

MISSOURI SOCIALIST.

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

Volume I.

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Number 28.

Are Capitalists Class-Conscious?

A Lesson Which All Workingmen Should Study.

The working class of St. Louis have the finest example possible of the harmonious working of the capitalist class against the working class, whether the capitalist in question belong to the Democratic or Republican parties. In the passage in the City Council on last Friday evening of the bill making appropriations for the expenses of the city government. The bill as passed was the result of a bitter fight between the Council and House of Delegates which had been on for over three months over an item in the bill setting aside \$102,000 for the payment of the posse comitatus which was used to break up the great street car strike of last summer, and which accomplished the purpose of its organization in the murder of three unarmed workingmen on Washington avenue.

The House of Delegates was opposed to this item, not out of any feeling for the working class, but out of fear that they would not get the votes of that class for re-election, and further, because in "holding up" that item they hoped to wrest some patronage from the mayor and other heads of departments. The Council, on the other hand, which is composed of seven Democrats and six Republicans, was unanimous in its support of the measure.

As a result of their fight the city employees were not paid for over three months, the city institutions were getting in an embarrassing situation, owing to the lack of money.

As a result of the complaints which this action brought, and a few shrewd political moves on the part of the House members, the Council finally yielded and passed the bill with the posse comitatus item left out. It was the statements of the Council members in explaining their votes on this bill which brought out their capitalist class consciousness.

There were eight members present when the bill came up for passage, five Democrats and three Republicans. Mr. Boyce, Democrat, was the first one who voted. He stated: "I vote for this bill without the posse item against my conscience. To the men who composed that posse, we owe the restoration of order at a time when we were practically in the throes of revolution."

Mr. Gibson, Democrat, was the next to cast his vote. He arose to his feet, and with true capitalist oratory, told of the outrages of the striking mob and lauded the work of the posse who succeeded in restoring order.

Mr. Hodges, Republican, in casting

his vote, made this remarkable statement:

"The deputy sheriffs who made up that posse, were brave men who took their lives in their hands at a time when the city was going through scenes worse than any which were witnessed during the French revolution and the Paris Commune, and by their heroic efforts restored order."

One after the other the members of the Council made similar statements in explanation of their votes and Democrat and Republican was lost in the capitalist spirit which pervaded them.

How will the working class of this city relish such statements; how will they reckon with these men and with the class which they represent.

"Brave men!" is a brave man one who will rig himself out in a rough rider suit, arm himself to the teeth and swagger up and down the streets frightening women and children?

"Is a 'brave man' one who will fire into a crowd of unarmed and defenseless workmen?"

Let the working class answer the question, and answer it in no unmistakable terms.

"Scenes like the French Revolution?" surely they were. Workingmen goaded on by oppression had revolted against their masters and demanded a little more bread out of all which their labor created. But, unlike the French Revolution, there was only one class armed, and that the capitalist class. "Like the Paris Commune?" very much indeed, unarmed workmen were fired into by the capitalist class hirelings very much as was done in the times succeeding the Commune.

It is this concerted action between capitalists regardless of party, when their power of exploitation is threatened, which is desirous of bringing to the attention of the working class, in order that they may become class conscious as are their masters.

The Socialist declares that it is necessary for the working class to become thus class conscious if it is ever to wrest from the capitalist class, that to which they are entitled, the full product of their labor. The Socialist also desires to impress upon the working class that their class consciousness must be carried to the ballot box, the only place where they are stronger than the capitalist class, and all other put an end to capitalism and its capitalist class, its French Revolutions, its Paris Communes, its "brave men" and its posse comitatus.

Delegates, Beware

Judge Well Your Choice for Labor Day Grand Marshal.

At the meeting of the Central Trades and Labor Union Sunday, July 28, that body will take action on the election of a Grand Marshal for the Labor Day Parade. Every Socialist delegate should attend that meeting; it is very important that a man should be chosen for this position who has been a tried and true member of that body.

It has been announced that it is the intention of some members to nominate Mr. George Meins, the President of the Central for that position. It is very necessary that the members should understand the record of this Mr. Meins. They will remember that just prior to the Fourth of July there was an invitation accepted by the Central Trades and Labor Union to attend the celebration of the working class on that day, which invitation set forth the fact that the capitalist class would also hold a celebration, and that they would organize a parade which would be made up of the militia, Battery A and other military organizations, which you are aware, are used only as a means of breaking the strike of union men; also prominent members of the posse comitatus, who so successfully broke up the street railway men's strike last summer; also heads of various scab concerns of the city and other enemies of the working class. You will remember also that these facts

were the cause of your action in accepting the invitation.

Now, bearing these things in mind, could you consistently vote for a man for Grand Marshal of your Labor Day celebration, who marched in that parade, together with the enemies of labor mentioned?

If the name of Mr. Meins is placed before your body, your actions and your vote upon it will mean much to your organization. A vote for him will mean a vote in favor of the capitalist parade and all its militia, its scabs and its posse comitatus.

William J. Hager, secretary of the Missouri State Committee, announces the following vote for delegate-at-large to the Indianapolis Convention. Comrades Leon Greenbaum and George H. Turner were nominated. Local St. Louis cast 28 votes for Greenbaum and 19 for Turner. Local Kansas City cast 19 for Greenbaum and 33 for Turner. Local Liberal cast 16 for Turner. Local Bevier cast 15 votes for Greenbaum and 19 for Turner. Local Kansas City cast 19 for Greenbaum and 33 for Turner. Local Liberal cast 16 for Turner. Local Bevier cast 15 votes for Greenbaum, making a total vote of 45 for Greenbaum and 29 for Turner, resulting in the choice of George H. Turner of Kansas City.

Don't forget the meeting Sunday, Delebar's Hall, Broadway and Elm street, 2 p. m.



Here is the Situation Black on White.

To the Working Class.

Here you see the exact situation of the working class and the capitalist class. The one toils and struggles in order that the other may enjoy and regall himself. The bicycle in the picture was made by the man behind; it is owned by the man in front, and because he owns it he is able to say to the man behind: "You push me and give me plenty to eat and drink or you can't ride at all," notwithstanding the fact that there would have been no bicycle except for the man behind.

Well, Mr. Workingman, the fellow behind represents your class, the fellow in front the capitalist class, and the bicycle represents the capital which you use in making wealth; in other words, it represents the machines, the tools you use in the shop and factory. Now the man behind does not represent one working man only, but every wage-worker and every salaried worker. Neither does the man in front represent one capitalist only, but every member of the capitalist class, every man who regularly employs other men to work for him either for wages or on salary. This includes all of them, whether he is what we generally call a "small business man" or whether he is a trust magnate, whether he employs one man or 5,000, he is still a capitalist because he is employing others for wages. Now, if the working class make the machines, and the tools, and with them make all other wealth, why is it that the capitalist owns it?

It is because the nature of the capitalist system compels the workers to produce, not for use, but for the profit of the capitalist. If the worker is ever to enjoy the product of his labor he must take from the capitalist that which gives him his power over the worker—the machine—in other words

like a strong Newfoundland pup, and before long we will have the heeler of our city taking to their heels. Last night our branch gave an open-air concert to an audience of 500 people, and Comrade Oliver from Webb City spoke for an hour on the differences in the principles of the P. O. P. and S. D. P. To-day the so-called ruling element thinks it a shame that such a thing should be tolerated in the metropolis of Southwest Missouri. Socialism is coming to the front in this district, and the only drawback is our poverty to buy propaganda, but we do what we can in this line.

Kindly let us hear from you from time to time and keep us posted on important matters at headquarters, as we are always glad to receive news from home. With best wishes to yourself and the members of the State Committee, I remain,

FRATERNALLY YOURS,
"RICHARD KESSEL."
Chairman Joplin Branch Missouri No. 11, S. D. P. of A."

Joplin Selects Delegates

The following communication has been received from Joplin, Mo. It will be noted that the Joplin Socialists have taken prompt action regarding the action of T. E. Palmer, who attended the recent Kansas City Convention, which launched the so-called "Allied Third Party":

"Please be informed that at a convention held by the Socialists of Jasper County on July 7, at Webb City, Comrade E. Baucus of Carthage received the unanimous referendum vote of all the branches in the country and will be their delegate to the Indianapolis convention. The main instructions to him are to stand for Unity and Harmony on one platform, by all means, and if the name Social Democratic Party is an obstacle to drop it, to abolish national executive boards and effect State organization with absolute autonomy in local matters, to abolish the national organ and to work for the reduction of dues to a minimum and to amend the constitution to read that women above 18 years of age are eligible to membership.

"I trust you are in possession of a resolution passed by the convention on June 30 in regard to T. E. Palmer of Neek City, and submitted to you for publication by Comrade Rooney, and beg to call your attention to the fact that the Joplin branch has denounced Mr. Palmer as a fraud and faker, and by letter has asked him to explain himself, to which he, however, has paid no attention. We learned from good authority that Palmer, who formerly was an employe of the Kansas City postoffice, went there on a pass which was furnished by the ever benevolent Phelps, feigning to be the delegate of Jasper County Socialists, and acted as a member of the committee to bottle-up that P. O. P. platform, which no doubt will explode before long. By so doing he entertained the hope that he may be taken back again into his old job under Uncle Sam.

"Our country is pushing to the front the young Joplin branch is growing

you must own the bicycle which your labor creates, as a class, and take the capitalist from his easy seat in front and place him along side yourself as a useful worker in society instead of a parasite as he is to-day.

Now, don't mistake; you don't want to take one capitalist off and leave the balance there, even though he be the largest. That would still leave all other capitalists, and as long as there are capitalists the capitalist system will be in existence, and the workers will still be compelled to work for wages instead of receiving all that they create. No, if you want to remove capitalists, you must remove them ALL, you must destroy the system which robs you of the wealth you create, and substitute in its stead Socialism, wherein the working class will own the machines and thereby own all they produce with those machines.

Now, Mr. Workingman, we will assume that you understand this argument, the question then presents itself: How can we do this? How can we get Socialism?

Well, the best way is the easiest way, the way with the least obstruction, and that is at the ballot-box; there is one place where you can beat the capitalist every time. You outnumber him a hundred fold. In your union, notwithstanding the fact that you are often victorious in raising your wages, the capitalist has the best of you because with his greater wealth he is able to starve you out or, if that fails, to call out the militia to shoot you down and thus break up your strike. It is at the ballot-box alone where you are in complete supremacy. Therefore, vote! Vote! Vote for the Socialist Party and insure the establishment of Socialism and the abolition of such conditions as are represented in the above picture.

THE EDITOR.

Special Meeting of Local.

A special meeting of the Local is called to take place next Saturday afternoon at Delebar's Hall, Broadway and Elm street, at 2 p. m., by order of the C. C. C. Important matters relating to the instructions of delegates to Indianapolis, which were overlooked at the last meeting, will come up for consideration.

It is very essential that every member should attend as intelligent action cannot be taken without a full representation.

The matter of minority representation will also come up for discussion, and steps will be taken looking toward the raising of expenses of delegates at Indianapolis.

This meeting will also offer the best opportunity for those members to SIGN THE DELEGATES' CREDENTIALS, who have not already signed. This alone should bring out every member, for without your signature your vote cannot be cast.

Yours fraternally,
WM. DETJEN,
Secretary C. C. C.

The Fight Is On.

75,000 Wageworkers Open One of the Great Battles of the International Class Struggle.

The great fight is on between the Amalgamated Iron, Steel and Tin Workers comprising 75,000 wage-workers on the one hand and the United States Steel Co. or steel trust on the other. It will doubtless be a battle of long duration, as both sides are determined and there is no room for compromise as the union is battling for recognition of its organization. It is either complete victory for the men or complete defeat. Upon an occasion so momentous as this, when one of the greatest battles of the international class struggle is being fought, it is well that we look into the situation, discover its meaning and think of its probable outcome.

Why this battle? Why do these 75,000 men quit their work and subject themselves and their families to hardship and possible starvation?

Surely this fight should show to every workingman the absolute untruth of the old story of our employers, that "the interests of capital and labor are identical."

While the issue is not directly an increase of wages the fight is being fought for a principle which will in the future enable the men to ask for increased wages with more show of success, the recognition of the union; it all resolves itself into a fight for wages, either direct or indirect. If the statement of the identity of interest of capitalist and laborer be true then as increased wages benefit the working class it must also benefit the capitalist class. But is this statement true? If it is why does the capitalist object whenever the working class demand an increased wage?

The following resolution adopted by the Executive Board of District No. 24 United Mine Workers of America should be studied by every trade unionist.

Evidences of this kind are coming before the trades unions of the country every day and impressing upon them the necessity of carrying their trades union principles to the ballot box on election day if they are ever to obtain laws for the benefit of their class.

To the Miners of District No. 24, U. M. W. of A.—Greeting.

Whereas, the miners of Michigan did unanimously declare themselves in favor of asking the Michigan legislature to pass a law to protect their lives and interests in the mines; and

Whereas, the said legislature has defeated the miner's bill which was introduced by Rep. John Henry, of Saginaw; therefore, we deem it advisable to give you a clear understanding of the reasons the bill met its death, and give you advice how to secure beneficial legislation in the future.

History of the bill: The bill was presented to the legislature in the house of representatives, and our organization used every method in its power to have it enacted into law.

It cost the organization \$420 for labor and expense of representatives of the union who were sent to Lansing to use their efforts in behalf of the bill. According to the arguments produced for the bill, and according to all rules of right and justice, the bill should have become a law. It met defeat because the present legislature is a thoroughly capitalist one. Its members hold office simply to protect the interests of the capitalist class. One thing the miners must learn (and the sooner the better), that it is a waste of time to beg legislatures, as constituted at present, to pass laws beneficial to us. The capitalist has full control of the law-making powers of our governments; likewise the executive and judicial powers.

A law in the interest of the capitalist class now finds speedy passage; one in the interest of labor meets early death. The judiciary, in addition to issuing all kinds of injunctions against labor hunts up all labor laws which may have gotten upon the statutes, and declares them unconstitutional. The executives order out the militia and also the regulars (when necessary) to shoot down our brother working-

men and break up their strikes. All this is done because the capitalists wish it. Yes, they are committers for the capitalist class.

What should workingmen do in the face of these conditions? Why, elect your own men to office. If the Michigan legislature had been composed of class-conscious workingmen who were sent there to protect the workers against the enemies of labor—the capitalist class—then the miners' bill would not have met defeat, nor would any labor measure be turned down. Labor's interests would be taken care of.

We issue this advice to you because we believe we will not have done our full duty unless we did so. We believe laboring men can get laws passed in this way much quicker than by begging the capitalists for them. When you begin to do this, the capitalists, fearing they will lose the entire labor vote, will pass some laws trying to appease labor. And when the labor party becomes a power, the workers will not have to spend their hard-earned money trying to get laws, nor lower their dignity by begging the capitalists to do something which they should do themselves.

Having the greatest numbers they should rule.

Workingmen, arise from your knees and demand your rights. Demand the full product of your labor! Remember, if workingmen would be free they must themselves strike the blow.

STEPHEN CORVEN,
Secretary.

Why We Are Personal.

Men blame us for the bitterness of our language and the personality of our attacks. It results from our position. The great mass of the people can never be made to stay and argue a long question. They must be made to feel it through the hides of their idols. When you have launched your spear into the rhinoceros hide of a Webster or a Benton, every Whig and Democrat feels it. It is on this principle that every great reform must take its text from the mistakes of great men. God gives us great sources for texts to anti-slaver, scrip. r. z. —Arundell Phillips.

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THE BEGGING POLICY.

Fails Again in Michigan to the Edification of Trades Unionists.

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EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS.

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

The fact that a signed article is published does not constitute Missouri Socialist's approval or disapproval of its contents.

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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Populists and Socialism.

The Missouri World, a proponent of Populist paper, published at Chillicothe, in referring to the Allied Third Party, says:

"Our Socialist friends may conclude to join in the movement, as the platform adopted by the conference contains much that they want. At present, however, judging from the editorial columns of the Missouri Socialist, published at St. Louis, they will not unite, but will stand out for radical Socialism. Still if the move made by the Kansas City Conference proves to be in good faith for a straight fight against both the old parties, we believe the rank and file of those now advocating Socialism will join in."

Well, well, well! It does not seem that the chief characteristics of the Populist party is gullibility.

It would be natural to suppose that after all their experience the Pops. would have learned something, but if they have it is not in evidence. They are just as ready as ever to buy some political gold brick.

The rave against corruption, boss-rule, etc. soar to the clouds on direct legislation theories, and a hundred and one other things which they declare are the "essentials of Socialism," and "represent much which Socialists want," etc. Yet these "essentials," as they call them, are always some scheme at patchwork, something which they fondly hope will save the little business man, such as government ownership of the railroads, etc., and they catch on to any old kind of a party which seems to promise them these things. As long as a Pop is a Pop he will advocate the rehabilitation of the middle class, and if he is ever to understand what the essentials of Socialism are he must quit being a Pop.

It is necessary above all things that he must become thoroughly imbued with the class conscious philosophy of the Socialist, that is he must recognize the irreconcilability of the material interests of the workers, as a class, and of the capitalists as a class. Wages and Profit are both the product of labor's energy, and as such belong in whole to labor, but if our system of industry permits the capitalist class to appropriate that portion we call profits, then, as a class, the capitalists stand in the relation of robbers to the working class, the robbed. Can their possibly be any community of interests between them; can the worker or the robbed gain anything through compromise with the capitalist robber?

Another thing which the Pop does not understand, that the government, at present, being administered by capitalists, is but a reflex of capitalist class interests. Therefore, if we turn the railroads over to the government, it simply means that instead of the railroads being administered by the capitalists directly, they are carried on by their committee, the government, according to their directions. If we can make no compromise with the capitalist class as individuals, how can we do so with their government?

The postoffice offers an example of this kind. Is the government ownership of the postoffice any benefit to the working class? Is not the wage system practiced in the postoffice the same as in the steel trust? Of the Pop answers, but look how cheap you can get stamps. Mr. Pop, just ask yourself who this cheapness benefits. How many letters a year does the great army of the working class send? How many do the capitalist class send? It is not cheapness we are after, Mr. Pop, but the full product of our labor, and nothing less will satisfy us.

Neither do we believe that this is obtainable through compromise, either with the capitalist or his government. It might be well for the editor of the "Missouri World" to inform himself on the "essentials" of Socialism before he comments on "what Socialists want."

It is time for you to renew your own subscription and get a new one, from the other fellow. Let's hear from you

More Troops for Jefferson Barracks

Preparations for World's Fair Are Going On Nicely.

Preparations for the World's Fair in St. Louis are proceeding rapidly. Remember that this is a capitalist fair, and that the workers are to have no share in it, except to build it, and then be denied an opportunity to see it after it is built, because the capitalists who are running it have not given them enough of the product of their labor to enable them to do so.

And as it is a capitalist fair, all things done toward its improvement will be done in a capitalist way. In that connection let us note the most important step which has been taken since the fair was started, a step which is in anticipation of an attempt which might be made to make the fair a little less capitalistic, in other words in anticipation of a possible strike among the builders of the fair.

Secretary of War Root, while on a Western trip, was induced, by special request of the capitalists who are booming the fair, to stop off and visit Jefferson Barracks. He expressed himself as very well pleased with his visit, and after the situation had been fully explained to him and the fearful sight which might overtake their profits if the workmen on the World's Fair buildings should strike, he at once agreed to see that such a thing should not happen, or if it did, the death of some of their fellow workmen.

"We will use the post to its full capacity," ran the capitalist press account. An agreement was reached whereby nearly 1,000 cavalrymen will be stationed at the post ready at all times to obey the bidding of a capitalist class government.

Cavalry, the capitalists of St. Louis learned in the great street-car strike of last summer, are far more effective in "curbing" "riking mobs," therefore cavalry it is, which will be on hand to quell any possible discontent among the workers on the World's Fair buildings.

The working class of St. Louis should rejoice at this, as it shows so plainly that the interests of the capitalists and the laborers are identical.

Who'll Do the Dirty Work?

Labor-saving machinery has entered the street-cleaning department in St. Louis, and, as a consequence, half of the men formerly employed have been let out and those who are left do more and better work than the whole number previously did under the old system.

The work was done until recently with big revolving brooms which swept the mud into the gutters which had been previously wet down with water from sprinkling carts. This plan required as many sprinkling carts as there were brooms and nearly as many wagons following them to pick up the mud after it had been swept into the gutter.

Under the new plan the sprinkling carts are made of iron, air tight, and the water in running in compresses the air in the tank which forces the water out a small crack onto the street. This forces the mud into the gutters and it runs off into the sewers.

It is cleaner, easier and far more effective than the old system.

An editorial in the New York Eagle truthfully and plainly tells why all "reform" is useless and the work of all reformers worse than thrown away. In commenting on the failure of New York to rid her tenements of the vice which they contain, the Eagle explains:

"Strangers come here to spend money, and the shopkeepers and hotel-keepers and keepers of saloons and dives would rise as one man if the city were to be really cleaned, and demand that the present condition of things be restored. This is a plain statement of the case. Many a pious father of a family of girls, who would not do a wrong thing himself, would resign his dry goods business tomorrow if he thought that New York was to be made pure, because it would mean that he would lose the trade of hundreds of people who came here to buy goods, and also to have a good time."

It is but a reinstatement of what Socialists have always contended, "profits" are at the bottom of the whole question, in other words that our system of morality is based upon our material system. If that is wrong then we cannot have a wholesome system of morality. We declare the system of profits to be wrong, and it would be a good thing for the editor of the Eagle to supply himself with a volume of Karl Marx's Capital and learn the origin of profits.

Is Profit the Reward of Abstinence?

But the profit of capital is the reward of abstinence. Truly a happy phrase! European millionaires ascetics, Indian penitents, modern St. Simons Stylites, who, perched on their columns, with withered features and arms and body thrust forward, hold out a plate to the passers-by that they may receive the wages of their privations! In the midst of this sacro-saint group, high above its fellow mortifiers of the flesh, supreme ascetic and martyr, stands the

Holy House of Rothschild (and Rockefeller and Vanderbilt and Morgan). That is the real truth about our present society! How could I have hitherto blundered on this point as I have?

What debauched rascals, what impure rakes, the workers, must be, since they manifestly receive no reward of abstinence. Doubtless the truth is that these are they, not the others, who secretly keep mistresses, and own villas and country houses where they indulge in frightful orgies!

But, joking apart—for it is no longer possible to jest about this, and the bitterest irony involuntarily breaks into open revolt—it is time, it is high time, to drown the squeaking pipe of these enchanths by the deep voice of a fully-developed man. Is it possible when the profit of capital is due to what we have seen, when capital is the octopus which lies up the entire surface of the toil and sweat of the worker leaving him only what are the bare necessities of existence—is it possible that anyone can still have the courage to speak in the presence of the workers of the profit of capital as the reward of the abstinence of capitalists who mortify themselves? Yes, there are those who still have the hardihood to flout the workers, to insult these luckless proletarians, with these jeers, with these monstrous sarcasms. Has conscience, then, died out from among us? Has shame taken refuge with the brutes?

FERDINAND LASALLE.

Robbed, Then Insulted

How the Capitalist Class Treat Their Worn Out Wage Slaves.

The following item appeared in the news columns of the St. Louis Chronicle, July 8, and shows the absolute heartlessness of the capitalist class when it comes to dealing with their broken down wage slaves who are no longer of use to their capitalist masters, and are compelled to resort to the only alternative, the poor-house:

"The name of every poor person who receives aid from St. Clair County, Ill., will, in future, be advertised in the official papers of the county. This was the decision of the County Board of Supervisors at a meeting Saturday."

It is not enough that they should be compelled to accept the bitter dose of "charity," but they must bear the extra burden of having their disgrace published broadcast to the world. It might be well to ask, how many of the present workmen of St. Clair County are sure that one day will not witness their names published to the world as "paupers," the name by which the capitalist class designate those who are no longer of use to them in the making of profits. Those who are now suffering that stigma were once as strong and healthy as you, they were once able to toil in the service as others, from sun up to sun down, as well as you toil today. They received as good wages as you receive and, doubtless, more, but a day came when they could bear up under the strain and struggle no longer, others took their places and they and their struggles were forgotten. This day is in store for every workman in St. Clair County, so long as we live under a capitalist system which uses human lives as so many machines and throws them away when they are of no further use. Work is carried on with tools, and so long as a single class owns those tools and use them for profit, the working class will suffer the disgrace which is to be heaped upon them by the capitalists of St. Clair County. Socialism will give you a share in the ownership and the operation of these tools and such spectacles as here shown would cease forever. It would do well for every man in St. Clair County to ask himself these questions and investigate his condition.

Your attention is especially requested to the invitation issued by the joint arrangements committee, which appeared in last week's issue of this paper. All delegates to the coming convention are requested to read same carefully for their information. Delegates are especially requested not to forget to obtain from the ticket agent when purchasing their tickets for Indianapolis, A Delegate Certificate which they are to bring to the convention with them, and which will be signed by an agent representing the railroad companies. The certificates will be good for a two-thirds reduction of the fare home for each delegate, so please be sure and get your certificates when leaving for the convention.

No certificates will be signed by the companies' representative unless the ticket is purchased within THREE DAYS PRIOR TO THE OPENING OF THE CONVENTION. So Comrades, DO NOT purchase tickets until you are ready to leave for Indianapolis.

The above specification does not apply to delegates living such a distance from Indianapolis as to require over three days' constant traveling to reach the convention. Such delegates can purchase their tickets and apply for a certificate on the day they leave, but they must NOT leave prior to the time necessary for them to leave so as to reach the convention on the 29th.

Don't forget to ask for Delegates' Certificates when purchasing tickets for Indianapolis.

Don't forget the meeting Sunday, Delebar's Hall, Broadway and Elm street, 2 p. m.

A Socialist Press Association

Representatives of Socialist Papers Called to a Conference at Indianapolis.

To the Socialist papers of America:

In view of the rapid growth of Socialist papers in this country and the necessity of co-operation between the same in the gathering of party news and good Socialist reading matter, the undersigned papers hereby call upon all Socialist papers of America to send representatives to a conference at Indianapolis, Ind., on Monday, July 29, 8 p. m. for the purpose of considering matters of mutual interest and the foundation of a Socialist Press Association of America.

The advantages of such a conference

Downfall of the Small Producer.

Will Eventually Become Members of the Working Class.

Socialism maintains that:

1. The economic development of the capitalist social system leads to the downfall of small production, whose foundation is

the means of production, machinery, tools, land, etc.; it divorces the worker from his means of production and transforms him into a propertyless proletarian, while the means of production themselves become the monopoly of a comparatively small number of capitalists and landlords.

2. Hand in hand with this monopolization of the means of production proceeds the crowding away of the disjointed small industries by colossal concerns, the development of the tool into a machine, and the gigantic increase in the productive capacity of human labor. But all the advantages of this transformation are monopolized by the capitalists and landlords. To the proletariat and the sinking middle classes—artisans, small farmers, etc.—it means only greater uncertainty of livelihood, and increase of misery, oppression, vassalage, degradation and exploitation.

3. The number of the proletariat grows larger and larger; the army of superfluous workers well ever more and more; the contrast between exploiters and exploited grows ever sharper, and ever bitterer grows the class struggle between capitalists and proletarians, which divides modern society into two hostile armies, and is the distinguishing character of all industrial countries.

4. The class between the property-holders and propertyless is further widened by the crises which are inherent in the capitalist system of production, which spread over an ever-increasing area and become ever more destructive, which raise the popular uncertainty in the earning of a livelihood into a normal condition of society, and which furnish proof positive that the productive powers of modern society have grown over its head, and that the system of private ownership of the means of production has become irreconcilable with the adequate application and complete development of these productive forces.

Many a fellow imagines he has said something clever when, in opposition to this, he declares: "There is nothing new under the sun; as things are today, so have they ever been and so will they ever be." Yet there is no more mistaken or foolish assertion than this. Modern science has proved that nothing is at a standstill; society, like nature, undergoes a steady development.

Production, whether in agricultural or industrial pursuits, starts with the labor of the individual alone, or of individual families. The productivity of such efforts is slight. So long as this stage lasts industry is carried on upon a small scale. At this stage, at the stage of small production, the product depends wholly upon the laborer, upon his personality, his diligence, his powers of endurance. As a result of this, he appropriates his own product as his personal property. But this individuality in production cannot be developed by the laborer unless he is personally free and can freely dispose of his means of production; in other words, unless these means of production are his private property. Private property in the means of production is the basis of small production.

Now, it is this very ownership by the small producers in their means of production that the economic development of capitalism destroys, and thereby it abolishes the system of small production and the small producers themselves.

The stages by which this development takes place are at first imperceptible, until the stages of manufactory and finally of the factory itself are reached. In this development machinery plays a gigantic role. By its introduction the capitalist system was finally placed in possession of a weapon which enabled it to overcome easily all opposition, and turned the course of economic development into a triumphal march for capital. This march was further accelerated by the invention of the steam power, which by degrees conquered all the industrial na-

are self-evident, and we are confident that this invitation will meet with the approval and acceptance of all our Socialist contemporaries. Papers unable to send representatives are requested to send written communications. With fraternal greetings.

MISSOURI SOCIALIST.
E. VAL PUTNAM,
Managing Editor,
ST. LOUIS ARBEITER-ZEITUNG,
107 W. 13TH ST.
G. A. HOEHN,
Managing Editor.

tions of the world. The productivity of labor was thereby multiplied many thousandfold. Communication and transportation were in their turn revolutionized. Prices tumbled down in proportion as merchandise became more plentiful; and in proportion as this process went and still goes on small production, and with it the small producer, went, and is going, by the board. To attempt to compete with production on a large scale, propelled by steam and electricity, is an act of despair on the part of the small farmer or city industrialist; neither can produce as plentifully, hence as cheaply as the great producer, whose means of production must be higher than the market can afford, and their downfall is but a question of time. That there should still be as many small farmers and industrialists as there are to-day is simply an evidence of the capacity of man for starvation.

The complete disappearance of small production is, however, not the first act of a tragedy that may be entitled "The Downfall of Small Production." The first effect of capitalist competition is that the artisan—and what is said of him holds good at all points of the small farmer—begins to throw into the breach one after another, all the savings of his own industry, together with such as may have come down to him from previous generations. The small fellow grows poor; to stem his decline he becomes more industrious; the hours of labor are lengthened, and drawn deep into the night; wife and children are dragged into the vortex, yet despite all this, and notwithstanding the extreme lengthening of the hours of labor and the feverish activity that affords him neither pause nor rest, the quantity of food he consumes becomes steadily less, and the expense for household and clothing suffer ever increasing retrenchment. There is no existence more miserable than that of these small farmer or small industrial producer who is endeavoring to hold his own in competition with a large agricultural or industrial producer.

There is no little truth in the saying that the wage-earner of to-day is better off than the small farmer or the small industrial producer. Those who most frequently use this phrase mean to imply thereby that the wage-worker has no reason to complain. This statement is, however, a boomerang that hits, not the Socialists, but the advocates of capitalism. If, indeed, those who are wholly propertyless are better off than those small producers who still have some property left, of what use can property be said to be to the latter? If the artisan and the small farmer stick to their small production, although they could earn more in the factory as wage-workers, simply because they still retain some property, it is evident that their poverty hurts rather than benefits them. To the small producer, whether agricultural or industrial, his property has been transformed from a shield against into a bond that fetters him to misery. To him the effect of private ownership in the means of production has changed character; that which a hundred years ago was a blessing to his class has now become a curse.

But, it may be objected, this misery is the price which the small agricultural or industrial producer pays for the greater degree of independence which he enjoys over the wage worker, who is wholly propertyless. Even this is false. Wherever small production is forced into competition with large production, the former sinks quickly into complete dependence upon the latter. The artisan becomes an appendage to the establishment of the capitalists; his home becomes an outhouse of the factory, or he sinks still lower. And as to the small farmer, to whom it is impossible to stand against capitalist competition as a farmer, he is forced either to take up some industrial pursuit in his home as the employe of capital, or he is bound to hire out either himself or members of his family as wage-workers to the large farmer. What has become of the independence of these? Their little property is the only thing that distinguishes them from the proletariat, and it is this very property that prevents them from taking advantage of the best opportunities to labor; it rivets them to their own threshold, with the effect of making them more dependent than the wage-workers who are wholly propertyless. Observation shows that private ownership in the means of production not only increases the physical misery, but also the dependence of the small holder. The effect of these small holdings has wholly changed character; be-

fore the days of large production the small holdings were a bulwark of freedom, to-day they are a means of slavery.

Another contention is that such small holdings vest in the producing small farmer or artisan the product of his labor. Where this is true it is but a trifling consolation, considering that the declining prices brought on by large production render the product of these small producers insufficient for their domestic needs. But even this consolation is mainly illusory. It does not hold good in most cases; for instance, it is wholly false in the case of those who are in debt. The usurer who has a mortgage on a farm has a stronger claim upon the labor of the farmer than the farmer himself. The usurer must be first satisfied, only what is left falls to the farmer; whether the penitents are to be satisfied, the farmer and his family does not concern the usurer. Accordingly, the small agricultural and industrial producers work as absolutely for the capitalist as does the wage-worker. The only difference established between them by the private property of the former is that the wages of the propertyless workmen is, in general, controlled by their needs, while in the case of the small property holders, there is no limit downward; it frequently happens that interest on mortgages will absorb the whole product of the labor of the small holder. In that case he has worked for nothing and paid his own expenses to boot—all this, thanks to his ownership of a little property.

What can be the result of this painful wrestling of the small with the gigantic power of the large producer? What future is there in store for a small agricultural and industrial producer as a reward for his thrift and his industry, and of his having dragged his wife and children with him into slavery at the cost of their physical and mental ruin? The reward for all this is bankruptcy, their final divorce from all means of production, their downfall into the class of the proletariat.

This is the inevitable result of the economic development in modern society, a result that is as inevitable as death itself. The same as death may appear as a deliverer to him who is afflicted with a painful disease, so does bankruptcy, too, often present itself as a deliverer to him who is bound down by the burden of small property. Such is the degradation and misery of the small producers that it is doubtful whether it is not less charitable to keep them up in their present condition and thereby defer the day of their final downfall into the class of the proletariat, than actually to hasten the process. Because, let it be remembered, it can only be a question of deferring their final downfall; to reinstate the small producer in his pristine vigor is simply impossible in these days of steam and electricity.

This is a bitter truth to those who are interested in the upholding of the present social system, because the small farmer and the small city producer are recognized as the main prop of the present system of private ownership in the means of production. For this reason the exploiting class is beating about for panaceas to save the small producer. The woods are full of quacks ready with specifics for absolute cure. In most cases these specifics are old. They have all shown their uselessness or their harmfulness. At best they can be useful only to a favored few, who may thereby be enabled to drop their small production and swing themselves up into the category of large producers, i. e. capitalists—at the expense, of course, of their less favored comrades, out of whose class they have raised themselves.

All the "social reforms," all the schemes to save the small farmer and small producer generally, may be compared, in so far as they are at all effective, with a lottery; a few may make a hit, but the large majority draw only blanks, and must foot not only the bills of the happy few who draw the prizes, but also of the whole scheme. If a poor devil who holds in his pocket a lottery ticket, were to imagine himself rich because of it, he would be considered a fool. And yet this is exactly the mental condition of but too many small agricultural and industrial producers. They imagine they are that which they would like to be; not what they are in fact. They carry themselves as capitalists, yet are they not a whit better off than proletarians.

Present or prospective proletarianism is the lot of the masses of our people, if the capitalist system of production is to remain in force. Freedom cannot be conquered or reconquered without the national, collective ownership of the means of production; without, in a word, the co-operative commonwealth.

"I heard a recognized social reformer in a New York meeting deprecate the obtrusion of the class struggle into Socialist agitation by declaring that history gives us no examples of an enslaved people liberating themselves alone. On the other hand, I find Lecky quoted as declaring that history gives no example of a dominant people surrendering any privileges to those beneath of themselves alone. There remains for us therefore the privilege of making new history.—Peter E. Berkow.

Don't forget the meeting Sunday, Delebar's Hall, Broadway and Elm street, 2 p. m.

Declare Against Socialism.

OHIO DEMOCRATS SHOW THEIR CAPITALIST INSTINCT.

Denounce the Trusts as Making Socialists.

One of the most significant things which has occurred recently to mark the growth of Socialism in America is the platform adopted by the Democrats of Ohio on Wednesday, July 10. In part it recites: "The Democrats of Ohio affirm their hostility to the monopolization of industry, with its tendency on the one hand to crush out individual enterprise and, on the other TO PROMOTE A SOCIALISTIC SPIRIT AMONG THE PEOPLE AS THE ONLY REFUGE FROM OPPRESSION."

That is the best thing the Democrats ever said, that the trusts were making Socialists. That is what the Socialist himself has been arguing ever since the first made its appearance, but the Democrats seem to have just gotten on.

If it demands such attention from the Democratic party of a great State like Ohio, then that "Socialistic spirit" must be of some more importance than orators usually assign it. Every workman who reads that platform ought himself to look into that which is

looked upon by so many as "the only refuge from oppression."

It is very easy to explain why the Democrat denounces both the trust and Socialism at the same time, the framers of its platform are members of the middle class, the small capitalist, or business man. They know that the trust is breaking them up every day, and consequently "crushing out their individual enterprise," or in other words, their right to exploit labor and reap a profit out of their toil.

They oppose Socialism, because they are capitalists and Socialism would do away with such useless individuals and destroy their "snaps," therefore as true capitalists they oppose that which means their destruction. The working class, on the other hand, who read that platform have everything to gain in the establishment of Socialism, because it will do away with the capitalist and give him the full product of his labor through the collective ownership of the tools and machine which are now owned by the capitalist.

M. B. D.

Socialism and Capitalist Press.

Socialists Can Expect No Support From Capitalist Papers.

The story is told of the manner in which an amateur musician, in the strenuous and unconventional West, was protected from exasperated worshippers by the sign on a church organ: "Don't shoot the organist. He's doing the best he knows how." With possible propriety the same degree of tolerance might be requested from justly exasperated Socialists for the benefit of some of the editors and other writers for the capitalist newspaper men constrains me to believe that the majority are honorably disposed men. Few, however, are of that scientific bent of mind which leads men to fearlessly follow a new line of reasoning and promulgate a conclusion regardless of consequences. For this reason, and others which will become apparent further on, it is rare that an editor ever becomes known for his championship of any new theory in art, science or religion. The majority of newspaper men are the veriest intellectual chameleons who accommodate their mental processes and conclusions to the color of their environment with a facility quite often characterized by a word indicating a greater degree of turpitude than the term "adaptability." As an instance of this chameleon-like quality it may be observed that the newspaper man employed to keep up with the news of "business interests" will be found writing from the "business interests" standpoint. To get news he goes to the bankers, to the manufacturers, to the investors and to the other people included in the term "business interests" and by absorption, probably, he becomes soaked with "business interests," i. e., capitalist ideas. To him a day of big bank clearings is the occasion for an editorial paean, the rate of interest a subject for prayerful consideration, an extensive order for goods a sign of "our" unprecedented prosperity, and the security market the sanctum sanctorum of the temple of industry. To him there is no labor problem except the capitalist labor problem—how to buy labor power at the cheapest possible price.

An association by Socialists of this influence of environment on the newspaper men may soften the wrath of the revolutionaries, and restrain them from indignantly punishing the journalist who, like the organist, is "doing the best he knows how." Just follow a reporter on a strike "assessment" before condemning him for his capitalistically colored report as it appears in the paper. The reporter—well probably be a young man—is sent out by the city editor to "dig" a street railway strike. To get his news "straight" and "official" he goes to the office of the manager and intrudes himself.

Chained to see you, Mr. Pencil-pusher, says the affable manager, "pray come into my private office and have a chair. Do you smoke? Yes? Well, here's one I can recommend. About the strike? Oh, yes, I imagined you would be around and I drew up a little statement for you to save you the trouble."

Then our reporter is handed a neatly typewritten interview beginning: "Manager Goodman, on being approached by a reporter for The Patriot, was disinclined to discuss the matter, but finally said that the trouble was due to agitators, etc., etc." (The et ceteras stand for the usual managerial statements about the company not being willing to accept "dictation from employees," "men well treated" and "business won't stand higher wages.") When the reporter is bowed out smoking his perfecto and full of proud gratification at the dis-

tinguished consideration and courteous attention paid him, he heads for strike headquarters "to get both sides of the question." Imagine the contrast! Instead of being obsequiously ushered into a luxuriously appointed office and given a fragrant cigar, he probably is compelled to climb two or three flights of rickety stairs to see the strike leaders. The chances are that they are suspicious of the well-dressed stranger at first sight and when they learn he is a reporter, the distrust—based on previous press misrepresentation—increases. The young man conscientiously asks questions and likely gets sullen answers and then withdraws in defeat. When he writes his "story," can he blame him for seeing the situation through the spectacles of the suave man who treated him like a prince, rather than from the view-point of the sullen strikers who didn't have any upholstered chair to offer him, no honey-eyed phrases to tickle his reportorial vanity, and no fat, fragrant perfectos to regale his connoisseur nicotine appetite? Consider that the reporter is young and devoted to the things of the flesh before condemning him.

As it is with the young reporter so it is with the other and older ones, the men entrusted with the work of gathering news from other fields. Consider the position of a Washington correspondent, for instance. The enterprising chronicler of events at the national capitol must have officials "on the staff" who, in return for his reference to them in terms of praise, are depended on to provide him with "tips" on official acts and the various sorts of information embraced in the term news. The Associated Press for this reason is always an administration partisan. Otherwise it would get no news beyond the mere routine. However, by "crooking the pregnant hinges of the knee" before the great men of the Cabinet and at the heads of departments great benefits to the correspondents follow in the way of early and sometimes exclusive news of important dispatches and "official statements" about the progress of diplomatic negotiations.

In short, the whole modern system of news gathering is based on the agreement: "You tickle me and I'll tickle you," entered into between official and reporter. The reporter who is not in position or disinclined to favor the official who has news to give out gets no news. This being true it is readily apparent that practically everything the newspapers print about current events must of necessity be influenced in tone by the source from which it comes. Of course, there are some newspaper men who will promulgate for a material consideration, certain information calculated to advance corrupt interests, but these men have no standing in the news-gathering fraternity—a fraternity, generally speaking, of happy-go-lucky, generous fellows who sail along writing of current events as gracefully as the swan on the bosom of a lake and as unconscious, as a critic said of Senator Jo Blackburn, of the depths beneath.

There is nothing admirable in the ignorance of the men of the press, to be sure, but it is natural. According to their lights they are fair in presenting the merits of any particular controversy. It never occurs to them that they have anything in common with the working class, their environment is almost wholly capitalistic, and being great human chameleons their methods of thought—when they think—are capitalistic. Well paid, as a rule, they are enabled to live as the rich man's club, invited to the rich man's home, given the rich man's daughter in marriage, sometimes, and are generally made to feel so much at home in plutocratic surroundings that it would be a marvel if they failed to invariably speak of capitalistic interests as "our" interests. The world for them is the little world in which they move and have their being, and the

great world outside in which the "great unwashed" live and die like beasts is to them a world unknown except by report from their woman friends, who peer at the poor through foggy glasses, or from others who "go in" for charity or "sociology."

As a rule the newspaper editorials on the subject of Socialism may be attributed to ignorance rather than to deliberate misrepresentation, but occasionally a misrepresentation of the Socialist position is due to conscious villainy. The power of editorial writers guilty of this infamy is unfortunately far-reaching, for, recognizing the class struggle and the impregnability of the Socialist position in relation thereto, they are better able to effectively misrepresent it. It is from such sources that the honest but misapprehensive editors get their arguments. I say "generally" for the reason that out of a thousand editorial writers for the capitalist press—who discuss Socialism one may possibly be found who has read a standard work on the subject and argues from opinions derived from original investigation. In the editorials of the daily newspaper press of the United States I believe there is little of this conscious misrepresentation, but a most sinister state of affairs is disclosed by a study of the foreign dispatches, especially those from France and Germany. In both countries officialdom is keenly alive to the ominous imminence of a proletarian victory and the Berlin and Paris correspondents who get their news from officialdom are pliant tools of the "authorities" of the two capitals. No opportunity is

missed to create the impression in the minds of the American newspaper readers that Socialism in Europe, instead of representing all that is vital in democracy, is a long-haired, bomb-throwing ignominy. Recognizing the steady growth of Socialism in this country the evident and in fact the only plan left, when deliberate slander fails, is to create dissensions in the rapidly increasing ranks of the Socialists or hold up the glittering beauty of a monarchy against the theory of a democracy. As a result of this latter it is not hard to discover even in this country the evidences of a subtle growth of the opinion that democracy is a failure. In pursuance of the "divide and conquer" policy much is being made of the return of Bernstein to Berlin, as this Associated Press dispatch shows:

"Berlin, May 20.—Herr Eduard Bernstein, the well-known Socialist writer, who recently returned to Germany after many years of banishment, the greater part of which he passed in London, to-day addressed the Social Science Society of the University of Berlin. Discussing scientific Socialism he said that the principles of Karl Marx were not convincing. The Socialist creed, he declared, had hitherto rested upon half truths, truths partly contradicting science, and being, therefore, Etopian. He denied that there could be scientific Socialism. His address attracts much attention and, as Herr Bernstein is an acknowledged leader in the Socialist ranks, his utterances will probably cause a split in the Social Democratic party."

The Associated Press does not waste cable tolls in telegraphing foreign matter of purely local interest to the United States, and it is clear that the Bernstein revival is intended to sow seeds of discord not alone among the Socialists of Germany, but of the United States as well.

This anti-Socialist tone in the foreign dispatches may naturally be expected to characterize more and more the press utterances in the United States as the evidences of the Socialist movement's growth become more apparent. Bearing in mind the intimate relation between newsgatherer and official and the fact that the official is a part of that state, which is the instrument of the capitalist class, it is not difficult to see how the alarm of the capitalists will be communicated to the press. Socialists cannot too soon realize that they will not receive any aid from the press as it exists at present, and this fact cannot be too strongly emphasized. In some Socialist quarters there has been a disposition to put some store by "Socialistic" utterances in certain papers, but it is worse than folly to expect any permanent and unequivocal championship of the press which entices the workers only to betray them. The newspapers are mere parasites of the capitalist order, strong as the capitalist order is strong and weak as that order is weak, and they may be depended on not to assist in killing the goose which lays for them the golden egg. While editorial writers are allowed wide discretion in their discussions, the counting room idea of a "free press" is the idea that prevails when there is a conflict between counting room and editorial room. Let the counting room see the revenues decreasing as a result of editorial assaults on "business interests" and those assaults will cease instantly. If the editorial writers cannot harmonize their opinions with counting room opinions other editorial writers not so stiff necked will be found. The only hope of an adequate representation of the Socialist movement in the field of journalism is the establishment of a Socialist press, frankly revolutionary, giving daily the news of the working-class movement in all its phases, exposing the shams and stratacems of the enemy, exchanging blow for blow and standing ever as the unpurchasable and untrifled champion of an Industrial Democracy, the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Wage-Working Women.

BY MARTHA MOORE AVERY.

Wage-slavery! What is it? To the aristocrat it is the unquestioned relation of the inferior to the superior, as natural as that water flows down hill. Their argument has the same ground, or rather lack of ground, as that of an old Yankee who in abolition days said, "A nigger has no business to be a nigger if he don't want to be a slave."

Workmen are simply beasts of burden to be given a "full dinner pail" when times are prosperous; when times are not prosperous they are to be kept as quiet as possible by thread-bare and immoral precepts; that method falling in the last resort the order is given "shoot to kill." That is to say, the anarchistic philosophy and practice is adhered to almost exclusively by the rich. They deny equal rights and equal opportunities to all citizens in theory and in practice.

To those who hold the Socialist philosophy and especially to such of them as have the Socialist science (the knowledge of the natural laws which govern wealth production and the development of the industrial organism) to sustain and elevate their humane sentiment the wages-system appears in its true colors; its garb is besmeared with blood and sweat. Its body is scarred with the accumulation of centuries of struggle to free human beings from the oppression and tyranny of human beings.

Capital is surely some commodities and some money which are of service to the community. It is not the mill, its machinery, the raw cotton and some money to pay the hands with everybody knows to be capital. And it is as clear as noonday, that if the girls who are employed in the factory did not make profits for the corporation the mill would shut down. It is also clear that if the money were locked up in the mill and the key thrown away that no new wealth would be produced; and if the doors were not opened for a hundred years everyone will agree that the mill, the machinery and the raw materials would be good for nothing. This is only another way of saying that if wage-slaves did not use a rich man's capital it would perish. Of course, the mill, the machinery, the cotton, etc., etc., must be paid for at the market price. So, too, must the labor-power of those lovely girls whom one may see in the still cold hours of the morning stream in at the gateway of a Fall River mill; alas some of them are already broken in health and spoiled of their beauty and sorrow of sorrow some of them by the ruthless hand of capitalism are raped of their chastity.

The market price of commodities—the market price of labor power! What determines prices? What fixes the price of labor-power? To be sure the cost of producing pieces of wealth determines their value. Just the same law controls the price of labor-power as controls the price of cotton, corn, iron, boots, hats, railroads, steamships or anything else. Every manufacturer knows that the prices of his commodities are determined by the cost of production, by the added values of all the various kinds of merchandise which go into the process of modern manufacture. But labor-power is inside those "factory hands," cotton is a thing! Great God! you don't mean to class men and women and things all together as commodities, do you? Yes! herein lies the curse of the relationship of economic class to economic class; the gulf is wide as hell from heaven between those who have capital and those who have no capital.

The fact that some persons must be economically classed as things, while others may play the part of human beings is the proof of wage-slavery. When a girl sells her labor-power she herself, must take it to the mill, she delivers her commodity according to the time for which she has sold it. It is evidently past contradiction that she sells herself (her life) along with her labor-power, by the day, week, month or year.

The superintendent, who is but an upper-class wage-slave, can estimate the cost of producing cotton cloth. He learns the price of all the commodities used in its production, labor included. In the same manner, by the same process, may we know the price of labor by its cost of production.

Slaves were sold at the cost of breeding, just as horses were and are. The labor of women may be bought in this epoch of industrial development, of themselves, even though it be of equal value with the labor of men at a lower price, because, though free women are better able to protect themselves than chattel slaves, they are less able to protect themselves than men with the kingly power of the ballot in their hands.

Society demands an economic recognition of the cost of its energy in elevating its members to civic equality. It costs more labor and a higher grade of labor to rear, educate and train children to do some kinds of work than it does to do other kinds of work; and enough food, shelter and clothing must be given to allow the different sets of laborers to live a longer or shorter time as is needed to acquire the skill necessary to the craft. A very low grade of living is allowed the textile worker, which is the same as saying that they receive a low wage. Enough life may be kept in the body to do any work requiring little skill with a very small wage, in these days of machine-made wealth. It is not the work done which is paid for. The wage is simply the amount of provender al-

lowed the beast of burden. All the new value created by the laborers in storing up their labor-power in the cotton cloth (or in anything else) is kept by the corporation, save enough wage in return to sustain the life of the workers at their accustomed level.

This is the inexorable law of the wages-system, that differing kinds of labor (more or less difficult) will be paid a wage only sufficient for that labor to be reproduced by society for the "labor-market." The price of the labor of weaving, pattern-making, superintending, clerking, teaching of any degree or kind will be fixed under the capitalist system of producing wealth at the cost of its reproduction.

Pig iron, potatoes, gold, dwellings and all other merchandise are paid for under this economic law. Ask Niagara to flood back its waters; it were as senseless as to command justice under wage-slavery.

In a rude way I have answered, Why? So long as a few persons are allowed by the vast majority to retain private control over social capital, so long will women weep without being comforted. In the dead, dark stillness of the night, over their own hard, self-made fate, and over the weary burden of poverty which they, not knowing, aid in strapping on the tender backs of their children, will mothers weep.

Drama of the Working Class.

The following is part of an article which appeared in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat of July 16, and illustrates clearly the conditions of our great slum population:

It is a frequent, but nowhere in St. Louis is the same pitiful scene so often enacted as in the rear of the packing establishment of Nelson Morris & Co. and Swift & Co. in the 2000 block on South Fourth street. Several times each week a crowd gathers in the switching yards of these concerns to engage in a scramble for ice. Every time an ice car is unloaded the life drama is repeated, and to those who see it for the first time it proves an absorbing, though pitiful, sight.

"The characters are nearly always the same. There are a few men, but they generally accomplish the performance of their parts in a short time and retire. Then the women and children finish the drama. Usually about 25 people are in the cast, the majority of them children, but were it not for the crossing before the footlights of the men and women the scene would lack much of the pathos which is to be found in every production, if one is inclined to look behind the mere coming and going of the actors. The characters are all poor people. They come from their homes in the vicinity of the packing houses, bringing baskets and buckets, wheelbarrows and carts. But they all come for the same purpose, all are seeking a luxury which is denied thousands upon thousands of people of their station in life. It is the ice that they want, and they have come prepared to fight for it if need be, or to risk their lives under the elevators which convey the frozen liquid from the platforms to the ice houses on the second story of the packing house building."

Drama? It is but one scene of the real drama. The entire lives of these people are spent in just such a manner as this; they swelter and die of the heat in summer and shiver and freeze with the cold in winter.

All are seeking a luxury which is denied thousands upon thousands of people in their station in life.

What is their station in life and why are they denied the mean luxury of a piece of ice?

They are the members and the wives and children of the working class, the employe of sweat-shop and factory, the makers of the fine silk dresses and shoes of the West End. They are denied a piece of ice because under our capitalist system of production they are compelled to sell their labor on the market to those who own the tools of production, the capitalist class, and in the sale of their labor power it is controlled, and its price or exchange value regulated, the same as is the exchange value of any other commodity sold on the market, by the amount of labor which it will take to reproduce it. In other words by the amount upon which the laborer can live and continue working.

This amount is forced ever lower and lower in the fierce competition between the members of the working class for the opportunity to work for work is necessary to life.

As a consequence the wages of the working class, or the value of his labor power is forced to such a point that he is barely able to eke out an animal existence for himself, he is even forced below a point where he can provide for his family, and they are themselves compelled to enter the struggle with him. It is this which denies the ice, the capitalist system and he will never be able to enjoy that which is the gift of nature until the system which denies it to him is abolished.

Resolved, that we, the Socialists of Nebraska, in convention assembled, do hereby demand of the representatives of the different factions of the Social-Democratic Party which will assemble in convention at Indianapolis, July 29th, that they sink their individual differences and present a united front to the capitalist class, otherwise we shall exercise our own judgment as to what support we shall render the national organization.

C. W. ADAIR,
Secretary of Convention.

Law of Social Growth

Freely translated from the Preface to Marx's Critique of Political Economy.

The first work which I undertook for the purpose of solving the doubts which perplexed me was a critical re-examination of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. The introduction to this work appeared in the "German-French Year Books," published at Paris in 1844. My investigation ended in the conviction that legal relations and "laws of government cannot be explained either by themselves or by the so-called general development of the human mind, but on the contrary have their roots in the conditions of men's physical existence, whose totality Hegel follows in the English and French writers of the eighteenth century, summed up under the name of civil society; and that the anatomy of civil society must be sought in political economy, to which study I next gave my attention.

The general result which I arrived at, and which, once obtained, served as a guide for my subsequent studies, can be briefly formulated as follows:

In making their livelihood together men enter into certain necessary, involuntary relations with each other.

These industrial relations arise out of their respective conditions and occupations and correspond to whatever stage society has reached in the development of its different relations.

The totality of these industrial relations constitutes the economic structure and basis of the legal and political superstructure of a society.

There are certain forms of social consciousness or so-called public opinion which correspond to this basis.

The method prevailing in any society of producing the material livelihood determines the social, political and intellectual life of men in general.

It is not primarily men's consciousness which determines their mode of life; on the contrary it is their social life which determines their consciousness.

When the material productive forces of society have advanced to a certain stage in their development, they come into opposition with the old conditions of production, or to use a legal expression, with the old property relations, under which these forces have hitherto been exerted.

Instead of serving longer as institutions for the development of the productive powers of society, these antiquated property relations now become hindrances. Then begins an epoch of social revolution.

With the change of the economic basis the whole vast superstructure undergoes sooner or later a revolution.

In considering such revolutions we must always distinguish clearly between the change in the industrial methods of social production on the one hand; this change takes place unconsciously, strictly according to the laws of natural science, and might properly be called an evolution.

And on the other hand the change in the legal, political, religious, artistic, or philosophical, in short ideological institutions; with reference to these men fight out this conflict as a revolution-consciousness of their opposing interests.

This conflict takes the form of a class struggle.

As little as we judge an individual by what he himself thinks he is, just as little can we judge such a revolutionary epoch by its own consciousness.

We must rather explain this consciousness out of the antagonisms of men's industrial occupations, out of the conflict existing between the productive capacity of social industry and the legal institutions under which this industry is carried on.

A society, no matter what its form may be, is never broken up until all the productive powers are developed, for which it is adapted.

New and higher social institutions are never established until the material conditions of life to support them have been prepared in the lap of the old society itself.

Therefore, mankind never sets for itself any tasks, except those for which it has received the proper training and which it is able to perform.

If we examine closely, it will always be found that the conflict itself never arises except where the material conditions of its solution are already at hand, or at least are in the process of growth.

We may in wide outlines characterize the Asiatic, the antique, the feudal and the modern capitalistic methods of production as a series of progressive epochs in the evolution of economic society.

The industrial relations arising out of the capitalistic method of production constitute the last of the antagonistic forms of social production; antagonistic not in the sense of an antagonism between individuals, but of antagonism growing out of the circumstances in which men must live who take part in social production.

But the productive forces which are developed in the lap of capitalist society create at the same time the material condition needed for the abolition of this antagonism. The capitalist form of society, therefore, will bring to a close this cycle of the history of human society, as it has existed under the various forms of exploitation.

It is time for you to renew your own subscription and get a new one from the other fellow. Let's hear from you.

Agitators Are Necessary.

We are often told that the poor are grateful for charity. Some of them are no doubt; but the best among the poor are never grateful. They are ungrateful, discontented, disobedient and rebellious. They are quite right to be so. Charity they feel to be a ridiculous, inadequate mode of partial restitution, or a sentimental dole, usually accompanied by some impertinent attempt on the part of the sentimentalist to tyrannize over their private lives. Why should they be grateful for the crumbs that fall from the rich man's table? They should be seated at the board, and are beginning to know it. As for being discontented, a man who would not be discontented with such surroundings and such a low mode of life would be a perfect brute. Discontent, in the eyes of any one who has real history, is man's original virtue. Agitators are a set of interfering, meddling people who come down to some perfectly contented class of the community and sow the seed of discontent among them. That is the reason why agitators are so absolutely necessary. Without them, in our incomplete state, there would be no advance toward civilization - Oscar Wilde.

OFFICIAL.

The City Central Committee at its last meeting also decided to start the formation of an agitation fund and for that purpose a number of subscription lists have been prepared and it is

the office and obtain some of these lists and help swell the fund. This action was thought best in view of the fact that as the next general campaign is nearly two-years off we shall have ample time to raise quite a large campaign fund. It will also enable the party to pay a few old debts which it has charged against it. Comrades, the sooner this is acted upon the better.

The City Central Committee at its last meeting instructed the Literature Committee to cut out and preserve all newspaper items and magazine articles which bear upon the Socialist movement in general, especially those relating to the conduct of members of the capitalist parties toward the working class. The Literature Committee in turn calls upon the members of the party to cut out all such items and mail them to some member of the committee. The matter will make interesting reading in the future and may often furnish us with an excellent argument. The committee is composed of Charles Hager, secretary, 10, 22 North Fourth street; L. E. Wilbrand and Wm. J. Hager.

Watchman, What of the Night?

Watchman, what of the night? Storm and thunder and rain, Lights that waver and wane, Leaving the watch-fires unlit, And the flash of the lamps now and then From a palace where spoilers sit, Trampling the children of men. Mourners, what of the night? All night through without sleep We weep, and we weep, and we weep, Who shall give us our songs? Beaks of raven and kite, Mouths of wolves and of hound, Give us them back, whom the guns Shot for you dead on the ground. Captives, what of the night? It rains outside overhead, Always a rain that is red, And our faces are soiled with the rain; Here in the season's despite Day-time and night-time are one, Till the curse of the chain Break, and their toils be undone. Liberty, what of the night? I feel not the red rains fall, Hear not the tempest at all, Nor thunder in heaven any more, All the distance is white, With the soundless feet of the sun, Night with the woes that it wore, Night is ever and done. Algernon Charles Swinburne, from the Coming Age, Boston.

Labor Free to All.

At: "Marching Through Georgia" Start the music, comrades, We will sing a labor song, Sing it with a spirit That will speed the cause along Let it ring throughout the world, In chorus full and strong, While we are fighting for Labor Chorus: Hurray! Hurray! for labor free to all; Hurray! Hurray! and hasten to the call, Shout the joyful tidings, King Capital must fall, While we are fighting for labor, Take the pledge to Labor, friends, And after you have signed, Put your trust in Liberty, And work with might and mind, March against the enemy, Leave every fear behind, While we are fighting for Labor, With justice as our standard We are bound to win the fight, Raise the Labor flag aloft, And shout with all your might, We strike for real freedom, For Virtue, Truth and Right, While we are fighting for Labor.

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

Lines at the Tomb of a Plutocrat.

Low was his aim - vile Mammon was his God; Heak was his life, unholy and unblest; Low let him lie - low as the path he trod; Nor shed one tear to sanctify his rest. The monarch sleeps, - on, onward and away; Death has dethroned him and the grave is firm; All that he was - less than the recking clay. Is how the feast of his superior worm. Yet he was "great" - tools fawned and vassals served; The stars ennobled him and the world extolled; By wealth's green glamor was the nation swayed; And earth lay blinded in the glare of gold. He lived he died, the earth from whence he came Received its own, and back, into the dust; Dissolved the being whose unhallowed name Alone remains - the synonym of lust! Of prostrate fools he made his stepping-stones; And climbed to fortune on the back of slaves; He reared his throne of skulls and paupers' bones; And reached success upon the route

marked by blood, unmarked he could but die -

A fallen knave, unpitied by his kind; Unwept his fate - dishonored let him lie - Starved was his soul and naked, was his mind!

His greatest virtue was his smallest vice; His keenest pleasure was in others' pain;

What was his wealth? Mere was the sacrifice.

Since all his life - un-lived - has proven vain; - T. Shelly Sutton, in Brann's Iconoclast.

Charles Willard Blanco, a grocery clerk of Wilmington, Delaware, is an applicant for the job now held by Edward VII. of England. He claims to be the son of Queen Victoria's eldest sister, and will go to England with his attorney to contest the throne.

Much like our country, it seems that "Even the humblest" may become King of England.

Don't forget the meeting Sunday, DeLoar's Hall, Broadway and Elm street, 2 p. m.

DIRECTORY.

- SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY. NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, Room 34, Theatre Building, Court Square, Springfield, Mass. Wm. Butcher, Nat'l Sec'y. MISSOURI STATE COMMITTEE - Chairman, Geo. H. Turner, 307 Whitney Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.; Secretary, Wm. J. Hager, Room 7, 22 N. 4th St., St. Louis, Mo.; Treas., F. P. O'Hare, 405 1/2 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. 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 1941 S. 12th St. Sec. Chas. Specht. 7TH AND 8TH WARD BRANCH - Meets 1st and 3d Wednesdays at Dewey Hall, 2201 S. Broadway, Sec. Geo. Schefflein, 2228 S. 9th st. 9TH WARD BRANCH meets 1d and 4th Tuesdays, 8 p. m., at 12th and Wyoming Sts. Sec. L. Stoll, 3543 Salema 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. 12TH WARD BRANCH meets 4th Tuesday of each month, 8:30 p. m., at 1219 Missouri ave. Sec. Wm. E. Eckert, 1219 Missouri ave. 16TH WARD BRANCH meets first Tuesday of every month at Gaus' Hall, 15th and Cass ave. Sec. C. Schaeffer, 1448 Mullanphy st. 17TH WARD BRANCH meets every Friday, 8 p. m., at 2511 Benton st. Sec. John Suenicht, 2413 N. 15th st. KANSAS CITY CENTRAL COMMITTEE meets every Thursday night at 207, Whitney Building, Sec. Garnet Putvoze, 307 Whitney Bldg.

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.

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 itself 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 have a German friend, send him the ARBEITER ZEITUNG. It is a good German Socialist weekly, \$1.50 a year; three months, 40 Cts. Address Room 7, 22 North 4th Street

NATIONAL PLATFORM.

Social Democratic Party of America

The Social Democratic Party of the United States, in convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the fundamental principles of international Socialism and declares the supreme political issue in America today to be the contest between the working class and the capitalist class for the possession of the powers of government. The party 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, in all other civilized countries, the natural order of economic development has separated society into two antagonistic classes - the capitalists, a comparatively small class, the possessors of all the modern means of production and distribution, (land, mines, machinery, and means of transportation and communication), and the large and ever increasing class of wage-workers, possessing no means of production. This economic supremacy has secured to the dominant class the full control of the government, the pulpit, the schools and the public press; it has thus made the capitalist class the arbiter of the fate of the workers, who, in reliance on 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 subsistence 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 men, women and children. The lives and liberties of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit. Wars are fomented between nations, indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged, the destruction of small industries and of the middle class depending upon them, and the enhancement of their 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 economic superiority, are impeding the system of private ownership of the means of production. The Democratic, Republican, and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are alike the tools of the capitalist class. Their policies are injurious to the interest of the working class, which can be served only by the abolition of the profit system. 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 party truly representing the interests of the toiling masses and uncompromisingly warring upon the exploiting class, until the system of wage-slavery shall be abolished and the system of production, the ownership of which shall be set up, pending the accomplishment of this, our ultimate purpose, we pledge every effort to the Social Democratic Party, and to the maintenance of the bond 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 Production of 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 relief 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 State. Eighth - Labor legislation to be national, instead of local and international, when possible. Ninth - National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age. Tenth - Equal civil and political rights for men and women and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women. Eleventh - The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters. Twelfth - Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

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

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