

MISSOURI SOCIALIST.

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

Volume I.

St. Louis, Mo., Saturday, June 8, 1901.

Number 23.

One Thousand Dollars.

Is What St. Louis Members Intend to Give Missouri Socialist. Two-thirds of the Amount Pledged.

CHEERING NEWS TO OUR WORKERS—THE PLEDGES MADE.

One thousand dollars for a Socialist paper that has only been in existence for six months looks like a big sum, but that is what the members of Local St. Louis are going to do for Missouri Socialist. They are determined that they will not only have an official organ, but that they will make it one of the best. The pledges that were made some time ago on our guarantee that we would on May 1, and it was found that like most new Socialist papers, our paper could not delay its expenses until subscriptions received. Many of the signers continued their donations notwithstanding the expiration of their pledges, and by the vigorous efforts of a number of workers the publication was kept up regularly. Two weeks ago a special meeting was held in answer to a call from the Board of Directors and although bad weather decreased the attendance a move was started which is destined to give us the strongest financial backing that could be asked for a period of six months. A list was started on which the signers pledged themselves to pay stated amounts weekly for a period of six months. It was determined to secure a total pledge of not less than \$10 a week, and that efforts would be made to raise it to \$50 or \$60. Forty dollars a week for six months is one thousand and forty dollars, and that was to be the minimum. Two-thirds of the amount has already been signed and the remainder should be secured during the coming week. With the successful termination of this undertaking the Socialists of St. Louis can well rejoice, for it means more for the cause than has ever been done in this city. Let every member pledge his mite to help bring about the Socialist Republic. Let us close this little matter at once and march on to other victories.

Another thing that gives great satisfaction is that an indebtedness which accumulated to almost \$100 dollars, and which caused the delay of this issue for a couple of days has, through the efforts of two or three comrades, been wiped out and Missouri Socialist is now prepared for more aggressive work than ever. It is only fair to remind the members that the indebtedness has been cleared up by the sacrifices of two or three, and it now remains with the rest to keep the paper out of debt. This will be easy if each one will take the trouble to see that all his Socialist acquaintances take notice of the list that has been started, and if each signer will always pay his pledges promptly every week so as to avoid confusion and uncertainty.

Those who have signed the pledges did not wait for the announcement that the list is complete, but began payments at once, as they are confident that the sum stipulated in the pledge will be raised.

Comrades, we have passed through a crisis and all is well. We have nothing but good news to report this week.

In another column will be found an announcement of the fact that Missouri Socialist has been placed on the list of national official organs by the N. E. C. which is a compliment to the quality of the matter contained in our columns and which will give us a high standing throughout the country. With all this good news you should certainly be inspired to ceaseless efforts in the cause. All together now! Let's make things hum!

The address issued and the pledges so far received are given below. Some of the lists are not yet returned, but will be published later.

ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS FOR MISSOURI SOCIALIST.

No cause can make progress without sacrifices on the part of its adherents. The cause of Socialism is the greatest cause ever espoused by men; therefore it calls for the greatest sacrifices by its supporters. If every Socialist knew that the coming of the co-operative commonwealth depended on his giving a dollar or two each week out of his wages he would gladly make the sacrifice. Yet that is just what the growth of our movement depends upon. If we are to realize our hopes we must be ready to give gladly and liberally of our small means.

The Socialists of St. Louis are confronted with the necessity of supporting a weekly paper to further the movement in this city. They cannot do without such a paper, and to fail in supporting it is to go backward. We may as well make up our minds now to continue our paper, for if we do not do so now some future Socialists will be compelled to make the sacrifice; and we are as able to bear the burden as they will be.

A list has been started of those who are willing to donate a specific amount each week for a period of six months to the support of Missouri Socialist. The donations to begin when forty dollars (\$40) per week have been pledged.

This amount, in connection with advertising and other sources of income, will place the paper in a position to build up an enormous circulation. It means over ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS for Missouri Socialist. Will you be one of those who will

help to make the success of the movement in St. Louis doubly assured? Let no one think that the \$40 cannot be raised. Put down the amount you give weekly and then the blame will be on those who do not sign and not on those who do. It is possible to raise more than \$40; if every member does what lies in his power we can make it \$50 or \$60 per week. Comrades! Shall we demonstrate to the Socialists of America that the St. Louis Socialists HAVE SPIRIT, or shall we allow what we have undertaken to fail and all our hopes come to naught? RAISE THE RED BANNER AND ON WITH THE FIGHT! Remember that if the working class are ever to be free they must emancipate themselves, that is, the meaning of the Socialist movement. "Ho—who would be free must himself strike the blow."

M. B. Dunn	50
W. H. Baird	1.00
L. W. Evans	1.00
H. P. Nelson	50
Louis Kober	1.00
No. 1	25
Fred Spalti	25
Jos. Spalti	25
Chas. J. Meyer	50
R. Murphy	1.00
S. A. McInturf	50
W. W. Kroschel	50
J. H. Pickard	50
Chas. Hager	50
Wm. Detjen	50
Robt. Born	25
Wm. Eckart	50
Wm. H. Scott	25
Louis Meyer	50
Chas. A. Nelson	25
Otto Vierling	25
J. H. Butterell	25
B. McCaffrey	50
C. Kaiser	50
F. Tombridge	1.00
W. C. W.	2.00
J. E. Fitzpatrick	25
S.	25
A. J. Lawrence	1.00
Aug. Lejune	25
L. Kleinlein	25
C. Scheffer	50
Louis Froelich	25
Chas. Hahn	25
Julius Kehl	10
L. Entle	50
Jehn Vogelweid	10
E. A. Huss	25
J. Koch	10
H. Rasch	25
Wm. Huss	25
R. Voegtlin	25
G. C. Gockeler	25
C. B. Miller	25
Ad. Clausen	10
Aug. Blaser	10
Chas. Otto	10
A. L. Stone	25
F. E. Nye	50
Geo. Grund	25
Chas. Henk	25
Wm. Guertke	25
G. C. Hitzert	25
H. Verrel	25
M. Bruegman	25
Suburbanite	50

Industrial Revolution.

When the Socialist declares the abolition of private property in the instruments of production to be unavoidable, he does not mean that some fine morning, without helping themselves, the exploited classes will find the ravens feeding them. The Socialist considers the breakdown of the present social system to be unavoidable, because he knows that the economic evolution inevitably brings on those conditions that will compel the exploited classes to rise against this system of private ownership; that this system multiplies the number and the strength of the exploited and diminishes the number and the strength of the exploiting classes both of whom are still adhering to it; and that it will finally lead to such unbearable conditions for the masses of the population that they will have no alternative but either to go down in silence, or to overthrow that system of property.

Such a revolution may assume manifold forms according to the circumstances under which it is effected, but by no means must necessarily be accompanied with violence and bloodshed. There are instances in the history of mankind when the ruling classes were either so exceptionally weak or so particularly weak and cowardly that they submitted to the inevitable and voluntarily abdicated. Neither is it necessary that the social revolution be decided at one blow, such probably never was the case. Revolutions prepare themselves, by years and decades of economic and political struggles; they are accomplished under constant ups and downs sustained by the conflicting classes and parties; not infrequently are they interrupted by long periods of reaction. Nevertheless, however, manifold

the forms may be which a revolution may assume, never yet was any revolution accomplished without vigorous action on the part of those who suffered most under the existing conditions.

When, furthermore, the Socialist declares those social reforms that stop short of the overthrow of the present system of property to be unable to abolish the contradictions which the present economic development has produced, he by no means implies that all struggles on the part of the exploited against their present sufferings are useless within the framework of the existing social order; or that they should patiently accommodate themselves to all ill-treatments and forms of exploitation, which the capitalist system may decree to them; or that so long as they are at all exploited, it matters little how. What he does mean is, that the exploited classes should not overrate the social reforms, and should not imagine that through them the existing conditions can be rendered satisfactory to them. The exploited classes should carefully examine all proposed social reforms that are offered to them, constantly

OHIO CONVENTION.

The State ticket of the Social Democratic Party of Ohio, nominated at the convention held in Columbus on May 26, is as follows:
For Governor—H. C. THOMPSON of Cincinnati.
For Lieutenant-Governor—MICHAEL HEINS of Dayton.
For Auditor—E. H. RANDALL of Springfield.
For Attorney-General—JOHN G. WILLERT of Cleveland.
For Treasurer—J. FREUDENTHAL of Toledo.
For Judge of Supreme Court—PETER FRANK of Portsmouth.
For Member of State Board of Public Works—JOHN FLYNN of Canton.

The convention was called to order with twenty-one delegates present and other delegations arrived later. All parts of the State were represented. Charles Parker of Toledo was chairman and H. C. Thompson secretary.
On recommendation of the State Committee the following propositions were favorably considered and referred to general vote:
1. An assessment of \$1 per capita to put an organizer in the field.
2. A State paper to be started as soon as necessary funds can be raised.
3. The present party name to be retained until the holding of the National convention, with recommendation to that body that the name be changed to the "Socialist Party."
All "immediate demands" were stricken from the platform, which consists in a clear statement of the revolutionary principles and purposes of Socialism. Dayton was chosen as the seat of the State Committee. The delegates reported the party in excellent condition throughout the State.

A State Convention

Proposed by Local St. Louis To Make Unity Certain in Missouri.

"Whereas, A national convention of Socialists of America is to be held on July 29, with a view to uniting the different Socialist factions into one strong, harmonious organization, and
Whereas, It is desirable that the Socialists of Missouri be united into one party, no matter what the outcome of the Indianapolis convention; and
Whereas, If we remain in our present condition a failure of unity at Indianapolis would indefinitely delay the formation of a united party in Missouri; therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the opinion of Local St. Louis that the Socialists of Missouri should enter the national convention as a united party pledged to one another to remain united regardless of any possible failure on the part of such a convention to secure unity, and to that end be it further
Resolved, That we urge the State Committee to call a State convention to take place in St. Louis (for convenience) on Saturday, July 27, for the purpose of forming a complete and lasting union of the Socialists of Missouri."

The above resolutions were passed by Local St. Louis last Thursday night. The opinion was almost unanimous that such a step is advisable in view of the fact that there is even a bare possibility of the Indianapolis convention not accomplishing its purpose of uniting the Socialist forces of America. At present no serious obstacles appear in the way of unity, and it is the general opinion that the national convention will be successful. But no one can tell what may happen. It was thought when the convention of March, 1900, adjourned that the uniting of the two Socialist parties was then only a matter of details. Yet the movement was broken up by a factional fight which has been exceedingly bitter. We have no guarantee that something will not happen to either prevent successful work at the convention or to frustrate its plans after they are ad-

Swinging Towards Socialism.

Charles J. Bullock, writing in the June number of the Atlantic Monthly on "Trusts and Public Policy," concludes his article as follows:

"And the friend of private property and individual enterprise should not forget that awaiting the outcome of our dealings with the trust stands—Socialism. The 'Billion Dollar Trust' seems to furnish a practical demonstration of the possibility of organizing the largest industries upon a national scale, and the Socialist applauds the efforts of Mr. Morgan and his associates. The concentration of all the railroads into a few groups, controlled by a single set of interests, is a brilliant triumph for the policy of centralization; and for this, too, Mr. Morgan has the gratitude of every Socialist. The popular discontent caused by the monopolization of one necessary of life after another prepares the soil in a manner ideally perfect for the sowing of Socialistic seed; and it is a significant fact that American Socialism has first become an appreciable force in this era of trusts and combinations. When the people once gained an appreciation of the fact that monopoly is inevitable in the field of municipal service industries, the question immediately arose, shall this monopoly be public or private? And the last ten years have witnessed a remarkable growth, among conservative people of an opinion favorable to public ownership. The same question will certainly arise if thinking men ever become convinced that in manufacturing and other industries competition is impossible, and monopoly inevitable. Only two possible after natives will then present themselves—public or private monopoly; and those who are now occupied with the formation or justification of trusts will be the persons chiefly responsible in case the balance finally swings in the direction of Socialism."

One hundred and nineteen divorce suits before the Supreme Court of New York is the record for one day last week, but so far, the Reverend Newell Dwight Hillis has not availed himself of the opportunity for "denunciation" presented by these figures, but then Mr. Hillis is evidently a specialist who devotes his attention solely to the family affairs of Socialists. Even if his practice in this direction is rather limited, he is wise enough to know that it is more lucrative than handling a multitude of ordinary cases of capitalist family wrecking. "Be ye therefore as wise (and as venomous) as serpents."—The Workers' Call.

MISSOURI SOCIALIST will issue a special Memorial Edition on June 15 to commemorate the death of the martyred men of June 10, 1900. Extra copies in bundles one cent each. Order in advance.

Warning to Unions

City Central Committee Calls Attention to the Nature of the Proposed Celebration of the Fourth.

MAY ARRANGE A LABOR PARADE.

If the "Fourth of July Celebration Association" expects to secure co-operation of the labor unions of St. Louis, it is doomed to disappointment. It is not likely, judging from present indications, that a single trades union will so far forget its principles as to march in the proposed parade with its enemies.

The City Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party have issued a circular letter to all unions on the subject. Boot and Shoe Workers' No. 244 at its last meeting set down based on a communication from the Fourth of July C. A. Patternmakers' Association accepted the invitation of the S. D. P. Not one objection has been made in trades union circles to the stand taken by Missouri Socialist toward the proposed jingo celebration. The trades unionists of St. Louis are becoming imbued with a class-conscious spirit, and they are not going to be caught in company with the men whom they are fighting. Their attitude is highly creditable to the labor movement of this city, and if the jingo parade takes place without a single trades union banner in line the unions of St. Louis will command the healthy respect of the capitalists of the city.

The letter issued by the City Central Committee is as follows:

Local St. Louis
Social Democratic Party,
Room 7, 22 North Fourth Street,
St. Louis, June 4, 1901.

Dear Sir and Brother—We desire to call your attention to the fact that a celebration and parade is being arranged by certain interests in this city, called the "Fourth of July Celebration Association," and that the Labor Organizations of the city are being invited to participate. A perusal of the list of names of those appearing as officers and promoters of the enterprise discloses the fact that many of those prominent in the association were no less prominent in affairs connected with the street-car strike of last summer, but at that time they were not making any pretense of anxiety in regard to the good opinions of Organized Labor, or of any desire to cultivate fraternal relations with either labor unions or unionists; on the contrary their names appeared as petitioners for the calling out of the State militia and as officers of the militia who so anxiously awaited an opportunity to show their friendliness for Organized Labor. Among those who are now so desirous of having the co-operation of the unions, are many members of the late Posse Comitatus, who so effectively showed their great appreciation of unionism on Washington avenue last summer.

Prominent among the promoters of this celebration are such staunch friends and supporters of trades unions as the proprietor of the great daily paper, which in 1891 recommended "Gatling guns to cure striking mobs," and the U. S. Senator from Missouri who classed labor unions and workmen's leagues with universal anarchy. The names of the proprietors of boycotted tea and tobacco firms of the city are also given.

This is certainly an imposing array of "friends of labor." It is also important to note that the individuals referred to are to be supplemented by such bodies of labor's friends as the Posse Comitatus, State Militia, including Battery A and a detachment of United States Regulars. Surely the trades unions of this city will feel very much at home in a parade of such strenuous friends!

We simply ask, can you consistently and conscientiously join with these elements in the proposed celebration of a day dedicated to the principle of Liberty, Fraternity and Equality? Can you join in a parade with the Posse Comitatus who shot down your fellow unionists in cold blood on Washington avenue, or with a State Militia when you remember the fate of fellow workers at Hazelton and Pana and numerous other places? Can you fraternize with the United States Regulars while remembering the Pullman and the Idaho Bull Pen? Can you, as loyal union men, participate in this celebration with scabs and boycotted firms?

If you feel that you cannot consistently join with the elements referred to in celebrating the Nation's Birthday we extend to you a cordial and fraternal invitation to join us in a Working Class Celebration of the Fourth of July, to take place at Rinkel's Garage, 5858 Easton avenue, to the end that a spirit of comradeship may be fostered among those who earn their bread by the sweat of their brow and who desire to see a practical application of

the principles of the Declaration of Independence.

The Central Trades and Labor Union has voted to accept the invitation extended to them to join us in our celebration.

Kindly let us know at once what action your organization takes in the matter and whether or not you would be willing to participate in an opposition parade which will not embrace any of the names of those mentioned above.

If a sufficient number will indicate their willingness to take part in such a demonstration a parade will be arranged. Yours fraternally,
CITY CENTRAL COMMITTEE, S. D. P.,
R. MURPHY, Secretary.

"DO UNTO OTHERS As Ye Would They Should do Unto You."

There is the inflexible test that shows the rottenness of our civilization. The mere mention of it in its application to our social customs and institutions is enough to make devils here and elsewhere, howl and writhe with derisive laughter. Yet there the command stands in our religious code of laws and is theoretically accepted as a binding obligation upon all who call themselves Christians.

Let those who support by action and voice the competitive monopolistic system, with its sharp extremes of luxury for the few and poverty for the many, and who fight against every attempt to bring about a better social state, ask themselves how they would like to fall under the deadly, blighting curse of unrequited toil.

How would they like to send their fair-faced daughters into sweating dens, where the choice would be between a lingering death of slow starvation and dishonor. How would they like to see their sons, goaded by the lash of want, working for a dollar a day, or less? To watch them growing weary, haggard and worn, wearing out youth and life in unremitting toil for a bare pittance, and to have this sunny earth made a gloomy hell of misery? How would these sleek, well-fed supporters of brutal competitive strife like to be half starved, half clothed, to live in underground tenements, black as night, and reeking with filth?

Yet this is what our industrial system inevitably leads to. The demoralization and brutalizing of men and women. And this is the system that is championed by church and State in every professedly Christian community. We ask, in all sincerity if this is not taking the Lord's name in vain?

Now comes the crucial question. Did Christ make a mistake when he imposed that obligation on mankind, or are we making a mistake in ignoring it? Is the Golden Rule of Christianity a Constitutional Law of the Universe, to which men and nations must conform or perish, or is it simply a hoax upon human credulity?

If the former, then we are putting forth our puny strength against the everlasting laws of God, and the recoil will be terrible; if the latter, then the only thing left for us to do is to frankly acknowledge that as human nature is so irrevocably bad Christ's command was a piece of foolish sentimentalism, not to be obeyed. For ourselves, we unequivocally hold that Christ revealed an economic law essential to social growth and stability, to which the race, as it progresses must conform. Furthermore, we hold that society has reached the point where the law of solidarity of human interests must be instituted. And that until it is done nothing but disorder and increasing trouble will ensue.

We cannot keep the religious element out of social and industrial questions and conditions, because it is that element that is the only remedy for our sin-diseased civilization. The church in its deadly apathy to everything progressive, will yet have to take sides for or against Christianity in this rapidly coming world struggle for a higher social state.

It is here that Christ has us on the hip. We will either have to confess him in all things or deny him in all things. There is no room to-day for a dead Christ or a traditional one, but only for a living Christ. That he is invisible is of little moment, for it is his thought that is swaying and shaking the world to-day.

IMOGENE C. FAILS,
Burrough of Brooklyn, New York.

Missouri Socialist

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EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS: Communications must reach the office by Monday evening preceding the issue in which they are to appear.

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.

Entered at the Postoffice at St. Louis, Mo., as second-class matter, in December, 1900.

TRADE UNION COUNCIL OF MISSOURI

An Official Organ

Missouri Socialist receives the following complimentary from the National Executive Committee as we go to press:

Springfield, Mass., June 4, 1901. Missouri Socialist, St. Louis, Mo.

Dear Comrades—I desire to inform you that the N. E. C. has placed Missouri Socialist on the list of official organs, and that hereafter subscriptions will be received for same in accordance with our constitution, which relates to party press. Wishing you continued success in your efforts in behalf of the cause I remain,

Yours fraternally, W. BUTSCHER, Nat'l. Sec.

That the National Committee considers Missouri Socialist worthy of a place on the list of national organs is sufficient testimony to its merit as a clear class-conscious Socialist paper.

The staff of our paper will constantly endeavor to make it conform to the high standard that is set for national organs and the members of Local St. Louis should be inspired to even greater efforts by this recognition of their organ.

The editorial column is a little short this week, owing to troubles explained on another page, but the road is now clear and we can promise plenty of hot shot for the future.

If James Creelman still thinks he can present arguments against socialism, he has not read the eight or ten Socialist papers that make mince meat of his "Fallacies of Socialism" in the Chicago American.

What manner of men are these who call themselves the Reformed Presbyterians of America? Verily, their wisdom exceedeth all human bounds. It is disheartening to learn that the labor unions must go, but then there is no getting around it. For these wise men, have said the word. A session of their synod was held and the following resolution adopted:

"That we affirm our testimony against all secret, oath-bound societies, and that we regard membership in most of the labor and trades unions as at present organized and controlled as dangerous, and remind our members that the law of Christ forbids joining any labor union that has either an immoral obligation or a promise to keep inviolate, 'as long as life remains,' any rites or regulations, the issue of which he is necessarily ignorant."

In the discussion, Dr. T. P. Robb of Iowa called the sign of a labor organization "the mark of a beast." Other pleasant references to the man who told were numerous. But the climax came when a telegram was received from Chicago labor unions, asking that the synod pray for at eight-hour work-day, so that the unions would not have to hold their meetings on Sunday. The reverend gentlemen "thought it was a joke." Of course, it was a joke. What workman would be such a fool as to expect any sympathy from these sanctified gentry, who have as little conception of the true meaning of "brotherhood" as they have brains?

Capital and Labor.

Several months ago we had occasion to refer to an article on "Capital and Labor" by a "friend of both" in the Interstate Manufacturer. Lately we discovered another copy of that paper and behold, the "friend of both" is still at it. He has reached his thirty-fifth article on the subject.

He now informs us that "The employers of labor are beginning to realize that when they have men who are competent and faithful they have the best investment it is possible to make for the proper conduct of their business."

The farmer who has a gentle horse, one that is competent and faithful, that works hard for its master's benefit, imagining that the more corn his master raises the more he will be fed (just as though a man wouldn't feed his horse anyhow, as otherwise he could not work)—a farmer who has such a

HORSE TALES.

BY MERLIN.

A Fall.

On a frosty winter's morning, Up a steep and icy hill, Two work horses pulled their burdens, With an equal strength and will.

One kept steadily ascending, On the smooth and slippery ground, Till at last it stood, triumphant, On the summit, safe and sound.

But the other, though as stalwart, And as willing to do well, In its strain to pull its burden, Slipped upon the ice, and fell.

One received its driver's praises, One its driver's curses got, But this secret tells the story— One was shod, and one was not.

Some who climbed the hill of labor, In these wintry days of greed, Reached the summit of achievement, By the force of stalwart deed.

Others, just as strong and willing, Just as mighty in their strain, Stumble on the icy pathway, Fall, and never rise again.

Oftentimes we spurn the fallen, With a touch of selfish scorn, When the system that we vote for, Curses them before they're born.

Not the true man's part to blame them, Nor to chide them when they fall, But to learn this social precept, Fault of one is fault of all.

A Fool.

Once upon a time, 'tis stated, Lived a philosophic mule, Who in his own mullah manner, Was much wiser than the rule.

Now his master was a farmer, Of an economic mind, Who demanded much for little, Like the rest of humankind.

In the place of fragrant hay, When the mule was given thistles, He protested with a vigor, In his own peculiar way.

Quoth the farmer, "Why, your father Would eat this instead of grass," "That may be," the mule made answer, "But my father was an ass."

We who labor for a master, And receive a slave's reward, How in trembling obedience, To the dictate of a lord.

We are thankful for the thistles, Never asking for the hay, Giving maximum of labor, Getting minimum of pay.

When our souls, to freedom waking, Scorn a wage, and ask a right, Their industrial oppressors, Will exclaim in their affright.

"Why, your fathers were contented, Just to labor with our tools," "You are right," our souls will answer, "But our fathers have been fools!"

A Fact.

I had driven to the village, Tied the horse before a store, Bought some things, got in the carriage, Took the reins, as off before.

But the horse, a gentle creature, And obedient, if slow, Shook his head in blunt refusal, Steadily refused to go.

So I pulled the reins up shorter, Tried my whiplash, temper, tongue, But in spite of all endeavors, Still to that same spot she clung.

By and by an urchin grinning, Watched my efforts failure bring, Said, when hope and hand had weakened, "Why don't you untie the thing?"

Now the chariot of progress, Drawn along by labor-power, Halts upon the road of business, Moveless in the moving hour.

Vainly do men long for motion, Vainly do they seek the flaw, Using whiplash of compulsion, Jerking on the reins of law.

Some say charitable sugar, Some a bimetallic bit, Some blame presidential driving, Some say it's a balky fit.

But some time, when we are wiser, We shall cease to coax or chide, For monopoly has bound us, And we need to be untied!

THE CHICAGO SCHOOL OF SOCIAL ECONOMY.

Max S. Hayes has characterized the work of Comrade Mills as "flawless." The sixth lesson in the series of correspondence lessons is at hand. In this lesson, after he has carefully reviewed and completely destroyed the defense which the economists make for interest, profit and rent, he says:

"The laborer is the only factor in production whose claim to some share of the profit has never been defended by political economists. His claim is so evident that it needs no defense.

"Adam Smith is called the 'father of political economy' and his first sentence in discussing the wages of labor is: 'The produce of labor constitutes

THE TRAMP.

A Product of the System.

BY JOHN C. GRANE.

The great problem before the people of this and every other civilized country is the industrial problem. That is to say that, after thousands of years of civilization, the question of how to supply our wants as a nation, is still unsettled. It seems almost impossible, yet it is a fact. We do not know how to make the most of our opportunities.

Here we are as a nation, blessed with bountiful resources. Nature, in her generosity, has provided everything needful for the wants of humanity, and yet we know not how to make the most of such generosity. We have, in our great and glorious country, from three to four million tramps, continuously roaming the country over in search of some place where they may be given permission to apply their labor power to the resources of nature and bring forth the sustenance of life. Their silent tramp, tramp, tramp is constantly going on. Increasing in numbers day by day, this army of unemployed continues to tramp, a ragged, dirty, homeless body of human beings; once men, but now almost beasts, a living, tramping indictment of our industrial system.

Let us examine this army for one moment; let us see where they come from. Is it from choice that they tramp from town to town, from city to city, forced to seek refuge from the night winds in box cars, hay lofts or the police station, to emerge at the dawn of day and take up again their ceaseless march to God only knows where? No, it is not from choice. It is because they are forced, by the inhuman, insane and criminal competitive system under which we live, out of the mills, factories and workshops into the army of the unemployed.

Let us look for a moment at the process by which tramps are manufactured. Take as an example this man, who was a shoemaker, perhaps. He had employment for a few months in the year; saved a few dollars, possibly, but not very likely, as the wages he received were so small that he could do no more than keep square with the world. We will allow that he is an exception to the rule and has saved a few dollars, when, suddenly he finds himself out of work. His shop must close, down for some reason, or some one has come and taken his job at less money, or perhaps he has had the manhood to take part in some labor movement and dared to assert that he is still a man, with honest convictions and the courage to stand up for them—and is discharged for it. What does he do? He goes cheerfully over to the next factory, thinking he will find work there. The foreman tells him that he has all the help required. Less hopefully, he goes to the next factory, and then to the next, and so on until he has visited them all and found no chance to work. Then comes the time when he must bid good-bye to wife and children, and start for some neighboring shoe center, in the hope that he will surely find something to do there, and telling his family that he will send for them just as soon as he earns money enough. Vain hope! The same condition meets him there. He finds hundreds of men already before the factory doors waiting for a chance to work. His heart begins to fail him, but he continues the search, only to be turned away with the same old cry: "We've all the help we want!" With the tears welling up as he thinks of his little ones left behind, he takes to the road. His money is all gone, and also his hope of finding employment. On and on he tramps, until he is ready to faint from hunger. Then he approaches the back door of some house and begs for a morsel to eat. The door is shut in his face, and at the next place he cries the dog is set upon him. And thus he goes on, and on, kicked, scoffed at, buffeted about, losing all courage, all manhood. He tries no longer to find work; he gives up all hope of meeting loved ones again; he is a tramp.

I assert that every man has a right to work, and that he has the sole right to the fruits of his toil; and more, that the industrial system under which even one man is denied these rights is criminal and should be relegated to oblivion.

But, you say, "How are you going to remedy this? All this may be true that you have been telling us, but what are you going to do about it?" I will tell you, my friends.

We socialists are not here to attack old institutions without offering some other method of doing business. We simply ask that the people should organize their industrial machinery, and substitute a co-operative system of production for the competitive system now in vogue.

Collective ownership of the means of production and distribution must be substituted for private ownership. The people, in order to enjoy industrial freedom, must own and operate in their entirety the machinery of production. We have political equality by virtue of owning the political machinery. We can have economic and industrial equality, when we are wise enough to own and operate in our collective capacity the means by which which ministers to the wants of humanity is produced. So long as a few individuals are allowed to get possession of the lands, mines, factories and other sources of production, just so long will we be in economic slavery. Let us examine our present method of production for a moment and then I will show

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you the plan which I believe must be adopted.

You all know that one or two individuals own the factory or mill in which you are employed. You know that they are constantly introducing improved machines, which are taking the places of men. The machines are doing the work, while the men they displace are becoming tramps. The machine, while privately owned is a curse, but when owned by the people will become a blessing. Under the present system, when a new machine is introduced, a certain number of men are turned out into the streets to hunt for other work; but wherever they may go they will find the same conditions existing. The introduction of labor-saving machinery is going on steadily, until to-day, we can, with the machinery in use in the shoe industry, manufacture shoes enough in six months to supply our markets for one year. During the other six months shoemakers have to stand around in idleness, while they and their children wait for the necessities of life. Now, imagine for a moment that you are living under a Socialistic government. Take as an illustration one of our modern shoe factories. It would be owned by the people. Along comes some inventive genius with a new machine that would do the work of ten men. The machine would be placed in operation by the manager, but instead of ten men being turned out of employment, as would be the result at present, we would say to all those employed in the factory: "You will not be required to work so many hours a day now. Jim has invented a machine which lessens the amount of labor required to produce our shoes, and the working day will be shortened in proportion." In this manner every one would derive the benefit of modern invention. Our hours of labor would be reduced every time a labor-saving machine was invented and introduced, and we would produce just as many shoes as at present.

The number of hours of labor required to produce all things needed for the necessities and comforts of life would be constantly decreasing, until we reach the point which the United States Commissioner of Labor says can be reached, when four hours of labor a day would be all that would be required to produce all the necessities of life, and the luxuries as well. You will say that this is a dream, but that it is impossible—a dream. You will say that it can never come, human nature is selfish and will have to be changed before any scheme like that can be adopted, which would make the brotherhood of man a reality.

My friends, every move in the onward march of progress met the same cry, and yet the course of progress was not stayed. Not long ago a man would have been considered a dreamer if he had predicted that Haverhill would at the next election elect a Socialist Mayor. Yet it did happen, and human nature has not changed as any apprehensible extent as Haverhill, so far as I can discover. We have those there who are rather inclined to believe that it is no "dream," but a nightmare.

Mankind is not naturally bad. Human nature may be selfish in its make-up, but that does not mean that men would rather plunder and rob their neighbors than otherwise. It is the present system of competition which forces men to do these things. It is the greatest wonder of all wonders to me that men remain as good as they are under such trying conditions. It is a magnificent tribute to the inherent goodness of human nature that there are not more murders than there are in this mad scramble for bread.

I care not what others may say, am willing to trust the people. They may make mistakes through ignorance, yet they are constantly progressing towards the goal of universal brotherhood. Socialism is the next step in the march of human progress.

FIRST DELEGATE CHOSEN.

Cleveland, O., June 2, 1901.—Local Cleveland held its county convention to-day and nominated a complete ticket; petitions will be circulated and the campaign started in good earnest. Comrade Max S. Hayes of Cleveland was elected delegate to national convention. Comrade Timson of Lynn, Mass., was in Cleveland to-day. He gave a brief account of the situation in Haverhill, Mass. He also commended upon the large number of young men in Cleveland wearing red buttons.—Mass. H. Geiger.

The Millerand Question.

The French Socialist Congress at Lyons defeated, by a vote of 979 to 286, a resolution that Millerand, by accepting the position of a minister of commerce in a bourgeois cabinet, had placed himself outside the party.

The resolution was presented by the Parti Ouvrier or Guesdists who, after withdrawing from the Socialist Party and declaring that they would not participate in the congress, changed their course so far as to appear in that body to introduce their motion, and, when it was defeated, to raise a riotous protest. Their recent conduct has been in many respects similar to that of the S. L. P. in America, though not carried to such extremes and guided by better informed leaders.

After the opposition had withdrawn a resolution was adopted by a vote of 904 to 42, declaring, in effect, that the position of Millerand in the cabinet is that of an individual Socialist, not of a representative of the Socialist Party.

The Social Economist is the name of a new weekly just published as the State organ of the Social Democratic Party in Texas. It is edited by Comrade W. E. Farmer.

Wage-Labor and Capital.

(By CARL MARX.)

If we were to ask the laborers, "How much wages do you get?" one would reply, "I get a couple of shillings a day from my employer," another, "I get half a crown," and so on. According to the different trades to which they belong they would name different sums of money which they receive from their particular employers, either for working for a certain length of time, or for performing a certain piece of work. For example, either for weaving an ell of cloth, or for setting up a certain amount of type. But in spite of this difference in their statements, there is one point in which they would all agree: Their wages are the amount of money which their employer pays them, either for working a certain length of time or for a certain amount of work done.

Thus their employer buys their work for money. For money they sell their work to him. With the same sum for which the employer has bought their work, as for instance, with a couple of shillings, he might have bought four pounds of sugar or a proportional amount of any other wares. The shillings with which he buys the four pounds of sugar are the price of four pounds of sugar. The two shillings with which he buys labor for twelve hours are the price of twelve hours' work. Work is therefore as much a commodity as sugar, neither more nor less, only they measure the former by the clock, and the latter by the scales.

The laborers exchange their own commodity with their employers: work for money, and this exchange takes place according to a fixed proportion. So much money for so much work. For twelve hours weaving two shillings. And do not these two shillings represent two shillings' worth of all other commodities? Thus the laborer has, in fact, exchanged his own commodity, work, with all kinds of other commodities, and that in a fixed proportion. His employer in giving him two shillings has given him so much meat, so much clothing, so much fuel, light, and so on, in exchange for his day's work. The two shillings therefore express the proportion in which his work is exchanged with other commodities—the exchange value of his work; and the exchange value of any commodity expressed in money is called its price. Wage is, therefore, only another name for the price of work—the price of this peculiar piece of property which can have no local habitation at all except in human flesh and blood.

Take the case of any workman, a weaver, for instance. The employer supplies him with thread and loom. The weaver sets to work, and the thread is turned into cloth. The employer takes possession of the cloth and sells it, say, for twenty shillings. Does the weaver receive as wages a share in the cloth—in the twenty shillings—in the product of his labor? By no means. The weaver receives his wages long before the product is sold. The employer does not, therefore, pay his wages with the money he will get for the cloth, but with money previously provided. Loom and thread are not the weaver's product, since they are supplied by the employer, and no more are the commodities which he receives in exchange for his own commodity, or, in other words, for his work. It is possible that the employer finds no purchaser for his cloth. It may be that by its sale he does not recover even the wages he has paid. It may be that in comparison with the weaver's wages he made a great bargain by its sale. But all this has nothing whatever to do with the weaver. The employer purchases the weaver's labor with a part of his available property—of his capital—in exactly the same way as he does with another part of his property bought the raw material—the thread—and the instrument of labor—the loom. As soon as he has made these purchases and he reckons among them the purchase of the labor necessary to the production of the cloth—he proceeds to produce it by means of the raw material and the instruments which belong to him. Among these last is, of course, reckoned our worthy weaver, who has as little share in the product, or in the price of the product, as the loom itself.

Wages, therefore, are not the worker's share of the commodities which he has produced. Wages are the share of commodities previously produced, with which the employer purchases a certain amount of productive labor.

Labor is, therefore, a commodity which its owner, the wage worker, sells to capital. Why does he sell it? In order to live.

But labor is the peculiar expression of the energy of the laborer's life. And this energy he sells to another party, in order to secure for himself the means of living. For him, therefore, his energy is nothing but a means of insuring his own existence. He works to live. He does not count the work itself as a part of his life, rather it is a sacrifice of his life. It is a commodity which he has made over to another party. Neither is its product the aim of his activity. What he produces for himself is not the silk he weaves, nor the palace that he builds, nor the gold that he digs from out of the mine.

What he produces for himself is his wage; the silk, gold and palace are transformed for him into a certain quantity of means of existence—a cotton shirt, some cotton coins, and a lodging in a cellar. And what of the laborer who for twelve hours weaves, spins, bores, turns, builds, shovels, breaks stones, carries loads, and so on? Does his twelve hours' weaving, spinning, boring, turning, building, shoveling and stone-breaking represent the active expression of his life? On the contrary, life begins for him exactly where this activity of his ceases—at his meals, on the public-house bench, in his bed. His twelve hours' work has no meaning for him as weaving, spinning, boring, etc., but only as earnings whereby he may obtain his meals, his seat in the public house, his bed. If the silkworm's object in spinning were to prolong its existence as a caterpillar, it would be a perfect example of a wage-worker.

Labor was not always a commodity, but it has become so. The slave, for instance, is a marketable commodity. The slave does not sell his labor to the slave-owner. The slave, along with his labor, is sold once for all to his owner. He is a commodity which can pass from the hand of one owner to that of another. He himself is a commodity, but his labor is not his commodity. The serf sells only a portion of his labor. He does not receive his wages from the owner of the soil; rather the owner of the soil receives a tribute from him. The serf belongs to the soil and to the lord of the soil he brings his fruits. The free laborer, on the other hand, sells himself, and that by fractions. From day to day he sells by auction eight, ten, twelve, fifteen hours of his life to the highest bidder—to the owner of the raw material, the instruments of work and the means of life; that is, to the employer. The laborer himself belongs neither to an owner nor to the soil; but eight, ten, twelve, fifteen hours of his daily life belong to the man who buys them: The laborer leaves the employer to whom he has hired himself whenever he pleases; and the employer discharges him whenever he thinks fit; either as soon as he ceases to make a profit out of him, or fails to get so high a profit as he requires. But the laborer, whose only source of earning is the sale of his labor, cannot leave the whole class of its purchasers; that is, the capitalist class, without renouncing his own existence. He does not belong to this or that particular employer, but he does belong to the employing class; and more than that, it is his business to find an employer; that is, among this employing class it is his business to discover his own particular purchaser.

Before going more closely into the relations between capital and wage-work, it will be well to give a brief survey of those general relations which are taken into consideration in determining the amount of wages.

As we have seen, wages are the price of a certain commodity—labor. Wages are thus determined by the same law which regulates the price of any other commodity.

Thereupon the question arises, how is the price of a commodity determined?

By what means is the price of a commodity determined?

By means of competition between buyers and sellers, and the relation between supply and demand—offer and desire. And the competition by which the price of an article is fixed is threefold.

The same commodity is offered in the market by various sellers. Whoever offers the greatest advantage to purchasers is certain to drive the other sellers out of the field and secure for himself the greatest sale. The sellers therefore fight for the sale and the market among themselves. Every one of them wants to sell, and does his best to sell much, if possible to become the only seller. Therefore each outbids the other in cheapness, and a competition takes place among the sellers which lowers the price of the goods they offer.

But a competition also goes on among the purchasers, which on their side raises the price of the goods offered.

Finally there arises a competition between buyers and sellers; the one set want to buy as cheap as possible, and the other to sell as dear as possible. The result of this competition between buyers and sellers will depend upon the relations of the two previous aspects of the competition; that is, upon whether the competition in the ranks of the buyers or that in those of the sellers is the keener. Business thus leads two opposing armies into the field, and each of them again presents the aspect of a battle in its own ranks between its own soldiers. That army whose troops are least mangled by one another carries off the victory over the opposing host.

Let us suppose that there are a hundred bales of cotton in the market, and at the same buyers in want of a thousand bales. In this case the demand is greater than the supply. The competition between the buyers will therefore be intense; each of them will do his

best to get hold of all the hundred bales of cotton. This example is no arbitrary supposition. In the history of the trade we have experienced periods of the failure of the cotton plant, when particular companies of capitalists have endeavored to purchase, not only a hundred bales of cotton, but the whole stock of cotton in the world. Therefore in the case supposed each buyer will try to beat the others out of the field by offering a proportionately higher price for the cotton. The cotton sellers, perceiving the troops of the hostile host in violent combat with one another, and being perfectly secure as to the sale of all their hundred bales, will take very good care not to begin squabbling among themselves in order to depress the price at the very moment when their adversaries are emulating each other in the process of screwing it higher up. Peace is, therefore, suddenly proclaimed in the army of the sellers. They present a united front to the purchaser and fold their arms in philosophical content; and their claims would be absolutely boundless if it were not that the offers of even the most pressing and eager of the buyers must always have some definite limit.

Thus if the supply of a commodity is not so great as the demand for it, the competition between the buyers waxes. Result: A more or less important rise in the price of goods.

As a rule the converse case is of common occurrence, producing an opposite result. Large excess of supply over demand; desperate competition among the sellers; dearth of purchasers; forced sale of goods dirt cheap.

But what is the meaning of the rise and fall in prices? What is the meaning of higher price or lower price? A grain of sand is high when examined through a microscope, and a tower is low compared with a mountain. And if price is determined by the relation between supply and demand, how is the relation between supply and demand itself determined?

Let us turn to the first worthy citizen we meet. He will not take an instant to consider, but like a second Alexander the Great will cut the metaphysical knot by the help of his multi-valued goods which I sell," he will tell us, "has cost me £100, and I get £110 by their sale—within the year you understand—that's what I call a sound, honest, reasonable profit. But if I make £120 or £130 by the sale, that is a higher profit; and if I were to get a good £200, that would be an exceptional, an enormous profit." What is it then that serves our citizen as the measure of his profit? The cost of production of his goods. If he receives in exchange for them an amount of other goods whose production has cost less, he has lost by his bargain. If he receives an amount whose production has cost more, he has gained. And he reckons the rise and fall of his profit by the number of degrees at which it stands with reference to his zero—the cost of production.

(To Be Continued.)

LACKEYS.

Whenever we see a coachman dressed in his livery we feel that by wearing the emblems of submission and inferiority he has belittled and insulted every man who labors for a living. We have often thought that if his back-bone were half as stiff as the straightness of his servile back indicated, he would do a great deal towards lifting labor from the menial position that it holds to-day to the highest and noblest in life. But by submitting to these foolish and degrading demands of the rich, he acknowledges his inferiority and wears the garb of submission.

Thus it is that the rich, and the well-to-do heap upon the backs of the toilers, not only their burdens, but at the same time brand them as inferior and refuse to associate with them. It is hard to understand how sensible men and women, who have the advantages of culture, get such a perverted view of life. This false, foolish and inhuman sentiment gained sway over the human mind in olden times, when labor was considered degrading and as unbecoming a gentleman or lady. It is still harder to understand how laboring people can respect those who so shamefully disregard their rights and their feelings.

There will be a readjustment one of these days, but it will not come about until working people realize, their strength and demand the full product of their toil, and seek to satisfy themselves through their industrial representation in a co-operative commonwealth.

Labor will not be respected under our present system until the laborer thinks better of himself and his occupation than he does to-day. Why should those who employ us respect us when we are guilty of drawing the line on some craftsman a little lower in the scale of wages than ourselves. Labor, if performed in proper quantities, is ennobling, and those who labor should be respected. Illness, upon the other hand, whether of rich or poor, is deplorable, and those who persist in so remaining, should be compelled to perform some useful service or starve.

REMEMBER JUNE 10.

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In the local election at Plattsmouth, Neb., Social Democratic candidates for Marshal, Councilmen and members of the School Board received votes ranging from 60 to 322.

EVOLUTION OF INDUSTRY.

By William Watkins.

Private property in the means of production came to have new significance, once it meant that the workman owned the tools which he used. In the olden time the master had not a separate and distinct income without direct personal toil. Capital had not separated the industrial workmen into classes. When production became socialized, private property in the means of production means that an extensive plant with all its complicated and costly machinery is owned by a great capitalist who no longer toils with his workmen at the bench, but who lives in a different quarter of the town, and often does not know his employees by sight. This private property in the instruments of production became the source of a large income altogether separate and distinct from the returns of personal exertion.

Thus the industrial world was divided. From master to workman the passage was, under the old regime, easy, but from factory worker to factory owner the road is not practicable.

It is worth observing that the master workman of former days carried on business for a living, or hoping at most for a modest competence, but the modern employer, already a capitalist, is seeking wealth, measured not by a few tens of thousands, but by millions.

MONOPOLY.

When a machine or a set of machines costing fifty thousand dollars is made, it is sold to the owner by one man who can pay for it, but the number who can pay for it is a very limited number. The introduction of costly and complicated machines into manufacturing has limited the number who can engage in that pursuit to those who have the capital necessary to equip a factory with the most efficient machinery.

In former times the individual worker was able to engage directly in production, now he can do so only indirectly. Then he was his own employer and all the value added to the raw material by his labor was his; now he is a wage-worker and he must accept the employer's terms. His wages are fixed by the law of supply and demand, the more men offering their labor power for sale, the lower the price. His labor power—his life, has become a commodity, and is the cheapest thing in the market. The laborer being unable to trace his part in the manufactured article in the dark as to the value of his work; what it is worth to his employer, and as the articles are to be sold in the world's market instead of being made to order, even if the workman could produce the article by his own labor alone, he could not sell it.

The independent worker of a former era is compelled to become a wage-worker and to receive for his work about one-fourth of what he produces. If a thousand dollars' worth of raw material is worked up into manufactured products worth five thousand dollars, that is, if four thousand dollars are added to the value in the process of manufacture, then one thousand dollars of that four thousand is the share of the labor—the wages paid, and three thousand the share of capital. In some cases the share of labor is less and in a few more than the above proportion, but the average as shown by the census of 1890 is about as stated. Allowing the ratio of one part to labor and three parts to capital to stand, we can see where great fortunes gained in manufacturing come from. They are simply and only composed of unpaid labor. The laborer does the work and the capitalist has all the product save a bare living to the worker.

We say a bare living, notwithstanding the fact that in some few cases more is given. We are dealing with the general result, and it is known that the iron law of wages is that they tend downward to the lowest point consistent with the maintenance of health and strength and the rearing of a family. As a matter of fact labor is often obtained at less cost. We are not now arguing the right or wrong of such a course; we are fully aware that in more than nine cases in ten the manufacturer is compelled to take this course, because no other is open to him. We call attention to the very significant fact that this division of the product of labor—one-fourth to the worker and three-fourths to the capitalist, is fatal to the capitalist system and produces the very state of things under which we now suffer. The manufacturer does not make goods for his own use and enjoyment, but for sale. Anything which destroys his market kills his profit, but the wage-workers constitute a large and increasing part of the public upon which he must depend for his market. If the wage-workers are paid only one-fourth the value added to the goods by the process of manufacture, it is plain that they, as a class, cannot furnish a market for more than one-fourth that value, which is considerably less than one-fourth of the goods produced, because the manufacturer adds the cost of the raw material into the selling price, and because the laborer cannot buy the goods until several profits have been added to the manufacturer's price. It is plain that the whole laboring class is capable of buying only a small part of that which is produced. Hence we see that periodically the markets become glutted with goods, that staple articles used and needed by the mass of people are offered at less than cost of production and are, even at that, slow of sale. Merchants become bankrupt, mills and factories shut down, banks fail, hundreds of thousands are thrown out of work, misery, vice and crime prevail in the land. There is said to be an over-supply of shoes, when the people are going barefoot, because they cannot buy shoes even when offered at less than cost. The system impoverishes the masses and holds before the capitalist the hope of immense gain which in most cases proves delusive.

THE WAGE-WORKER NOT PROTECTED.

But let us return to the wage-worker.

When his work demanded muscular strength and technical skill dearly bought by long years of apprenticeship, the worker was safe from outside competition. The mechanic did his work in his own way and observed the established rules of trade. But no trade was able to charge exorbitant prices, for that would have caused a great number of boys to enter a trade that was so profitable, and competition would soon have brought prices down.

But in modern methods, machinery driven by steam or water power has taken the place of muscular strength in manufacturing processes, and has made the woman and the child competitors of the man, thus destroying Adam Smith's law of wages; for competition being open to the whole world without distinction of sex, many women and young people are found eager to accept places at wages far below the adequate support of a family. Formerly the wages of the father sufficed to support the family—now the mother and children must work in the shop or factory to eke out a subsistence.

Formerly skill protected the mechanic, now skill is not necessary, or at least not that degree of skill which was gained by long years of apprenticeship. The skilled mechanic is not needed, we want the machine feeder. Competition for places to work in factories is now thrown wide open and the result is that labor can be obtained at almost any terms offered, and the tendency is still downward.

PHILOSOPHERS.

In the early part of this century when the power-loom and the spinning-jenny were coming into use in England, the weavers and spinners seeing their work taken from them, and with it their living, arose in mobs and broke the machines, but the capitalist class was then, as now, in possession of the power, the mobs were dispersed by force, the tops of the machine came in and with it the most cruel treatment of operatives—a treatment so barbarous that it compelled legislation on the part of Parliament. Then the philosophers attacked the subject and found that machinery, in the long run, did not really displace anybody, it actually made more places than it took. They could not bear the idea that the immense fortunes coming into their hands and those of their friends were founded upon the ruins of their fellow-citizens. They saw their country in a high state of prosperity and deceived themselves with the thought that the general increase in wealth was shared by the displaced workmen. It was not true, though at that time there was some plausibility in the theory, but time has utterly overturned it. Labor-saving machinery saves labor, it does the same work with one-fifth, one-tenth, one-hundredth, or one-thousandth the number of workers. Of course, it cheapens products and favors large increase in consumption, but the possibilities of production greatly exceed any possible consumption.

A single factory of moderate size is capable of producing all the stockings worn in this nation and that without calling in any one outside the city to work in it. The world's work is being done by a constantly increasing number of workers. But life is supported by labor; if laborers are displaced by machines, then men are cut off from their living. The man who is willing and anxious to work and support himself is not allowed to do so. There is a wrong—a gigantic wrong—utterly without remedy in our present system. This wrong can be righted only by a change of system.

WHO SHALL OWN THE MACHINES?
The Socialist is a man of the present day. Modern scientific Socialism dates back only to the time when modern capitalistic production has developed far enough to show its true character. No one so fully appreciates the value and nature of labor-saving machinery as does the Socialist. Labor-saving machinery has in it the power and potency of the greatest blessing to mankind. But we notice that the benefits accrue to the owner of the machine. The collectivity—the public in its organized capacity—must own the machine. Then the benefit will accrue to the public. The private ownership of the means of production and distribution puts an engine into the hands of a class which it is impossible to use for private gain without oppression and injustice. The evil is increasing and will soon become intolerable; it will call so loudly for remedy that its cries will be heard and the evil remedied, even though it require a change in the structure of society.

SOCIALISM AND SOCIALISTS.
Socialism is not the system, plan or scheme of any reformer, whether philosopher or crank. It is the doctrine of those who see forces at work in our present system which can not be controlled and which will inevitably destroy the system itself.
Your Socialist is not a sore head; he kicks not, he grumbles not, whatever happens. He is an evolutionist; he believes that evolution evolves—that the process does not stop. All men are working together to bring in the Co-operative Commonwealth, those who oppose it most hasten it most. All systems, all political events, are necessary steps in the evolution of Socialism.
Our present system is filling the world with sin, vice, crime, insanity, poverty, disease and untimely death; but had as it is at its end, in its beginning it was a blessing. Feudalism had to yield to Commercialism because Feudalism was outworn and Commercialism was a better and freer form of society. But as Feudalism passes away because it was an impediment in the way of progress, so in the fullness of time will Commercialism pass away and be replaced by a form better adapted to the needs of society. Everything shows that we are living in the end of an age, great changes may be expected in the near future. The situation in Europe is growing intolerable, peace cannot long be maintained under present conditions and when war has once begun, the present state can never be restored. In our own country the failure of popular government—national, state and municipal, betokens mighty changes. All these, the Socialist sees unremoved; they are the natural and inevitable results of causes at work in society and these causes are beyond the reach of reformers, whether in or out of the legislature. No man makes a revolution; no man can check a revolution.

Like cosmic phenomena in the physical world, revolutions have general causes deep in the bosom of society—they work and ferment for years among the unknown masses—those who have no political power, or if they have it do not know how to use it, then they break out and carry everything before them.

The Socialist claims that a revolution has been going on in society for more than a century and that it will shortly destroy the present structure of society and in place of the present form another form will arise better adapted to our needs.

Present conditions are intolerable—they call loudly for change and change will surely come. We are face to face with conditions absolutely new and unknown among mankind. A nation of seventy million people, a most active and energetic nation, equipped with all facilities for the production of wealth, yet, without fault of theirs, plunged in poverty and misery. We see on every side men full of strength, skill and vigor condemned to involuntary idleness. They seek to support themselves by labor but are not allowed to do so. The grievances which have produced revolutions in times past are naught compared to this.

Official and Party News.

Watch This Column Every Week for Announcements of Meetings, etc.

Read it as soon as you get your paper. All important matters will be published under this head.

Order a bundle of No. 24, "Memorial number." It will be a stirring issue.

The Economics Club has changed its name to the Clarion Club, and is putting in some good ticks.

Ninth Ward Branch meets Tuesday evening at Thirteenth and Wyoming streets. Members of the Eighth Ward branch will be pleased to discuss a plan of co-operation in this district.

Comrade Leon Greenbaum is engaged in a lecture tour of Illinois unions. He injects plenty of Socialism into his speeches. The Belleville Trade Unionist devotes the whole front page to his lecture in that city. Get in your orders for No. 24.

The Sixteenth Ward Branch held its regular meeting at Fifteenth and Cass avenue Wednesday evening and admitted three new members. Comrade Baird made an able address which was listened to with much interest. It was decided to meet every first Tuesday in the month at Gaus' Hall, Fifteenth and Cass avenue.

Comrades Deprez, Dunn and O'Hare addressed a meeting of Plymouth Lodge of the Columbian Knights last Thursday evening on the subject of Political Economy. The lodge rules prevented a discussion of religious and political subjects, but the audience was highly pleased with the things they learned about political economy.

Local St. Louis held a well-attended meeting Thursday night and transacted much business. Resolutions (printed in another column) were passed calling for a State convention. Comrades Mann, Hildebrand and Baird were elected as members of the State committee from the Tenth, Eleventh and Twelfth Districts respectively. It was decided to hold the next business meeting on Sunday afternoon, July 7, to elect delegates to the national convention and for the regular semi-annual election of officers of the party and the paper. The affairs of the paper were discussed at length, and it was resolved that every member owe it to himself and the party to take at least one subscription card a week.

False Socialist Tactics.

I have no patience with that class of Socialists who like sleuth hounds are continually hounding those who have at some time in life been in error on some economic idea. I know there are those who are class-conscious Socialists to-day, who have not always thoroughly understood the philosophy of Socialism; if these men have reached the stage in education that they have laid aside economic facts and middle class theories, I am content to let them alone and not try to create prejudice against them by hounding them about past mistakes. There was a time when the people who are continually railing at others for their past mistakes were not Socialists and even voted for capitalist candidates, but their own past errors are never mirrored in their own minds, and they never see themselves as they see others. Such a course is not just to the men who have grown into a perfect knowledge of Socialism nor best for the upbuilding of the true Socialist movement.

It would not be hard to prove that most class-conscious Socialists in the early beginning of Socialist agitation had some erroneous ideas on Socialist philosophy, but I respect and honor the men who have become strong enough to reach the plane of class-conscious Socialism and possess the manhood and courage to contend for it; and I have no disposition to hound them for the mistakes they made in their evolution from middle-class politics into the realms of pure Socialism. Great movements can never be crystallized by such a policy, and in my opinion it is a false system of tactics out of which only evil can come—Social Economism.

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

NEWS OF THE MOVEMENT.

Socialists of Washington will hold a State Convention early in July.

Open-air circuits have been arranged by the National Executive Committee in Massachusetts and Ohio.

Comrades James Roche and John Murray, Jr. will make an agitation tour of Southern California in a wagon.

Chicago Socialists are carrying an agitation work in a very systematic manner, which brings excellent results.

Comrade Samuel Levin has been selected assistant organizer of the State of New Jersey and will take the field at once.

Comrade Scott Anderson, State organizer for California, is now holding successful meetings throughout that State.

The Social Democratic Party of New York will hold its city convention on June 22 to nominate a ticket for the fall election.

Los Angeles (Cal.) Socialists have succeeded in knocking out the ordinance which prohibited speaking in the Central Park. It was declared unconstitutional.

The Social Democratic Party of New York has been formed by A. M. Simmons, J. J. Moran, Charles H. Kerr, J. Washburne, Mrs. A. H. Simons, Mrs. Charles H. Kerr, Walter Thomas Mills, Geo. E. Bigelow, A. Klenke and F. G. Strickland of Chicago, and lecturing circuits will be mapped out to cover the Middle West. Other speakers will be added to the list.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN MICHIGAN.

The Socialist vote in the recent State election of Michigan shows a big increase. In November the vote was: S. D. P., 2,826; S. L. P., 962. The vote at the April election was as follows:

For Justice Supreme Court—
Geo. A. Eastman, S. D. P., 7,204
Shepard Cowie, S. L. P., 3,469
For Regent—
Edw. W. H. Smith, S. D. P., 7,396
D. J. Jeanneret, S. D. P., 7,311
W. F. King, S. L. P., 3,371
B. Fabinski, S. L. P., 3,362

SOCIALIST ELECTED.

At the City election held in New Decatur, Ala., May 7, Comrade James E. Morrow, Socialist candidate for City Clerk, received 688 votes; Republican candidate, 142; Democrat, 151. Socialist plurality, 526; Socialist majority, 275.

L. W. Allen, Socialist candidate for Alderman in the Third Ward, was elected over the Democratic candidate by six votes. The Socialist vote at this point last fall was 125, showing a gain of over 500 per cent.

The Blessings of Poverty.

The following portion of an editorial taken from the Davenport (Ia.) Times of May 2, attempting to show the necessity of poverty, is to say the least, rather rough on the "dignity of labor" theory.

"Suppose wealth was universal. Who would cook our food? Who would be hewers of wood and drawers of water? Who would perform the menial duties of life? Who would stoop to the level of the countless kumbic vocations which are essential to the well-being of society, to the conservation of the health of communities, to the existence of government and to the progress of the world along industrial, commercial and scientific lines? If wealth, by any miraculous dispensation, should happen to become universal, it would not be long before the wheels of human activity in every direction would be checked, disease would establish permanent headquarters in every populous center, and civilization would soon disintegrate and decay.

What on earth would become of the fellows that don't have to work now, in case poverty disappeared now. Aye, there's the rub. Nobody to do their chores, nobody to perform the personal services which they are too snobbish or too lazy to do for themselves. The entire universe would go to eternal smash if the world's parasites were evicted from their feeding grounds. The "poor" are an absolute necessity—to them. If the "human activity" of the "poor" were to cease also, and they would actually have to face the appalling prospect of keeping alive by their own exertions. They would have to cook, to hew wood and draw water, to stoop to the performance of menial duties, and "humble vocations" which they can now impose upon the "poor" through the ignorance of the latter. No wonder these gentry dread the Socialist fine tooth comb which is being prepared to disintegrate the "civilization" which revolves around themselves as its central object.—Workers' Call, Chicago.

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

MISSOURI STATE COMMITTEE—
Chairman, Geo. H. Turner, 207 Whitney Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.; Secretary, Wm. J. Hager, Room 7, 22 N. 4th St., St. Louis, Mo.; Treas., F. P. O'Hare, 4952A 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 meets every 2d and 4th Sunday, 2 p. m., at 857 Cowan st. Julius Blumenthal, Organizer, 857 Cowan st.

2D, 4TH AND 5TH WARD BRANCH—Meets 3d 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. Schleifstein, 2328 S. 9th st.

9TH WARD BRANCH meets 2d and 4th Wednesdays, 8 p. m., at South-west Turner Hall, Potomac and Ohio Av. Org.—Wm. Rzesache, 3734 Oregon Av.—Edw. Ottersky, Sec'y, 3821 Wisconsin Av.

12TH WARD BRANCH meets 4th Tuesday of each month, 8:30 p. m., at 1219 Missouri ave. Sec., Wm. E. Eckart, 1219 Missouri ave.

14TH WARD BRANCH meets first Tuesday of every month at Gaus Hall, 15th and Cass ave. Sec. C. Scheller, 1448 Mullaphy st.

17TH WARD BRANCH meets every Friday, 8 p. m., at 2511 Benton st. Sec. John Suemnicht, 2413 N. 15th st.

KANSAS CITY CENTRAL COMMITTEE meets every Thursday night at 307 Whitney Building, Sec. Garnet Puttroy, 307 Whitney Bldg.

Secretaries will please send prompt notice of changes and corrections.

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

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.

IF YOU DESIRE
to understand modern scientific Socialism—the reason of it, the facts upon which it is based, the great historic epochs giving birth to it, its doctrine, scope, purpose, aim and objects—you should read **THE INTERNATIONAL LIBRARY.**
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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	311
"	1884	8,805
"	1887	8,408
"	1890	17,232
"	1892	20,058
"	1895	25,019
"	1898	32,000
"	1899	55,000
Great Britain	1890	100,000
"	1893	20,000
"	1895	76,400
"	1897	134,946
"	1898	50,000
"	1899	7,500
Italy	1887	14,800
"	1890	28,000
"	1892	13,500
"	1894	29,455
"	1896	334,500
"	1898	574,324
"	1899	2,000,000
Germany	1871	101,927
"	1877	486,843
"	1878	474,135
"	1881	511,901
"	1884	599,597
"	1887	702,125
"	1890	1,427,298
"	1892	1,780,738
"	1898	2,725,000

United States

1890	13,704
1892	21,512
1896	36,275
1900	140,000

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

REMEMBER JUNE 10th.

Murdered, June 10th, 1900, by the Posse Comitatus.
C. Edward Thomas.
George Rine.
Edward Burkhardt.

On June 10, 1900, eight hundred striking motormen and conductors marched across the Eads bridge on their way home from a picnic which had been held by their fellow-workers in the little city across the river. These men were orderly; they contemplated no trouble; they were engaged in a struggle that meant much for them, that imperiled the very lives of their wives and children; but they knew it was folly to resort to violence. They knew that quartered in an improvised barracks in the center of the city was a force of two thousand men heavily armed, and only too anxious for an opportunity to shoot them down without mercy.

As the head of the column of strikers reached the end of the bridge they saw a line of these possemen, each bearing a repeating riot gun, ranged along the line of march for a distance of three blocks. The strikers marched on peacefully. As one division reached Sixth street a rock was thrown. It is claimed, by whom no one knows. There was some confusion and a moment later a shot or an explosion of some kind was heard. Then occurred one of the most outrageous scenes that has been recorded. Without waiting for orders, without making inquiries as to the nature or extent of the trouble the members and officers of the Posse Comitatus rushed from their barracks on Washington avenue and fired indiscriminately into the crowd of unarmed workmen. Shots were fired from the upper windows of the

barracks building. Possemen rushed up and down the street shooting in all directions; it was an irresponsible mob of aristocrats eager for the blood of unarmed workmen.

When the shooting was over it was found that three strikers had been killed and many wounded. The strikers were not even permitted to care for their wounded comrades who were left lying on the street.

Not a single member of the posse received the slightest injury. This alone is enough to condemn them. The workmen of St. Louis know that their comrades were murdered. They will not forget June 10, 1900, and every year they will carry flowers to the graves of the dead men and will hold services in their honor, and when the great class struggle has ended in the complete triumph of the working class and the establishment of the Socialist republic they will enter the names of these men in the Book of Martyrs.

The Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis will hold the first annual memorial services in honor of the murdered men at Masonic Odeon, Grand and Finney avenues, Sunday, June 16, 2 p. m. Prominent national speakers will be present and a programme fitting the occasion will be rendered. Workmen of St. Louis will do well to attend these services and render tribute to their dead brothers.

MISSOURI SOCIALIST will issue on June 15 a MEMORIAL EDITION to honor these martyrs. The edition will contain an accurate description of the massacre on Washington avenue and other important events of the strike. It will be illustrated with a number of half-tones and will contain articles from the foremost men in the labor movement. Extra copies of this number will be sold at one cent each in bundles and must be ordered by June 10.

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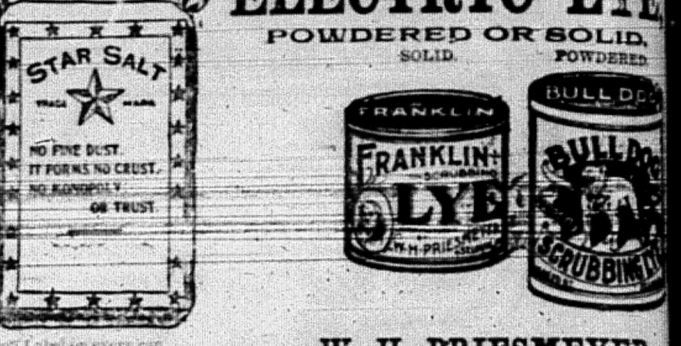
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