar excuse was urged in justification, viz., that the wife's earnings were necessary in order to supplement those of the husband. You believe, and you have reason, that the husband's income was not sufficient to support his family, but instead of being increased by the wages of his wife, as you apparently expected it would, the very fact that the wife was knocking at the factory door for admittance was used by the capitalist class as a club to beat down still further the wages of the husband. And not satisfied with that, they call in the children and put them in competition with their parents until the wages of each are still further reduced, and it becomes necessary that not only the child of 14 should work, but also the child of 6.

When you demonstrate to me that child labor is socially necessary, that it is needed in order that enough wealth may be produced to satisfy the material needs of society to-day, I will withdraw my objection to the report, because, as a Social Democrat, I stand for society first and for the individual afterwards. But I see about me a country rich, incalculably rich in natural resources, with a soil so fertile that the merest touch of the hand of labor multiplies a seed a hundred fold, peopled by a race of willing and intelligent workers, whose inventive genius has carried the productivity of their toil to the highest point known in the history of man, a country where bursting warehouses abound, where foreign markets are sought for the absorption of labor's product, and where at least 2,000,000 men are permanently unemployed. And I submit to you that in such a country, if the means of production and distribution were managed with reason or anything like reason, not only the material needs of society but all its comforts and luxuries could be supplied in abundance without calling in the aid of the children.

The fact that oft-times a workingman who, because he may be receiving one dollar for a day's work, must needs take his child from the cradle and send him to work in the mill or factory in order that he may be able to eke out a living, is in itself evidence that those who possess and manage the means of social production are incompetent and that they manipulate those means for purposes other

than to supply the needs of society. The labor of children is individually necessary now and in many instances I admit, but only because the men who call themselves statesmen have not demonstrated their statesmanship by establishing a system of industry that should operate for the benefit and protection of the whole society, in place of the present system which has disrupted it by creating two hostile classes, and given to the smaller, the capitalist class, the power to exploit the vital energies of the larger, the working class, and keep it in needless and unjust poverty and privation. The labor of children is desired and made use of now, only because it increases the competition in such a manner that the steadily downward tendency of wages is accentuated; and every time the wages of the workers go down, the difference between the value of what they produce and the amount returned to them in wages by the capitalist increases; in other words, because the capitalist class is thereby enabled to absorb a still greater proportion of the produce of the labor of the working class.

When you allow or countenance the labor of children you countenance an unnatural competition between the father and the child which ultimately will throw the father out of employment, making the child the wage-earner of the family and the father merely a dinner-carrier to his child. This is not overdrawn. You can see it for yourselves in Lawrence and Lowell and many other manufacturing centers—the father carrying dinner to his wife and child who are working in the factory, while he himself is unable to find employment. And yet you wonder why it is that the working-class are dissatisfied with their wages, why crime increases, and why there are so many saloons.

Do you know what it is, this life in a factory? I know because I have lived it for 22 years. Should I picture it to you here, what I would say would not be something that some professor at Harvard told me, or something that I have read in a book about "how the other half lives." It would be what I know from my own personal experience. We will let it pass; but this I will ask you to answer: When you take a boy of 14 and shut him up in a factory to work for 10 or 12 hours, on insufficient and innutritious food, leaving him at the close of the day's work filled with that indefinite longing for something which a lack of sufficient nourishment always produces, is it any wonder that the saloon entices him, because it restores to him at least a semblance of his exhausted vitality? Is it any wonder that the overworked and underfed workers, both men and boys, go to the saloons, and that they become drunkards? And if they do, it is you who are responsible, not they. Instead of imprisoning the drunkards they ought to imprison you because you permit and defend an economic system which makes drunkenness our only refuge from an ever-present realization of our misery. I know what it is at the age of 14 years, after working nine or ten hours, to go out in the evening, probably not having had enough to eat and needing some stimulant to last me until I could go to sleep and forget that I lived. I know what it is under such circumstances to pass and look longingly in at the inviting bar rooms, inviting because they afford at least a narcotic to my misery. That I did not enter is no credit to you, and had I done so it would be to your shame.

Some will make the objection that to raise the age of employment would put Massachusetts at a disadvantage in competition with other States, and that the greatness of Massachusetts would be to that extent impaired. I want to ask those who raise this objection, what it is that constitutes the greatness of Massachusetts? Is it the mills in Lawrence and Lowell and New Bedford, that represent in part the labor force of which my class has been exploited? Is it the stocks and bonds by means of which the capitalist class manipulates the wealth produced by my class? Or is it not rather the memory of Phillips and Garrison and the knowledge that Bunker Hill still rises proudly on our father's love horizon, a witness to our father's love of liberty? Is it not the fact that Massachusetts, at different periods in her history has stood boldly and unflinchingly for progress and for humanly? These are the things that constitute the greatness of this Commonwealth, and not the stocks and bonds which the vested interests of capital, and which seemingly are the things most considered here.

You Republicans and Democrats have told us in every campaign how much you love the public schools of Massachusetts, how dear they are to you; and yet you refuse to take a step which will give to the children of the poor two years more of school life. Do you know how many children in this Commonwealth would be affected by this law, if we raise the age of employment from 14 to 16 years? 14,907 of them. Nearly 15,000 children would, by the enactment of this law, be freed from the slave pens where the capitalist system holds them enchained. Why system holds them to love the public schools and to stand for civilization, when you refuse to these children the boon of two years of education? How can you witness the long line of can you witness the factories as a children entering the laws you make, and not result of the mask of hypocrisy will fear that from your faces and that be torn from your faces and that you may appear in your true light as the enemies of the working class and of the republic, in that you legislate to make these children mere slaves to machines, and compel them to expend in toil the vital force which ought to be used in developing them physically and mentally so

that they might reach a higher development as citizens?

I will assume that it is because you are ignorant of the conditions under which some of the children are compelled to work, and for your enlightenment will read a clipping from the New York Journal of March 11, in relation to the mills of Fall River.

Fall River, Mass., March 11.—Situating in the very center of Fall River's wharf line and flush with the waters of Mount Hope Bay is the mammoth plant of the American Printing Company, the largest establishment of the kind in America, and the individual property of Matthew Chandler Durfee Borden, the millionaire resident of New York. Hundreds of small boys work for Mr. Borden, and many of them toil ten hours a day without a thread of clothing on their bodies. No one except employes are allowed to enter the works, and therefore when it was stated before a woman's club in New York last week that "naked babies were at work in the Fall River mills much interest was aroused. A Journal man has investigated the matter and found that the statement was practically true. That is, naked people work in the American works, but they are not exactly babies. They are children, sometimes not more than 14 years old.

The work in the big tanks called "lime kees," in the bleach house, packing the cloth into the vats. The lime kee holds 750 pieces of cloth and it requires one hour and twenty minutes to fill it. During that time the lad must work inside, while his body is being soaked with whatever there is of chemicals which enter into the process of bleaching of which lime is a prominent factor.

The naked bodies of the children who do this work day after day are never dry, and the same chemicals which effect the "bleaching" process of the gray cloth naturally blanches the skin of the operator, and after coming out of the vats the boys show the effects in the whiteness of their skins, which rivals the cotton cloth. Such is the situation which this bill asks you to relieve—an industrial condition where under pressure of economic necessity, boys of 14 are working, stark naked, in steam and hot air and chemicals until their bodies become whiter than the cloth they bleach. You are asked to take these boys out of these ghastly dens and send them to school for two years longer. I wish I were able to bring them here before you to-day, that you might see them with your own eyes. And not only these but all of the 15,000 children, many of whom are working under conditions less extreme, but no less deadly in their effects. I wish I could show them to you, as you ought to see them, when they first enter the mills and factories, with some vigor in their limbs, with the flush of youth in their cheeks and the sparkle of life in their eyes; and could show them to you again at the end of two years, with their pallid faces, lustreless eyes and lagging tread. What has become of the flush that was on their cheeks when they entered? It has been stolen by their masters to color the wine they drink at their feasts, and the sparkle that was in their eyes has been crystallized into their demands that blaze and flash upon the bosoms and in the glittering tiaras of their masters', wives and daughters.

And when the Committee on Labor of this House reports against a bill which puts off the evil day for two years longer, and you endorse their report, you endorse that funeral procession of the children of the poor, marching sadly to the grave of their childhood and innocence. You endorse the crime and vice and ignorance that follow the employment of children and you cannot justify yourselves by saying that it is socially necessary. Suppose that you and I had lived a hundred years ago, in the days of the hand loom and the spinning wheel and the ox cart and the other simple tools that were used in the production and distribution of wealth; and I had drawn for you a prophetic picture of the modern machines in all their productive power; and had asked you whether in the day of all these wonderful machines the labor of children would have been necessary, what would you have answered? Surely, if you had lived in the days of Benjamin Franklin and could have foreseen the marvelous development of machinery you would have said that in their day the labor of children would assuredly not be needed. And that it is needed, that there is a single able-bodied workingman who cannot get enough to support himself and his family without having to call upon his children for assistance, is not an argument against raising the age of employment, but an indictment of the so-called statesmanship of the political parties that have had the control of the State and an indictment of the system that drags the children of my class out of the home and the school and thrusts them into the factory to be ground up into profits for the capitalist class.

Naturally you grow impatient. You do not like to listen to these bald truths, but despite your impatience I shall talk until the hour of adjournment; and to-morrow I shall ask the members of your Committee on Labor to tell me why they report adversely on this bill, and I will see to it that the people know their reason. You must take up your position on this question: Are you in favor of child labor or are you not? If you say you are in favor of it because without it the workingman's wages would not be sufficient to support his family, then I say you should do some serious thinking as to why, in view of the increased productivity of his labor, his wages are not sufficient, and should attempt to find such a remedy as would make the labor of the child unnecessary.

I will not deal with the ethical side of the question, though I know it as well as any of you. I know that children in factories and mills are assailed on every hand by all kinds of temptation that tend to their degradation and their immorality; that you take them from the factory and give them two years more of education would be a credit to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; an act to refuse to do it will be merely postponing an act that should long ago have been done and will yet be done; and whose want of

enactment is alone sufficient to cause an indignant people to make your political parties things of the past.

Again I confront you with the fact that almost 15,000 children are needlessly tolling for wages in the mills and factories of Massachusetts, and I demand that you answer why you oppose this bill so that the people of Massachusetts may know why countenance this crime against society, against the childhood of the world, and against the future citizens of this republic. Whatever you may say or do, we are prepared to meet you here or elsewhere, and if you will not listen and will not act we will meet you face to face in every political campaign that shall be waged until the end. I submit the case to you, and if you will not give us justice I shall appeal to the people; and should they not hearken I will appeal from them to that last and supreme tribunal that reverses many of the decisions of to-day—the Future, holding as it does in solution this and much more, the Future that will surely recognize the rights of society to the ownership and the benefits of all means of production and distribution inasmuch as they are the product of the genius of society, of the invention and experiment of the whole human race; and will above all, recognize and sacredly guard the right of the child to all his years of childhood.

The bill was defeated by a vote of 125 to 25, on a rising vote. Mr. Carey asked for a roll call, so that each member might be placed on record for or against the bill. This was also defeated, as a roll call is granted only on the request of thirty members; and only ten out of 240 supported Mr. Carey's request. The House was composed of 169 Republicans, 68 Democrats, 2 Social Democrats and 1 Prohibitionist.

Wilshire's Defi.

The City Council of Los Angeles recently passed an ordinance forbidding further public speaking in the Central Park of that city. As this had been one of Comrade H. G. Wilshire's favorite pastimes, he concluded to test the ordinance, and to that end he published the following advertisement conspicuously in the Los Angeles Times. We have not yet learned how the venture turned out.

BRING OUT YOUR PATROL.

I Will Speak in the Central Park on Thursday, May 16, 4:30 P. M.

This Will Mean Arrest and Annoyance, But I Believe It Will Secure the Right of Free Speech in Los Angeles.

I Expect to Punch the City Ordinance as Full of Blow-Holes as a Piece of Carnegie's Best Armor Plate—My Notice to Chief Elton.

To the Chief of the Los Angeles Police Department.

Dear Sir—Inasmuch as I may be absent from the city during the summer months, and as before leaving, I am anxious to arrange matters to the end that the populace may not be deprived, during the long summer days, of the relaxation afforded them by the accustomed public speaking in Central Park, which is now threatened with extinguishment by the new city ordinance, I would be indebted for your kindly cooperation to further my wishes.

I propose to speak this afternoon in the park at, say, 4:30, if that hour is convenient for you to have me arrested, and I take this opportunity to request you to have an officer on hand to see that I do not break the laws of this city with my accustomed impunity. I hope you will pardon my referring to the manner in which you neglected your plain duty in the matter in the past, when I took the trouble to speak in the park simply to get arrested, and you mortified me so much by ignoring me entirely. It is not only a matter of sentiment with me, this establishment of the right of free speech in this city, but it is also a matter of business. I may remind you that I am publishing a weekly paper, The Challenge, which does considerable blowing about the menace of plutocracy to the "common" people of this nation. Now, a new paper needs advertising to obtain a good circulation, and any stick is good enough to beat a dog, you know. The cheapest and most convenient stick for me just now is the one bestowed on me by your honorable City Council in its passage of this "free speech" ordinance. It gives me a chance of getting

my name and that of The Challenge in the papers free of expense, through your kindly assistance in being forced to arrest me.

As I intend making this affair more or less a spectacular event—brass about it in my paper and illustrate it with half-tones—I wish you would pick out particularly vicious and brutal-looking officer to haul me to my dungeon. Most of your men have altogether too benevolent and kindly an expression for the cast. Also please instruct him to let the sun fall well on his face when the photographer presses the button. I might hint that you see that the patrol wagon is in apple-pie order, because nothing reflects more discredit on a city than anything slovenly connected with the police force. The Challenge has a large Eastern circulation, and I don't want to injure Los Angeles. I don't know that you have any pull with the Times, but if so you might see that its cartoonist is ordered to be on the spot, that he may have the opportunity to illustrate the event in a manner its importance deserves. I can't think for a moment of any further instructions, but if so I will telephone you in ample time for you to observe them. Faithfully yours,

H. GAYLORD WILSHIRE.

P. S.—The Challenge is a 16-page weekly, 50 cents per year. I devote considerable time to one class of criminals, "the trusts." I am quite certain the boys will all like it, and a word from you would go a long way with them toward getting them in line on my subscription list. Don't exactly intimidate them into subscribing, just tell them that if they want a cinch on holding down their jobs they had better take Wilshire's paper.

N. B.—Private: Remember, I allow you 50 per cent.—H. G. W.

Note—I cannot give any more news regarding above, as I am about to go to press. However, I might just make one more dash to see my hand in it will bet you, Mr. City Attorney, two to one—peanuts or Northern Pacific Railway stock—that I pulverize your old ordinance.—H. G. W.

Insurance Agents' Union, No. 8672, held their regular meeting at Nagel's Hall last Saturday afternoon. The meeting was an enthusiastic one. The union has almost doubled its membership recently.

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, \$0.35
 - Modern Socialism, Rev. Chas. Vail, paper, .25
 - Communist Manifesto, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, cloth 25, .10
 - The People's Marx, Deville, cloth \$1.50, paper .75
 - History of the Commune of 1871, Liessagary, cloth .100
 - History of Paris Commune, Beauchamp, cloth 75, paper .25
 - Socialism, reply to the Pope, Blatchford .05
 - Merrile England, Blatchford .10
 - Wage-Labor and Capital, Karl Marx .05
 - Woman and the Social Problem, May Wood Simons .05
 - The Evolution of the Class Struggle, Noyes .05
 - Impudent Marriages, Blatchford, Packington, A. M. Simons .05
 - Realism in Literature and Art, Darrow .05
 - Single Tax vs. Socialism, A. M. Simons .05
 - The Man Under the Machine, A. M. Simons .05
 - The Mission of the Working Class, Rev. Chas. Vail .05
 - Morals and Socialism, Chas. H. Kerr .05
 - No Compromise, Wm. Liebknecht, Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, Engels .10
 - The Trust Question, Rev. Chas. Vail .05
 - Liberty, Debs .05
 - Prison Labor, Debs .05
 - Socialism and Slavery, Hyndman .05
 - Oration on Voltaire, Hugs .05
 - Evolution of Industry, Watkins .05
 - Social Democratic Red Book, Heath .13
- Address: MISSOURI SOCIALIST, Room 3, 22 N. 4th st. St. Louis, Mo.

The Profit of Capital.

How Labor is Deprived of Its Just Share.

Take all those who have worked together in the production of some article—those who have worked with their brains, as well as those who have worked with their hands; add together what they have received for their work and they will not be able to recover the product of their labor! And when machinery is employed, thus causing a greater production with the same amount of labor, then it becomes more and more impossible for the workers to buy back with their wages the product of their work, and they become poorer and poorer.

But the capitalists say that the profit of capital is really the recompense of the brain-work of the capitalist, the reward for his management. In reality, however, only a very small portion of the income of the capitalist can come under that head; and the English economists have always treated the profits of the employers as the premium on capital, and have left unnoticed the reward for brain work on account of its smallness. If you want to know how small it is look at the salaries paid to stewards of estates, to managers of factories, etc., etc., who do the brain work while the principals travel for pleasure or attend to other matters! Only the amount so paid for management can be regarded as the recompense for such work when the employer does the work himself. This feature is still more strongly marked in the management of railways, joint stock banks, and industrial companies. Here, those who possess the capital are many, and they live on their dividend, while the "brain work" of the business is being done by the salaried officials. Of course, some of these salaries are absurdly high; but take them all together and compare the total with the amount paid away in dividends and then you will have some idea of the smallness of the amount paid for brain work and management.

Take the total amount of the produce of labor during one year is \$500,000, and that the cost of the subsistence of the workers—in other words, their wages—is \$100,000. Now, whether the employers are sharp or stupid, idle or industrious, the remaining \$400,000 will fall to the share of the employers, as a class, and how much each individual employer will receive will depend upon his personal qualities.

Economics can only deal with the question of how much of the produce of labor the employers as a class can obtain for themselves, and what quantity of the products of labor the individual worker can obtain. The question as to how one individual employer can get more for himself than other individual employers is really a part of practical business and in no way comes under economics. All this shows that capital is not ever present, that it is not a law of nature, but is the effect of certain historical conditions; and that its productivity in altered surroundings must and will disappear.

Let us contrast the commencement of this historical analysis with the end. In the primitive state of individual, isolated labor with which we commenced, the instrument or tool—the bow and arrow of the Indian—was in the hands of the worker, and thus work alone was productive. Under the system of division of labor, work and production became social; although distribution of the result of the work remained individualistic, and through division of labor, the system of exchange values and free competition, this result is rapidly brought about, viz., the separation of the instruments or tools from the worker becomes complete, the productivity of labor is appropriated by the holders of the tools and the reward of the worker is reduced to that which will keep him alive whilst he works.

Formerly labor was productive; now the instrument alone is productive. The instrument of production, which has been snatched from the worker, is capital, the worker has become the dead, unproductive instrument, while the instrument now alone is productive.

Division of labor is the source of all fortunes. The only economical law which forms a parallel with a law of nature is that production can only become more productive and cheaper by division of labor. The law is, so to say, a social law of nature. A handful of individuals have appropriated this social law of nature, and used it for their individual benefit; the masses are bound with the chains of the ever increasing products of industry and virtually receive in return for their labor no more than the Indian did under favorable circumstances before civilization commenced. Just as well might these individuals appropriate the force of gravity, the power of steam and the warmth of the sun. They feed the people as they oil their machines, to keep them in good working order; and the food of the people is only an item in the cost of production.

We have learned from the great English economists that the consumer pays for the work of man, and not for the forces of nature, but we have also learned that this payment for the work of man reaches the wrong quarter; the work of man is paid for, but the worker is not paid, and has to be content with the necessary means of existence, that being all that capital will allow him. Capital has not appropriated the sun, but it has possessed itself of the division of labor and its constantly increasing productivity. After all, the sun was made by no man, and is the property of no man; but capital is grasping the advantages of the social laws of nature, constantly appropriating the produce of the labor of others, and has turned the owner of work into private property. Thus a social state of property has risen, in which each calls that his which is not the product of his labor.—Excerpt from "What Is Capital?" by Ferdinand Lasalle.

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

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? Then read this record of the Socialist 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.

Denmark	1872	318
"	1884	6,505
"	1887	8,408
"	1890	17,232
"	1892	20,998
"	1895	25,919
"	1898	32,000
Great Britain	1835	55,000
"	1900	100,000
Italy	1893	20,000
"	1895	75,400
"	1895	75,400
"	1897	134,946
Servia	1895	50,000
Spain	1893	7,000
"	1895	14,800
"	1897	23,000
Switzerland	1830	13,500
"	1893	29,822
"	1896	36,468
Belgium	1894	334,500
"	1898	534,324
Germany	1867	30,000
"	1871	101,927
"	1874	251,670
"	1877	486,843
"	1878	437,158
"	1881	311,961
"	1884	599,900
"	1887	763,128
"	1890	1,427,298
"	1893	1,786,738
"	1898	2,125,000

United States

1890	13,704	
1892	21,512	
1896	36,275	
1900	140,000	
Austria	1890	90,000
"	1897	750,000
"	1900	1,000,000
France	1885	30,000
"	1888	91,000
"	1893	590,000
"	1898	1,000,000

Total Strength in the World . . . 8,000,000.

BEYOND THE SEAS.

HOLLAND.

The general election will take place on June 11 and 13, and second ballots, if necessary, on June 25.

SWITZERLAND.

A Socialist has been elected to the municipality of Zurich, and also to the local Cantonal Assembly at the same place.

SPAIN.

Socialists of Spain have just elected their first representative to the Cortez (the National Parliament).

ITALY.

At the election at Stradella, where the Socialist was elected, he received 200 votes more than his opponent. Socialism is also spreading in the South of Italy, and the number of groups is increasing. There are now 783 organized groups, with a membership of 28,497.

GERMANY.

Three Socialists have been elected to the Landtag of Saxe-Altenberg; this gives them eight members out of a Parliament of thirty. The following sketch of the electoral system shows what good organization can do. Nine of the members are chosen by the highest taxed inhabitants, and the remaining twenty-one are chosen by seven constituencies. The voting is open, but only persons having a home of their own are allowed to vote. In spite of all these precautions the authorites have not been able to keep the Socialists out.

A Socialist has been elected to the Municipal Council at Stettin.

MAY DAY ABROAD.

In Berlin, some 385,000 men and women attended the various meetings which our comrades had organized. Resolutions were passed at all the meetings in favor of an 8-hour day, Socialist legislation, and the right of combination. In spite of the threat of the masters in the building trades to lock out all their men for a week if they kept May Day, a very large number of the men engaged in the trade abstained from work on that day.

In Paris May Day was the occasion of the funeral of Mme. Paule Mink, one of the noble women who, like Louise Michel, fought on the side of the Commune in 1871, and was sent into exile afterwards.

In Rome a meeting of several thousands was organized by the Chamber of Labor, and in other parts of Italy the festival was celebrated. In various parts of Spain Labor's festival was duly celebrated. Everywhere there was the most complete tranquility and the demonstrations were most orderly.

At Antwerp, Brussels, Ghent, Liege and Charleroi there were great demonstrations of workmen on the first. At Charleroi the meetings were of a very enthusiastic character, and the proceedings closed with shouts of "Hurrah for the strike!" "Hurrah for the Revolution!"

The Social-Democrats of Vienna had a most successful demonstration on May Day. In the morning at 9 o'clock, thirty meetings were held in different parts of the city; and in the afternoon thirty processions marched from different starting points and joined on the Ringstrasse, marching from hence to the Prafer, where a demonstration was held, followed by thirty social gatherings. More than 30,000 people took part in the celebrations, and the most perfect order prevailed throughout the day.

An interesting account is given by Vorwarts of the secret methods employed to assemble the workmen of Russian Poland for the May Day celebration.

It was known long beforehand that a demonstration had been planned, and the Russian government did its utmost to prevent its accomplishment. In February the Governor-General of Russian Poland issued a ukase prohibiting gatherings of any kind in the streets, and between February and May very many arrests were made.

The Socialist party replied with the distribution of 5,000 copies of a pamphlet printed by a secret press in Warsaw, in which the workers were urged to demonstrate on May Day.

On April 26 and 27 large numbers of invitations to the May meeting were secretly printed and distributed by the committee of the Socialist party, with the result that 15,000 Polish workmen assembled at the appointed time and place, and passed resolutions of sympathy with their comrades and the victims of knout rule, and quietly dispersed.

The Growing Problem.

"I stand in your presence opposed to the present economic system. I believe that in this competitive system in which it becomes necessary for one man to destroy another if he succeeds, there can be no true type of civilization, for in this system, one man must be arrayed against another in deadly conflict. We are told by some people that this is a natural conflict, and that it will continue to the end of time; I do not believe it. I am one of those who believe that this system to-day is in process of dissolution. I am aware that its defenders are people who think that the strong members of society have a right to what they can get, regardless of the effect of their efforts on others. I might come into Los Angeles a great physical giant and walk your streets, taking all whom I meet whatever they possessed that I coveted, and society would declare that I was a felon, and would punish me accordingly. But let us imagine again that I should come among you as an intellectual, instead of a physical Hercules, with keenness of foresight I attack your citizens with my intellect, in the more subtle methods of business, and I compel your citizens to work for me from ten to twelve hours per day as wage-slaves on street-cars, in the mills and factories, and I become their master because I am mentally stronger than they. I live in a palace and they in hovels. They have no chance for

the expansion of the soul. I become enormously rich, with political power correspondingly great. They and their wives and children are sunk into poverty. It is an accident so far as I am concerned. My power is something over which I have no control. In what way is that domination over the people more justifiable than if I had exercised physical power? In what respect is the political highwayman better than the physical highwayman? If I am in any way the superior of any other man I am under obligations to that man. If I take advantage of my superior power for his exploitation, I am in no proper sense a civilized human being.—E. V. Debs.

THE DESPOTISM OF CAPITALISM.

There is nothing more infamous under the present system than the enslavement of women and children. In the centers of industry thousands of women and children are as absolute industrial slaves as ever existed in any age of the world. These people are more unfortunate physically than the black slave was before the war.

The black slave being property it was to the interest of the master to look after him. But the change from chattel to industrial slavery makes the slave of no value when not needed to create wealth. If the slave dies capitalism loses nothing. When the wage slave is not employed the capitalist has no interest in him. He has to shift for himself and is only recognized when needed to feed the machine for the purpose of creating wealth for his industrial master.

Such a system is a travesty upon civilization, and to think that a people the majority of whom profess to believe in the doctrines of him who said, "Suffer little children to come unto me; for of such is the kingdom of Heaven," is an absurdity that it glances the imagination when we think of it. The Socialists protest against slavery in every form and especially the enslavement of women and helpless children. No man who thinks and has any respect for the human race can consistently support the capitalist system and it is only a question of time when it must give way for a humane and just system that will not only free the women and children from the bondage of capitalism but the whole race will be delivered from its injustice.—The Socialist Economist.

Hymn of Freedom.

God said, I am tired of kings,
I suffer them no more,
Up to my ear the morning brings
The outrage of the poor.
Think ye I made this ball
A field of havoc and war,
Where tyrants great and tyrants small
Might harry the weak and poor?
My angel—his name is Freedom—
Choose him to be your king;
He shall cut pathways east and west
And fend you with his wing.
I will divide my goods;
Call in the wretch and slave;
None shall rule but the humble,
And none but toil shall have.
I will have never a noble,
No lineage counted great;
Fishers and choppers and plowmen
Shall constitute a state.
And ye shall succor men—
'Tis nobleness to serve—
Help them who cannot help again;
Beware from right to swerve.
I break your bonds and masterships,
And I unchain the slave;
Free be his heart and hand henceforth
As wind and wandering wave.
I cause from every creature
His proper good to flow;
As much as he is and doeth
So much he shall bestow.
But, laying his hands on another,
To coin his labor and sweat,
He goes in pawn to his victim
For eternal years in debt.
To-day unbind the captive,
So only are ye unbound;
Lift up a people from the dust,
Trump of their rescue, sound!
Pay ransom to the owner,
And fill the bag to the brim,
Who is the owner? The slave is owner,
And ever was, say Tim.
—Ralph Waldo Emerson.

The Fate of Town Children.

Oh, the children! Oh, the children!
How they suffer, droop and die,
In the close and crowded cities,
When the days are hot and dry!
How they gasp and groan and murmur,
In their ceaseless, voiceless prayer
For a bit of God's great bounty
For the blessing of the air!

Rooms and houses packed and reeking
Hold the children day and night,
Shutting off the healthful breezes,
With the sunshine and the light;
Only noxious odors reach them,
That can enter everywhere;
All the gases of the garbage,
All the fever-laden air.

There the dark death angel fans them,
Watching well their falling breath;
Holds them, folds them in his arms
Until their eyes are closed in death.
Oh, the coffins nightly filled, and oh,
The hearse that by day
Through the city's narrow, nasty
Streets are driven fast away!

Breezes blowing all about them,
Blowing freshly here and there,
All the glory of the ocean, all the
Sweetness of the air;
But the children cannot reach them,
From the freest breezes barred,
And we do not need to wonder
That their lives are brief and hard.

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.

NATIONAL PLATFORM.

Social Democratic Party of America.

The Social Democratic Party of the United States, in conformity with the principles of International Socialism and declares the supreme political issue of America today to be the revolutionary struggle between the working class and the capitalist class for the possession of the powers of government. The party avows 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 agencies of transportation and communication), and the large and ever increasing class of wage-workers, possessing no means of production.

This economic division 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, and ever fiercer the struggle between the class of the exploiter and the exploited, the capitalists and the wage-workers.

The evil effects of capitalist production are 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. Ignorance is fostered that wage slavery may be perpetuated. Science and invention are perverted to the exploitation of man by man, and the liberties of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit. Wars are fomented between nations; indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged; the destruction of whole races is sanctioned, in order that the capitalist class may extend its commercial domination abroad and enhance its supremacy at home.

The introduction of a new and higher order of society is the historic mission of the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts, are interested in upholding the existing system of production. The Democratic, Republican, and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system, are in reality 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 upon all citizens in sympathy with the historic mission of the working class, to organize under the banner of the Social Democratic Party, as a representative of the interests of the toiling masses and uncompromisingly wage war upon the exploiting class, until the system of wage-slavery shall be abolished and the Co-operative Commonwealth shall be set up. Pending the accomplishment 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.
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 improvement 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 loss 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 legislators by the voters.
Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

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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 meets every 2d and 4th Sunday, 2 p. m., at 857 Cowan st., Julius Blumenthal, Organizer, 857 Cowan st.

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 1031 S. 12th St. Sec., Chas. Specht.

7TH AND 8TH WARD BRANCH—Meets 1st and 3d Wednesdays at Dewey Hall, 2301 S. Broadway, Sec. Geo. Schiefelstein, 2828 S. 9th st.

9TH WARD BRANCH meets 2d and 4th Tuesdays, 8 p. m., at 13th and Wyoming Sts. Sec. L. Stoll, 3543 Salena 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 Tuesday of each month, 2:30 p. m., at 1219 Missouri ave. Sec. Wm. E. Eckart, 1219 Missouri ave.

15TH, 16TH, 17TH AND 18TH WARD BRANCH—Meets every Sunday at 2 p. m., at Metal Trades Hall, 1816 Franklin avenue, Sec. Rich. Murphy, 826 N. 16th st. Org. C. Scheffler, 1448 Mullhagen st.

17TH WARD BRANCH meets 2d and 4th Fridays, 8 p. m., at 2511 Benton st. Sec. John Suemnicht, 2413 N. 15th st.

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FIRST JOINT PICNIC

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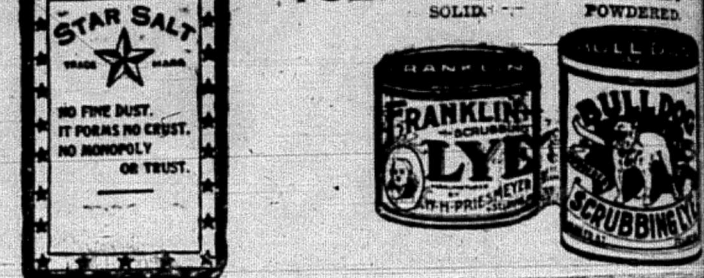
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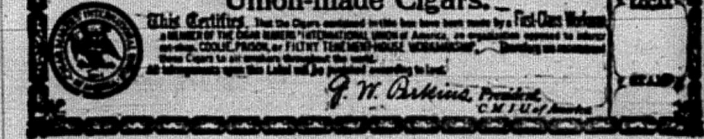
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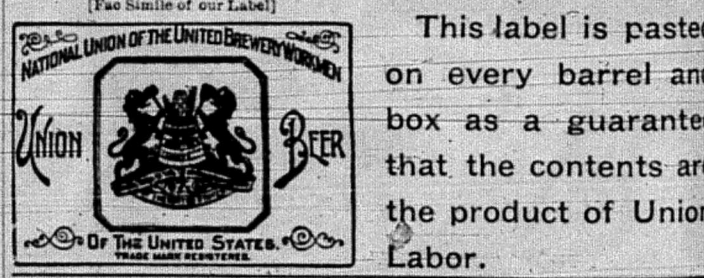
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