

MISSOURI SOCIALIST.

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

Volume I.

St. Louis, Mo., Saturday, July 27, 1901.

Number 29.

The Trade Union Question.

Some Members Oppose Re-adoption of Resolutions of Last Convention.

Will Send a Minority Delegate to Indianapolis.

At a special meeting of Local St. Louis held last Sunday afternoon it was voted that the members who were opposed to the instructions to the delegates to the National Convention on the "trade union attitude" might send delegates to represent them, provided that they draw up written instructions to be signed at the same time as the credentials. The minority selected Comrade Wm. H. Baird as their delegate, and adopted the following:

We, the undersigned, members of the S. D. P., do hereby express our opposition to the instructions to the delegates to the Indianapolis Convention, regarding the re-adoption of the resolutions of the last Indianapolis convention defining the attitude of the S. D. P. towards trade unions, for the following reasons:

First. The proposed convention was called for the ostensible purpose of uniting all of the Socialist forces of the United States, the invitation being extended to all factions of the S. D. P., Independent State Organizations and all sections of the S. L. P., and inasmuch as the chief question in dispute, between the S. L. P. and the S. D. P. and the only grounds for maintaining separate party organization, is the question of tactics toward trade unions, we regard the invitation extended to the S. L. P. as an admission that this matter is, at least, so far as the S. D. P. is concerned, an open question, and we further believe that the mere fact that the S. L. P. refused to participate in the convention does not close the issue.

Second. We are opposed to the re-adoption of the resolutions referred to on the ground that such action will bind the party as an organization and seek to impose it as a duty upon the members as individuals, to unqualifiedly endorse and assist in building up the present trade-union movement, commonly known as "Pure and Simple Trade-Unionism," regardless of the fact that, almost without exception, the said unions accept the present Capitalist system as a finality, and only seek to make the best terms possible with the Capitalist Class, either by agreement, economic warfare (strikes and boycotts) or compromise, leaving the same brutal and unjust system in existence and compelling the constant recurrence of the demoralizing and destructive conflict between the Capitalist and the Working Class, in which conflict the whole working class is constantly meeting with defeat and sinking ever deeper and deeper into the condition of abject economic servitude and dependence, as is shown, not alone by the conditions which we see on every hand, but is conclusively proven by the Government report on strikes and lockouts, and the census reports, which latter, show that the working class is receiving a constantly diminishing proportion of the wealth which they create, the percentage having fallen from 62 1/2 per cent in 1850 to 17 per cent in 1890, and will undoubtedly show a less percentage in the next decade, proving conclusively that the trade unions are and must necessarily be impotent in their efforts to better the condition of the working class, for the simple reason that they are attempting to accomplish an impossibility, that is, they attempt to harmonize interests which are fundamentally antagonistic, or they fight blindly against the inevitable results of the very system which they accept as an eternal institution, thus showing themselves to be either a reform or reactionary and not a revolutionary movement.

Third. We understand the S. D. P. to be a revolutionary party, unalterably opposed to reform or palliative measures, demanding the complete overthrow of the present capitalist system through united political action of the working class organized into a political party of their own. Hence, we regard it as illogical and inconsistent for such a party to unqualifiedly endorse and pledge itself as an organization or require its members as individuals to assist in building up any organization of workers which does not recognize the necessity of destroying the present capitalist system and replacing it with the co-operative commonwealth, based on the collective ownership, operation and control of all the means of production, transportation and distribution by the working class, and we cannot approve of any such organization which forbids within its portals even the discussion of partisan political questions and action, the only means

by which labor can ever be emancipated; but on the contrary indulges in the most pernicious political practices, such as the endorsement of candidates for office on capitalist party tickets, and the begging and lobbying policy for securing favorable legislation, which policy inevitably leads to corruption, disappointment and disaster.

Fourth. We hold that while it may not have been possible for the founders of "Pure and Simple Unions" to see the necessity of the independent political action of the part of the working class

in view of the standing example given us by the class-conscious action of the capitalist class in safeguarding their class interests at the ballot box and its constant use of the machinery of government, National, State and Municipal, in all its branches—legislative, executive and judicial—to maintain and seek to perpetuate their mastery over and the consequent exploitation of the working class.

We, therefore, believe that the proper attitude for a revolutionary party to assume toward any existing institution which does not accord with its principles is the attitude of uncompromising exposure, regardless of whether the existing institution opposes our principles from ignorance, perversity or corruption.

While holding these views we do not wish to be understood as being opposed to the principle of organization among the workers in the factory or elsewhere, but, on the contrary, we recognize the right and the necessity of such organization, in order to promote the spirit of solidarity among the working class and to enable them to resist in all practicable ways the encroachment of capitalism upon their rights. But we insist that any such organization, to be effective, must have for its avowed purpose the final overthrow of the present wage system, unless such be its purpose and aim, it must inevitably prove impotent to accomplish any beneficial results for the working class, and in the end prove a hindrance to the progress of the working class toward their final emancipation. Any other line of policy must result in the future as it has in the past and is at present, in leading the workers in front of the guns instead of behind them.

We, therefore, hold that a true Socialist party should point out to the present trade unions the necessity of organizing along class-conscious lines for independent political action, and say to them that while we sympathize with you in your oppression and desire the emancipation of the whole working class, we cannot approve of or assist in building up any organization of workers, which in the light of past experiences and present conditions must necessarily prove to be but little else than suicide clubs. But we will endorse and assist in building up any organization, which shows an intelligent appreciation of actual conditions and the necessity of the abolition of wage slavery by voting the working class into power through the agency of a proletarian political party.

MAJORITY INSTRUCTIONS

In electing its delegates Local St. Louis re-endorsed the trade-union resolutions adopted at Indianapolis last year. These resolutions constitute the instructions of the majority delegates and are as follows:

ATTITUDE TOWARD TRADE UNIONS.

"In accordance with our declaration of principles we declare that the trade union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipatory factors of the wage-working class. We recommend to the members of the Social Democratic Party the following general rules:

- First—Join the union of your respective trade.
- Second—Assist in building up and strengthening the trade-union movement.
- Third—Support the union labels of all crafts.
- Fourth—Educate your fellow-workers on the question of Socialism and the labor movement, on economic and political lines.
- Fifth—It shall be your duty to work for the unity of the labor movement, thereby recognizing the fact that the

emancipation of the working class can only be achieved by the united efforts of this class.

Sixth—Educate the members of the unions in the principles of Socialism and induce them individually, to affiliate with the Social Democratic Party.

Seventh—Trade unions are by historical necessity organized on neutral grounds as far as political affiliation is concerned. The trades union is the arena where all wage-workers may be brought together for joint action to resist the encroachments of capitalism on the economic field and to participate in the class struggle of the proletariat which will finally develop into the political emancipation of the forces of labor in the struggle for proletarian emancipation.

Machinery.

Up to the present, man has been, to a certain extent, the slave of machinery, and there is something tragic in the fact that as soon as man had invented a machine to do his work he began to starve. This, however, is, of course, not the case of machinery as we know it, and our system of production

thrown out of employment, and having no work to do, become hungry and take to thieving. The one man secures the produce of the machine and keeps it, and has five hundred times as much as he should have, and probably, which is of much more importance, a great deal more than he really wants. Were that machine the property of all, every one would benefit by it. It would be an immense advantage to the community. All unutilized labor; all monotonous, dull labor; all labor that deals with dreary things, and involves unpleasant conditions, must be done by machinery. Machinery must work for us in coal mines, and do all sanitary services, and be the stoker of steamers, and clean the streets, and run messages on wet days, and do anything that is tedious or distressing. At present machinery competes against man. Under proper conditions machinery will serve man. There is no doubt at all that this is the future of machinery; and just as trees grow while the country is asleep, so white humanity

will be amusing itself, or enjoying cultivated leisure—which, and not labor, is the aim of man—or making beautiful things, or reading beautiful things, or simply contemplating the world with admiration and delight, machinery will be doing all the necessary and unpleasant work. The fact is, that civilization requires slaves. The Greeks were quite right there. Unless there are slaves to do the ugly, horrible, uninteresting work, culture and contemplation become almost impossible. Human slavery is wrong, insecure and demoralizing. On mechanical slavery, on the slavery of the machine, the future of the world depends. And when scientific men are no longer called upon to go down to a depressing East End and distribute bed cocoa and worse blankets to starving people, they will have delightful leisure in which to devise wonderful and marvelous things for their own joy and the joy of everyone else. There will be great storages of force for every city, and for every house if required, and this force man will convert into heat, light or motion, according to his needs. Is this Utopian? A map of the world that does not include Utopia is not even worth glancing at, for it leaves out the one country at which humanity is always landing. And when humanity lands there it looks out, and seeing a better country, sets sail. Progress is the realization of Utopias.—Oscar Wilde.

As to Platform.

At last Sunday's special meeting of Local St. Louis the following resolution was passed:

"Resolved, That the delegates of this local be instructed to call the attention of the national convention to the struggle of the Social Democratic Party has gone through in this city with the so-called 'Public Ownership Party' and to urge the convention to so frame the platform as to clearly define the difference between such parties and a true Socialist party."

A Massachusetts Comrade writes: "I would like very much to receive a sample copy of your bright and breezy paper, which I see is advertised in The Worker and is quoted from a great deal."

Local Meeting Next Thursday

Local St. Louis will hold its regular business meeting next Thursday evening, August 1st, 8 p. m., at Druid's Hall, Ninth and Market streets. The national convention will probably be over in time for St. Louis delegates to return and make their report at this meeting. If not, at least a partial report of the proceedings will be made. This meeting will, therefore, be of great importance to our local movement. For more than a year our work has been retarded from various causes, but now we are about to enter upon a new era of propaganda and organization. It is generally admitted by Socialists throughout the country that the Indianapolis convention is to mark

the turning point for the Socialist movement of America, that when the convention adjourns either the cause of Socialism will experience a remarkable acceleration or it will suffer a relapse. Everything, however, points to a successful convention. The delegates will return to their respective states inspired with a new zeal and a new determination to make Socialism the supreme issue in the campaigns of the future. Every Comrade will be anxious to begin work and St. Louis members can start in no better way than by all appearing at the meeting of the Local next Thursday night. The time is here, Comrades, fall in line and let's do our best.

Sedalia Socialists.

Nominations for Mayor Democrats and Republicans Combine.

The comrades of Sedalia have seized an admirable opportunity to place the cause before the public of that city. The death of the Mayor having created a vacancy, the Democrats and Republicans got together and nominated one man and then agreed to let the election go by default. But they had not counted on the Socialists, who promptly called a convention and nominated Comrade John Fischer for Mayor. As a result there are only two candidates in the field, a capitalist candidate nominated by the Democrats and Republicans, and a straight-out Socialist candidate. This puts the question of Socialism to the front as an issue, and the daily papers of Sedalia are already beginning to "warn" the voters against voting for the Socialist. The Daily Democrat of last Wednesday publishes a letter from Comrade E. T. Behrens and devotes a column and a half of its editorial space to an attempt at a reply. The editorial closes as follows:

"But the Democrat does not intend to even attempt to discuss the principles of Socialism. The purpose of this paper was merely to point its readers to the danger of the present situation. What Sedalia needs—and by Sedalia we mean the mechanic and the laborer as well as the business man—is more capital invested in productive industries to afford profitable employment to workers, and for Sedalia to endorse Socialism would be a notification to capital to stay away."

"It would accept such a notification, too, and the honest, industrious citizen who really wants employment would have plenty of time to discuss with Mr. Behrens the visionary theories born on a foreign soil amid unmerciful surroundings and nurtured by centuries of oppression that does not exist in this country, for he would find little else to do."

The Democrat will not discuss the principles of Socialism and frankly admits it. Instead of relying upon argument it resorts to the same old method of holding up the scarecrow that Socialist victories would scare capital away. The same trick was tried in Haverhill. The factory owners even threatened to move their factories if Comrade Chase was elected, but they reconsidered the matter after his election. Such "confidence" cries are the only resort of the capitalist press and the action of the Democrat in taking up this method so quickly shows how badly the enemy is frightened.

The election takes place Monday, July 29, and when the votes are counted the Socialists will have good reason to be proud of the result.

A Pastor's Letter.

Thinks Socialism is too Good for this Earth Preaches the Doctrine of Content.

IMMACULATE CONCEPTION CHURCH.
[L. F. Schlathoelter, Pastor.]
Moberly, Mo., July 24, 1901.
Editor Missouri Socialist,
St. Louis, Mo.

Dear Sir:—Several times you have sent me your paper, "Missouri Socialist." I do not know who ordered it for me, but I would rather not receive the paper. The Socialist idea is alright, as an idea, but what is the use of advocating an idea, which can never be realized here on earth. I believe in taking things as they are and try to make the best of them. Equality in everything for all human beings is all right, but I can not see how it is to be realized here on earth. I believe in the best of the poor. Life is so short, that I believe it to be better and more satisfactory to mankind to preach satisfaction with one's condition, than to make the poor feel sour and more burdened than they are. We are all against trusts, etc. Still most of us would like to be president of some kind of a trust. Socialism is only possible in Monasteries, where the individual makes a sacred vow, not to possess anything, not to indulge in worldly pleasures and not to rule, but to obey. As long as men want to possess, want to enjoy themselves, want to command, and all of us like to do that, good bye Socialism. Turn men into angels, and Socialism will be possible. But even then I doubt if it would be the best government. Well, good luck to you, but I would rather not receive your paper any longer. I happier being poor, and I like to teach other people to feel the same way.

Yours with respect,
L. F. SCHLATHOELTER

The Socialist idea is that the working class is producing wealth and that the men who own the tools with which this wealth is produced—the capitalist class—are taking from the workers the greater part of their product, leaving them only enough to maintain a bare existence. The Socialist idea is that the working class that is being thus robbed should rise in revolt at the ballot-box, place its own representatives in office, change the laws so as to restore to the workers the wealth they have created and thereafter have all industries owned and managed by the people collectively, every individual doing his share of labor and receiving his share of the product. Is there anything about that idea that cannot be realized here on earth? When a class of human beings are downtrodden and oppressed is it not possible for them to overthrow their oppressors and emancipate themselves? When one man is robbing another you don't say: "Turn these two men into angels, that is the only way you can stop this robbery." You forcibly interfere and stop the robbery. Well, that is what Socialists intend to do—stop the robbery of the working class by their employers. After men have had a rest from the scramble for existence that the present system engenders perhaps human greed and passion will abate a little. We claim that the effect of Socialism will be to finally subdue such things; but we are not going to wait until human greed and passion are subdued before we inaugurate Socialism. That would be like keeping little Johnny out of school until he gets wise.

Socialists do not propose that there shall be "equality in everything for all human beings." Height, weight, intellect would all come under such a sweeping assertion. Socialists only propose that each and every individual in his relations to society as a whole shall have equal privileges, rights, etc., with every other individual. We object to one class of men owing and controlling the machinery of production upon which the other class depend for a livelihood, because it makes them unequal.

The writer of the above has one of the vague notions of Socialism that take no notice of the teachings of scientific Socialism. He thinks we are trying to legislate "goodness" into people. If he saw the architect drawing the design for a beautiful palace he would say: "Ah, my dear sir, you are a dreamer, the scratch of your pencil will never build such a wonderful structure." If you were to show him a seed and tell him that you would transform it into a beautiful flower he would sigh: "The idea is alright, but it cannot be realized."

The worst of all doctrines is the doctrine of content. Were the Chrysalis content no butterflies would flutter over our meadows; were the chick content within the shell, no crowing of

the cocks would greet the rising sun; had the inhabitants of the old world remained content two vast continents would still be unknown to civilization.

Discontent is the factor that makes the world move. It is the symptom of progress. The poor are oppressed and robbed. He who preaches to them to be content with the oppression is, consciously or unconsciously, in league with the oppressors. If the poor are burdened why should they not be made to feel it in order that they may be aroused to action?

Of course we would like to be president of a trust. No Socialist would consider that inconsistent with his principles. As long as the present system continues to force others into positions of poverty we do not believe

anybody for doing the best they can, but we propose to abolish the scramble because it is plain that only a few can succeed, only a few can be trust presidents, and all others must pay the cost.

The Rev. Schlathoelter thinks the idea of Socialism is alright, he wishes us good luck, but he does not want our paper. Why? Is he afraid he will be converted? Does he fear to find the truth? If we are right does he not want to find it out? If we are wrong is he not able to point our errors? Why should a little four-page paper, unobtrusive and modest, cause him so much worry by quietly slipping into his library every week and resting calmly upon the table? The Rev. may not know but we can tell him, it is because while he was imagining to himself that he was content, that all was well with himself and the world, a copy of Missouri Socialist slipped into his hands and rudely awakened him from his dream of contentment with its invincible arguments. In spite of himself he tasted of the cup of discontent and he can no longer rest. The Reverend is discontented and he cannot banish from his mind the thoughts so insidiously planted there by a little Socialist paper, in the first imitation of his awakening he turns against the cause of the disturbance, but when his anger cools he will turn and read again. We will continue to send him the paper. Some one has paid for it and it must be sent. The Reverend will read it, for HE is no longer content.

Socialist Press Association.

The following resolution was introduced by Comrade C. R. Davis and adopted at the meeting of the City Central Committee:

"Whereas, There appeared in Missouri Socialist of July 20, a proposition to form a Socialist Press Association composed of all the Socialist papers of the country

"Therefore, be it resolved, That it is the sense of the City Central Committee of Local St. Louis, that it would be to the best interest of the movement for the party to control everything pertaining to the Socialist press. No association can perform this function equal to the whole party. To concede such is to admit that any such association is superior and possesses greater facilities than the party. Besides, the party should be the only protector and guardian of what constitutes the true principles of Socialism."

Missouri Delegates.

The following Socialists of Missouri will take part in the National convention at Indianapolis, either as delegates from their Locals, or casting only their own votes:

- G. A. Hohn, St. Louis.
- E. Val Putnam, St. Louis.
- Wm. H. Baird, St. Louis.
- M. Ballard Dunn, St. Louis.
- Leon Greenbaum, St. Louis.
- Geo. H. Turner, Kansas City.
- Rev. T. De Rhys, Berler.
- C. Lipscomb, Liberal.
- E. T. Behrens, Sedalia.
- E. Backus, Carthage.

"I am an honest shylock and with the shylocks stand
My bonds are in my pockets, my scissors in my hand.
I live in pinched fashion, with nothing else to do.
But cut my little coupons as fast as they are due.

"Go on, you stupid workers, who labor while we sleep.
Who grew a golden harvest, that we the crop may reap.
Go on and earn your 'living' in storm and heat and cold,
And you will come and give us the lion's share of gold."

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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 commit Missouri Socialist to all opinions expressed therein.

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

Entered at the Postoffice at St. Louis, Mo., as second-class matter, in December, 1906.



Local St. Louis meets next Thursday evening, August 1st, 8 p. m., at Druid's Hall, Ninth and Market streets. All be there, please.

Last week's Missouri Socialist was edited by Comrade M. Barnard Dunn, secretary of the Board of Directors, the editor being out of the city on a little vacation. Our reader will join with the editor in praising the work done by Comrade Dunn.

By technical errors two leading articles in last week's issue were not properly credited. The article on "Socialism and Capitalist Press" was from the International Socialist Review by M. Charles Dobbie. The article on "The Downfall of the Small Producer" was taken from Kautsky's pamphlet, "The Proletariat," which can be obtained from the Socialist Co-Operative Publishing Association 184 Williams street, New York, for five cents a copy.

Karl Marx said that governments today are only committees of the capitalist class to execute their will. In the St. Louis Republic of July 21st, appears a column article which contains abundant testimony to the truth of Marx's assertion. The article is run under these headlines:

"To be retired from Southern Pacific" Stephen T. Gage, Political Manager for the system, to be put on a pension. "Was Boss of two States." "For forty years he has been a controlling factor in all legislation affecting railroads on the Pacific Coast."

One paragraph says: "Time was when Gage was the dictator of the political fate of two states, and his influence reached from Oregon to Texas and his power was felt in the halls of congress at Washington. No man in the history of the Golden State and its sister State across the mountains ever wielded greater power than the man who is about to be retired. Legislators were his playthings. He made and unmade Judges. He dictated the names of Congressmen and United States Senators. The Governors of sovereign States were off-times made by Stephen T. Gage."

The frankness of this statement is equaled only by the stupidity of workmen in failing to see that the whole capitalist class controls the government of the entire country. National, State and municipal. It is not one individual railroad company, but all companies and concerns of all kinds that have their political managers in the legislative halls ready to defend the interests of capitalists. The workman should see this and should unite with his fellow workers in an effort to place men in office who will act as committees of the working class to execute their will.

"I was born a Republican and have been a Republican all my life; but if the United States Steel Corporation is to be permitted to wage war on organized labor—to say that it will not permit its employees to unite for their mutual benefit, but will crush them if they attempt to form unions which will try to protect them and give them better wages and conditions—then I will seek another party."—President Shaffer of the Amalgamated Association, in an interview.

The Chicago American makes much ado over the interview containing the above remarks. The inference is that President Shaffer will leave the Republican party if it does not help the strikers and join the Democrats and assist in smashing the trusts. A pitiful bluff, indeed. It is to be regretted that the men at the head of great labor organizations of this country have so little judgment concerning politics.

The statement of Mr. Shaffer is chaffin. It shows that he does not in the least comprehend the nature of the great struggle that is going on between the working class and the capitalist class. He does not even understand the causes that give rise to and continue the organization to which he belongs. The only use he thinks the workmen can make of the millions of votes they control is to threaten to use them against one of the capitalist parties and for the other. It is just this jumping from one capitalist party to

the other that delights the capitalist. As long as the workingman thinks he is using his political power by choosing between Republican injunctions and Democratic injunctions his employer feels safe. But let the workers break away from all parties that support the present system and join the Socialist party, that is organized on class lines, and they will find that their votes count for something.

Our sympathies and what aid we can give are always on the side of the strikers and we will rejoice more than anyone over their victories, but we warn them they have nothing to gain by meddling in Republican and Democratic politics.

Comrade Charles Schaeffer, an old Socialist, died at his home, 1432 South Second street, Wednesday night, from the effects of the excessive heat. To the older workers in the movement in this city he is well-known. He was President of the St. Louis Tageblatt Publishing Association when the Tageblatt, a daily German Socialist paper was being published here. He was very active in the early Socialist campaigns. In 1892 and 1893 he was treasurer of the Central Trades and Labor Union. He was fifty-one years old when he died. He was a member of the Vorwaerts Singing Society. To his family and relatives is tendered the sincere sympathy of St. Louis Comrades.

The following letter was received from C. F. Beck, of Lincoln, Mo., announcing the formation of a branch at that point with nine members.

Mr. William Hager, Secy.

Dear Comrade: Find enclosed a list of names with money order, for which send charter for Social-Democratic branch at Lincoln, Mo., organized July 13, 1901, by Comrade Vierling of St. Louis. Send us other information and instructions necessary to help us succeed. Yours truly,

C. F. BECK.

The members are:
J. W. Wear.
J. W. Nichols.
O. P. Rainey.
Wm. Kluge.
E. J. Green.
C. P. Allen.
L. G. Wear.
C. F. Beck.

Four of a Kind.

There was a dog who had some fleas that ate him up alive. Yet never cared to scratch himself or against them e'er to strive. It was the natural order, the only good old way.

They kept the circulation good, and plainly every day Made demands on home consumption, and on the vital flow Much needed by the stomach, as every dog should know. Should you hastily condemn this dog, don't think that I'll defer To harsh judgments of a puppy that was nothing but a cur.

There was once a long-eared donkey that went strolling round the lots Till he got a stomach trouble that proved to be the botts. And soon from well-fed plumpness he became a bony back; But he dared not eat a thistle lest it scratch a poor botts' back. He thought, perhaps the climate with him did not agree, But hoped relief from those dear botts in his economy.

Do not abuse this creature vain, but let the matter pass. Remembering that this animal was nothing but an ass.

There was once a solemn monkey lived within a Southern grove And filled himself with fruit and nuts wherever he did rove.

But his fellows held convention when he was not around And parceled out a thousand trees to each one on the ground. And the next time he came out his cave about his meal to see He found he must go hungry, for he did not own a tree.

The good of that monopoly he prayed for with every breath, And he took just what they gave him and he slowly starved to death. Now, should you be at all inclined to blame this hairy shape. Remember you would do just so had you been born an ape.

There was once a host of workers who by their daily toil Subdued a wilderness and thrived upon the soil.

Made wealth to flow like waters in the flood-tide of the spring, Sowed the emblem of the eagle with its wide and soaring wing.

But when the banking fleas and botts had settled on their veins And the land was wrested from them with their little store of gains, They did just like these animals that I did lately name.

Found what the vermin fattened on and hustled for the same. And whatever the election, when the parasites came by.

They'd give their votes by millions and praise them to the sky. No matter how much hardship or misery they went through.

They voted as the millionaires and funkies asked them to. But 'tis a painful subject, we will gently let it pass.

Of course there is not now a man who's cur, or ape, or ass.

—Omicron.

How Prominent Socialists Look

Upon Trade Unions.

BY E. E. H.

In an article for the July 1900 International Socialist Review Comrade

Hayes answers the question, "What is the trade union movement doing for Socialism?" in part, as follows:

At the Detroit convention of the American Federation of Labor, last December, resolutions were adopted recommending "that the various central and local bodies of labor in the United States take steps to use their ballots their political power, on independent lines, as enunciated in the declaration of principles of the American Federation of Labor."

The action was taken after it was shown that lobbying for labor laws in Congress and State Legislatures accomplished little, if anything. Some of the most influential delegates admitted the logic of the Socialist position and predicted that the time is rapidly approaching when a plain declaration of Socialism can be made without injuring the unions by frightening the ignorant members who are nevertheless necessary in carrying on economic struggles. The Federation took even a more advanced position, declaring that the trusts and capitalistic combinations are the natural product of the capitalist system, and that they cannot be destroyed by enacting laws against them. The rank and file is warned to pay no heed to political demagogues who promise to disrupt the capitalist combines, lest the laws will be used to break up unions, and the convention went on record as calling upon "trade unionists of the United States, and workmen, generally, to study the development of trusts with a view to nationalizing the same."

This call practically places the A. F. of L. in the position of endorsing the collective ownership of the means of production. It opens the door to Socialism.

The writer is firmly of the opinion that the Federation and many National unions would have declared in favor of Socialism some years ago if certain fanatical leaders, so-called, had not kept up a running fire against trade unions, and made loud boasts of disrupting the "pure and simple" organizations. Ten years ago one "leader" made the ridiculous assertion in the convention in the same city "that we will cram Socialism down your throats." That ill-advised and nonsensical threat has proven costly. Just as one can drive a horse to a trough, but cannot force him to drink, so the average self-respecting human being will resist the attempt of any one to "cram" anything down his throat. Had there been some little diplomacy used, had an honest, persistent and tolerant effort been made to educate the workers, the American labor movement would now undoubtedly be abreast of the European movement.

However, we profit by the mistakes that are made, and I am convinced that since the overthrow of bossism in the Socialist movement, and the sincere acknowledgment that was made by the Rochester convention of the Socialist Labor Party that errors had been committed, a better understanding will be had between the Socialists and the Trade Unionists of this country. Indeed, the political and economic organizations of the working class are drifting together, and has the development of labor-saving machinery and capitalistic combines must go on, the new Socialist movement will naturally gain strength and support from the trade union forces.

The same magazine for April, 1901, contains an article by Comrade Kautsky, who gently scores the English Socialists in the following words: "England shows us how much the success of the Social Democracy stands in need of the foundation afforded by a powerful trade union movement. Modern English Socialism, however, placed itself in its beginning in pretty strong opposition to the trades union movement; a stand that may be easily explained, considering the former conservative character of the trades unions; but which, nevertheless, was wrong, and of no advantage to the English Social Democracy. But in the course of time, the trades unionists have lost, more and more, their antipathies to Socialism, and vice versa, the Socialists have ever more been losing their antipathies to trades unionism, so we find an ever-increasing rate the same people at work in both camps, and therefore we may expect that slowly, but surely, a relation between the two movements will be established similar to the one that has always existed with us in the labor movement of Austria and Germany."

The more capitalism passes over from free competition to monopoly, the greater the number of its industrial branches that have become unable to develop adequately, the more the influence of state and community on the character and extent of production increases, the more necessary it will be for every class to gain influence on state and community, the more fatal will be the isolation of trades unions that prevents the proletariat from defending and promoting its interests effectively, the more indispensable it will be that the trade unionists are inspired with Socialist discernment and Socialist enthusiasm, the more necessary on the other hand, that the Social Democracy should be able to rely upon a numerous

army of organized trades unionists, on which rest the deepest and firmest roots of its power.

The trades unions will not disappear along with the capitalist mode of production like the journeymen's organizations vanished with the guilds. On the contrary, they will constitute the most energetic factors in surmounting the present mode of production and they will be the pillars on which the edifice of the Socialist Commonwealth will be erected.

How many of those Socialists among us who constantly find fault with trades unionism ever allow themselves to forget their antipathy long enough to frame in their minds this glorious future of the present trades organizations which is so strikingly and boldly asserted by Kautsky in the above article. What an inspiration when this beautiful future is shown for the worker is promulgated instead of the harping criticism which now almost exclusively greets the trades unionists.

What Kautsky wrote of trades unionism was, it seems, the unanimous opinion of the International Congress which met at Paris, September, 1900. According to Comrade Job Harriman, one of the American delegates, that Congress declared in its resolutions on the Trade Union Policy: "That Socialists should go as far as possible, hand in hand with the trades unions."

It was shown that trade unions and corporations alike are the result of the wage system; that unions are the methods of warfare employed by the working class, while corporations are the methods employed by the capitalist class; that in these respective organizations is to be found the class interest and class struggle in their normal condition under capitalism; that the defeat of these two classes was necessarily permanently opposed inasmuch as the working class was necessarily the prey of the capitalist class; that for this reason the trades union furnished the logical organized base of the Socialist movement; that their interests as individuals and as unions would cause them to accept our principles and add the ballot to their present weapons, the strike and boycott, in their battle with the capitalist class; that the charge of corruption against trade union leaders is not sufficient reason for fighting the unions, nor yet for organizing a new union; for since the union was developed by the capitalist system it is apparent that the dishonest leader is only a barnacle which always appear with the concentration of power and whose power for evil can be taken from him only by education of the craft as to their real interests, that the union being an institution developed by the capitalist system it must continue its existence as long as the cause which produces it remains; that the dishonest leader will also appear as long as power is at his disposal, until the rank and file are educated as to their real interests and how to obtain them. Hence, it is apparent that a fight against the union is futile and the logical and necessary course to take is for all Socialists to join and "go hand in hand with their unions" in their economic struggles, using every opportunity to spread the knowledge of Socialism not only among the members of the unions, but also among the entire working class."

It is interesting to note that on the second day of the Congress, while credentials of delegates were being verified, the American delegate of the S. L. P. attempted to prevent the seating of the delegates sent by our party. This led to a discussion of the anti-trade union attitude of the DeLeonite faction and resulted in the complete endorsement of the attitude of the Rochester and Indianapolis conventions in this regard and the seating of the delegates. "The Committee Upon the Means to the Freedom of The Laboring Class" offered the following resolutions which were unanimously adopted by the Congress:

"The modern proletariat is a necessary product of the capitalist regime of production, which demands the political and economic exploitation of labor by capital.

Its relief and its emancipation can only be realized by a struggle against the defenders of the interests of capitalism which by its very nature will lead inevitably to the socialization of the means of production.

The proletariat, therefore, must array itself as a class fighting the capitalist class.

Socialism, to which is given the task of transforming the proletariat into an army for the class struggle, has for its first duty to introduce into that class a consciousness of its interests and its strength and to use for that purpose all the means which the existing social and political situation put into their hands or are suggested by the higher conceptions of justice.

Among these means the Congress would indicate political action, universal suffrage, and organization of the working class into political groups, unions, co-operatives, benefit societies, circles for art and education, etc. It urges the militant Socialists to participate in all possible manner, all means of augmenting the strength of the laboring class and rendering them capable of politically and economically expropriating the bourgeoisie and socializing the means of production.

The last action of the Congress was the following resolution on strikes and boycotts:

"This congress is of the opinion that strikes and boycotts are the necessary means to the accomplishment of the task of the laboring class, but it sees

no actual possibility of a universal international strike.

The step which is immediately necessary is the organization into unions of the working masses, since upon the extension of such organization depends the extension of strikes in entire industries or in entire countries."

Trade Unions

and the Socialist Movement.

The International Socialist and Trades Union Congress, held in London, England, July 27 to August 1, 1898, put its foot mercilessly on those who have no better way of exhibiting their would-be Marxism than splitting the trades unions (if they can) and organizing seab unions. This London labor parliament, where the Socialist and labor parties of England, Germany, France, Belgium, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Bulgaria, Roumania, Switzerland, Portugal, Sweden, Denmark and Austria were represented, and where, besides, several hundred trades union delegates were in attendance (about 200 from Great Britain alone), the following resolutions were adopted:

"The trade-union struggle of the workers is indispensable to resist the economic tyranny of capital, and thereby to better the actual condition of the toilers. Without trade unions no living wage and shortening of hours of labor can be expected. By this struggle, however, the exploitation of labor will only be lessened, not abolished. The exploitation of labor can only be done away with entirely when society has taken control of all the means of production, including the land and the means of distribution. This, however, requires in the first instance a system of legislative measures. In order to carry out these measures completely the working class should be the dominating political power, which depends on the standard of organization attained. The trade unions, therefore, help to consolidate the political power of the laboring classes by reason of their organizing efforts. The organization of the working class is incomplete and unfinished as long as it is political only.

"But the economic struggle also calls for political action by the laboring class. Whatever the workers gain from their employers in open disputes must be confirmed by law in order to be maintained, while trade conflicts may in other cases be rendered superfluous by legislative measures. The more international organization and co-operation of the capitalist world-market are perfected, the more international co-operation of the working classes in regard to trade-union action, more especially the protection of labor by law, becomes necessary. * * * The congress declares the organization of the workers' trade unions to be an urgent matter in the struggle for the emancipation of the working class and in connection with similar resolutions passed at the Brussels and Zurich congresses, considers it to be a duty of all workers who endeavor to liberate labor from the yoke of capitalism to join the unions in their respective trades.

"In order to make the trade-unions as effective as possible they are recommended to organize as national trade unions in their respective countries, thus avoiding waste of power by small independent, or local organizations. Especially, difference of political views ought not to be considered a reason for separate action in the economic struggle; on the other hand, the nature of the class struggle makes it the duty of the labor organizations to educate their fellow-members up to the truth of the Social Democracy.

"Trade unions should also admit female workers into their ranks, and secure for them equal wages for the same kind and amount of work. In the struggle for better wages and conditions of work, the trade unions ought to control the application of the existing laws for the protection of labor."

"The congress declares that strikes and boycotts are necessary weapons to attain the objects of trade unions. What is most essential is the thorough organization of the working classes, as the successful management of a strike depends on the strength of its organization.

"The economic and industrial development is going on with such rapidity that a crisis may occur within a comparatively short time. The congress, therefore, impresses upon the proletariat of all countries the imperative necessity for learning, as class-conscious citizens, how to administer the business of their respective countries for the common good."

"The modern labor movement is the result of certain economic conditions; it is not the product of the result of men and their agitation. This most powerful rising of the wage-workers of all so-called civilized countries, this gigantic class struggle of the international proletariat, is the natural outgrowth of the capitalist industrial system of the last hundred years that has completely and mercilessly revolutionized the economic basis of the social family, and, consequently, has radically changed the economic, social and political relations of man to man in our modern society. Without this basic economic revolution of the Nineteenth Century the present labor movement would simply be impossible; all our agitation amount to nothing, for it

would be sowing wheat on rock piles. Karl Marx never claimed to have invented or patented any plan or scheme after which the wage-workers movement should be patterned, or after which the future state of society should be shaped. He did exactly the contrary, for he proved, by careful scientific investigation, that all attempts of social reform that are based on the disregard of the economic laws of social development, will end, most end, in miserable failures. In clear and convincing arguments he exposed the utterly untenable position of the "punting" professors of political economy whom he denounced as mere high priests and lackeys of capitalism. Far from being a sectarian, Marx never made concessions to pseudo-science or to public prejudices. In the preface to the first edition of his great work, "Capital," states his position as follows:

"Every opinion, based on scientific criticism, I welcome. As to the prejudices of so-called public opinion, to which I have never made concessions, now as of yore, the maxim of the great Florentine is mine: 'Segui il tuo corso, e lascia dir le genti.' Pursue your course, do not care for the people's talk!"

As to Karl Marx's personal opinion of the trade-union movement in general, it may rightfully be said, in the name of those that are acquainted not only with the letter, but the spirit of his works, that it has been correctly and fully expressed by the quoted resolutions adopted by the International Socialist and Trades Union Congress held in London in 1896:

"The concentration of the wealth created by the wage-working masses in the hands of fewer and fewer persons going on with ever-increasing rapidity; the invention, improvement and general introduction of machinery and the consequent displacement of human labor; the exclusive ownership of this machinery by the comparatively small number of capitalists, and the frightful process of pauperization among the wage workers caused by this revolution in the means of production—all these factors being constantly and continuously at work to undermine the entire present state of society, it is quite natural that sooner or later the wage-working class will proclaim its declaration of independence, not only on the economic, but also on the political battlefield. This they will not do because it is their ideal, but because the economic conditions will compel them to do it just as the conditions have forced them to organize into trades unions. Self-preservation is the first law of nature; this holds good also in labor's struggle for emancipation."

All the general political elections during the last decade have conclusively shown the fact that radical changes are taking place in the minds of the people. A certain spirit of independence—a spirit of rebellion—is manifesting itself among the working people, who, consciously or unconsciously, begin to feel that the patent "modern society" is mortally sick, and that the disease threatens the health and life of many millions of human beings. Political parties cannot, in these fermenting, feverish, economic, social and political struggles of our "fin de siecle," any longer claim a monopoly on the hard struggling wage-workers' vote. The political Babylonian towers that have been built yesterday will be destroyed by the lightning of the people's wrath to-morrow. We are standing to-day in the midst of the turmoil of an industrial, social and political revolution, gigantic in power and far-reaching in the effects such as has never yet been recorded in the history of mankind.

G. A. HOEHN.

Public Ownership Party.

The true inwardness of this party (the proposed public ownership party tentatively organized in Missouri) is the hope of middle class politicians to secure jobs on the strength of the radical movement which they cannot win in the Democratic ranks. They do not know enough, they are not courageous enough, nor honest enough to come into the Social Democratic party, accept its scientific program, take up the burden of fighting on the class struggle, through the dangers and hardships of the battle that lies before us, and earn by such labor the sweet fruits of the victory which shall be ours. But two things condemn them to failure—first, their own incompetency; second, the lack of any permanent economic interest behind them. * * * For our part, we think their propaganda will have the effect of strengthening our own. As an admission of portions of our truth, we will have less difficulty in establishing our entire contention. This does not mean, however, that we are to welcome or be indifferent to the new party. Our course of action is certainly clear. It is to attack as vigorously and indefatigably as possible such an organization, to show its illogical position, to prove our correctness. Meanwhile, to forestall it, to organize as thoroughly as possible the radical element, to get into line and pledge to our organization those who do not see the truth clearly and completely.—Saginaw Exponent.

San Francisco "Advance" will hereafter be issued as a sixteen-page paper and the subscription price will be raised to one dollar a year.

Three thousand people attended the Worker's Call picnic on July 14th. Four hundred dollars was realized for the benefit of the Call.

New Tendencies in American Socialism

BY A. M. SIMONS.

[From Advance Proofs of the International Socialist Review.]

That the present moment is a critical one in the history of the Socialist movement in America is a commonplace. Every observer has noticed that both within and without the Socialist organizations, the influences that affect the Socialist movement appear to be approaching a climax. Whether this condition will continue to grow more acute for some time to come no one can say. But it would seem probable that the Indianapolis convention will perhaps mark the beginning of the greatest setback it is possible for a movement resting on economic development to receive or, as we all hope, to date from which the Socialist movement will have shown itself large enough to effectively cope with an industrialism whose rotten ripeness has prepared the way for a new social organization.

One thing is sure, and that is that in the midst of the most tremendous political, social and industrial chaos the world has ever known, the one center of intelligent evolution is to be found in the developing Socialist thought. Every field of art, literature, science, music, education or industry, is feeling the influence of that thought, as eloquently from the recent meeting of the National Educational Association in Detroit states that the whole proceedings swung around a contrast between the new pedagogical theory, demanding educational advance and growth, and the capitalist environment that cramped and deadened all things educational.

The Populist party is today a memory so far as a political organization is concerned. But the impulse which once led to the casting of a million votes in blind protest against a falling capitalism is becoming more intelligently revolutionary. The suffering of the American farmer during the last ten years, together with the lessons of general economic development, have made the farmers of America ready for Socialism. But the Socialists are not yet ready for the farmers. The majority of Socialist writers and speakers are so hopelessly ignorant of the problems of agriculture that they cannot possibly have an intelligent opinion upon them. Yet they are anxious to write farmers' programs and to give voice to farmers' demands. Many a Socialist talks learnedly of the problems of agriculture from the depths of a city office who not only knows nothing of practical farming, but would be hard put to it if asked to name a single periodical or book on agriculture. If such men will first study the needs and demands of the farmer they will find that he is simply making, in a more or less intelligent form, the age-long demand of the slave, that he receive what he produces, and that he possess in common with his fellows the tools with which that product is created.

The great body of trade-unionists, too, through the formation of trusts, issuance of injunctions, and use of militia, are being forced to recognize the necessity of independent political action to secure common possession of the essentials of life. When they have recognized this fact they are Socialists. The labor fakir is losing his grip all along the line. Capitalist politicians are being driven from the union. Active Socialists in the trade-unions are hastening this process at a multitude of points.

Within the political parties all is chaos. In the height of its power the Republican party is panic-stricken lest its old dummy adversary disintegrate and give way to a real antagonist. Hanna shrieks out that the next struggle will be between Republicans and Socialists. Wayne McVeagh repeats the same statement in more guarded language. The leading spokesmen and writers of the Republican party hover round the fading form of their dearest enemy and urge the "re-organization" of the Democratic party, and hail with joy all signs of reviving strength. But the case is hopeless. The economic class whose interests were represented by the Democratic party has ceased to be of sufficient importance to be hereafter represented in the political world. Therefore, that party has ceased to exist save as a disgusting memory that one would fain put aside and out of mind. From the party organizations of Ohio, New York and Illinois, as well as from countless individuals comes the proof that since the class of little exploiters has disappeared, there is nothing left for the professional politician save to choose between the proletariat and the capitalist class. But the vultures flock only where carrion calls, and proletarian bones have already been picked too clean by the hyenas of capitalism to invite the visits of the fount birds of politics. So all these, whether formerly Democratic or Republican, try to cling to plutocracy. Neither one sees anything to be gained by espousing the cause of the workers. And they are right, for he who comes to the proletariat of today can rob him of nothing but his fetters.

Millions in America today have been prepared by economic development for acceptance and understanding of the principles of Socialism. But the Socialists, who should be spending every en-

ergy in bringing those principles before the people who are ready, are wasting their time in child-like wrangling. The time is now here for action. If we are not in possession of the machinery to accommodate the new elements that are ready for Socialism, then those elements will form a political machinery of their own and we will be forced to accept their work. This will mean perhaps years of costly blundering and human suffering, an unnecessary and cruel and costly.

One thing is certain. This fiercely fomenting new wine demands new bottles. A mighty social upheaval, a great political party, an economic revolution cannot be confined within the bounds of a fraternal society for propaganda purposes. The greatest need of the hour is not, as in the past, a training school for propagandists, so much as a political expression of the movement that is already at hand. Questions of dues, officers, constitutions, and membership, must give way to the larger factors of economic exigency and social evolution. The current of evolution has grown too broad in America to be confined within the limits of any lodge-like organization, and any attempt to so confine it will fail with disaster to those who make the effort as well as to the Socialist cause. This does not mean that officers, dues and constitutions are not necessary, for they are of great importance. Those who would seek to dispense with such essentials are emptying out the baby with the bath. But from now on these things must be looked upon as merely means to an end, and not always the most important means. This is not a question of choice. It will not be by vote, but by social development that this condition will come to pass. When Socialism shall have begun to spread into every nook and corner of the country, when nominations are made in legal primaries by voters whose qualifications are determined by capitalist law, when success shall have given us the responsibility for official actions as well as the work of propaganda, when, in short, we shall have become a political and social force instead of a mere educational cult, then the fundamental change will come no matter whether we have had sense enough to realize it and accommodate the forms of our organization to it or not.

Purity of economic doctrine can no longer be secured through party discipline. The time is even now here when the attempt to uproot economic heresy by personal expulsions becomes the broadest of burlesques. The purity of Socialist principles must henceforth be maintained by the burning away of all dross in the heat of free discussion. The right and true must be made to triumph because of their logical power to conquer and not because of the support of party discipline. This demands the greatest freedom of personal discussion and action within the party. At a time when the Socialists were but a chosen few in the hostile land, when the corrupting influence of capitalism beat ceaselessly upon each individual from every side, then it was perhaps necessary that those principles be entrusted to the few who would protect them from contamination and preserve their purity. So long, too, as there were confusion, but still powerful, economic classes with conflicting interests, there was pressing danger from those who would steal from the Socialist armory a portion of its weapons only to bend them into forms that could be used against their rightful owners. But today, when Socialists have left their sectarian seclusion to take the offensive upon the field of battle, and when development has progressed to the point that there is no class or party that can afford to accept a portion of the Socialist logic, lest they be at once compelled to take the whole, this danger is no longer imminent. If today such a party is allowed to grow up and to act as an obstacle for a few years to the progress of revolutionary Socialism it will be because the organized Socialists have not recognized the changes of economic development and have sulked in cowardly seclusion within their tents while those of less knowledge of Socialist principles but more courage of their convictions and greater grasp of present social movements have dare to act, even if unwisely.

Once more "it is a condition not a theory that confronts us." The Socialist movement has already outgrown the reach of party discipline. With the hundred independent Socialist papers of today grown into a thousand in a year hence, any press censorship becomes as impossible and as ineffective as personal expulsion. We grow, not because we will it, but because we are alive and obey the laws of growth.

Any organization that shall correspond to present exigencies must possess great flexibility. The Socialists of no other time or place were ever confronted with such a task—nor such an opportunity—as that which now lies before the Socialists of America. It is more nearly comparable to the international problems that have confronted the Socialists of Europe than any questions that have ever arisen within national boundaries. It is even more difficult and more significant than any

international question, for in the last analysis all such problems could be solved by cutting the Gordian knot of international connection and leaving each nation free to solve its own problems. But political and economic relations force us to accept the fact of national unity, and it is but the part of a coward or a fool to refuse to recognize this fact. History, tradition, political practice and economic solidarity demand that there be but one National Socialist Party, and any discussion of anything else is an idle waste of breath which may for the moment obstruct the coming of such a party, but cannot prevent its ultimate appearance and success. Whether that one party will come as the result of intelligent co-operation or as a survival after a bitter fratricidal struggle is for the Socialists of America to decide.

But if there is national unity, local diversity is no less a fact. There is as great variation in economic conditions between Maine, South Carolina, New York, Mississippi, Illinois, Florida, Dakota and California, as between Germany, Belgium, France, Norway, Italy and Spain. Yet, as was said before, there must be an organic unity and not a federation of independent, isolated groups extending over the entire United States. To talk of anything else betrays an ignorance of American political, social and governmental institutions too dense for argument to penetrate. The ideal must be complete state autonomy in local affairs with closest national co-operation in all affairs, and national control of national affairs. This ideal can be realized through the establishment of a central authority that shall be almost entirely advisory and educational in its character and that shall secure obedience to its decrees only because of the possession of wider knowledge of the things on which it speaks.

Under the conditions of the future the maintenance of a membership in a dues-paying organization will be rather a mark of greater activity for Socialism than a test of Socialist orthodoxy. The party machinery will be an instrument of co-ordination and communication, not of discipline and regulation.

The whole attitude of the Socialist movement from now on must be one of attack upon the entire capitalist organization at every point of opening. We must "born from within" and strike from without. Let us become conscious of our strength. Let us lay aside utopianism in all its forms. Let us maintain the purity of our doctrines by striking them continually against the weapons of our adversaries that all unessential matter may be jarred away. Let us not fear contamination by contact with capitalism. Let us rather draw close to every old and decaying social institution, that, while preserving our identity we may strike the harder blow. This does not mean the slightest concession to Fabianism, compromise or fusion. We must always and at all times preserve the class-conscious position, maintain our independence and abate no jot of our principles. The evolution of the ages has justified the truth of those principles and every passing day emphasizes their truth. Today no man dare openly challenge the fundamental principles of scientific Socialism. No man has challenged them for many years. Why, then, should we fear injury to them in closest comparison with the exploded positions of the defenders of capitalism?

We have nothing to gain from half-way measures, save delay to complete history. Economic evolution in America has wiped out all stepping stones between capitalism and Socialism, and he who fears to take the whole leap will but fall into the abyss that separates them.

Two contending forces are struggling for the mastery in the Socialist movement of America at this moment. One sees only this new phase of economic development and that the old institutions of Socialism do not correspond to the new demands. They will wipe out all the work of years and surrender all to the exigencies of the moment. These men would abolish national organizations, and, indeed, all organization, and enter the field of capitalist politics to scramble for votes through the competitive offers of immediate amelioration. This other force remembers only the good work of the past and fails to recognize that new forces are here. They would seek to maintain a secular church, a doctrinaire seclusion, and a personal discipline. Let us apply the Hegelian dialectics that in a modified form lie back of the earliest Socialist classics, and seek the solution in a higher synthesis, that shall conserve the old and include the new—that shall maintain principles intact, but shall give the greatest flexibility of form. If we can do this we shall have solved the problem that lay before us and acquitted ourselves like men and women and Socialists.

THE TRADE UNIONIST.

He climbs through union, lockout, strike.
Trough starving home, and bloody death.
To power slow, growing masterful—
To life instinct with brotherhood—
To vital solidarity.
And soon in Hall of State he'll stand,
Class-conscious, but magnanimous,
To legislate his blood-bought truth—
The wrong of one is wrong of all.
—Frederick Irons Bamford, in International Socialist Review.

Current Comment.

T. M. PUTNAM.

Commenting on the strike in the street and iron industries a capitalist paper says: "Such a strike is, in effect, war—internal and industrial war." That paper, however, would regard as reasonable, almost any intimation that the interest of the two belligerents are not identical—that there is a class struggle.

Of course it is war—war to the knife, and the knife to the hilt. In the language of that fiery old revolutionist, Patrick Henry: "Gentlemen you may cry peace, peace, but there is no peace," nor will there be any truce or compromise till the last vestige of the capitalist system is abolished and the Co-operative Commonwealth established.

In a recent editorial under the caption, "Our National Danger," the Republic, Democratic organ, points out the imperialistic tendencies of the McKinley administration.

It says: "It is undeniably true that the United States government has been transformed from a great fair-minded and peace-loving government to an aggressive and militant and land-greedy world-power, modeled without concealment in the monarchical Powers of Europe.

We will civilize them (the Philippines) by conquest, gun-powder and the rule of the strong hand. The attitude of the McKinley administration toward the American masses is exactly that of the English governing England. It has revived Hamiltonianism.

It combined with the centralization of wealth in the hands of the few to embolden the plutocratic demand for the centralization of governmental power in the hands of the few." Surely that looks as if the old ship of state is headed straight for the imperial harbor or what is about the same thing, the gemtition bow-wow.

But let us examine this arraignment of the Republican party and see if one of the old parties is not as deep in the Democratic bog as is the other in the Republican mire.

You will observe that the contention of the Republic is that the McKinley administration has done these naughty things by an alliance with centralized wealth. Here is a syllogism: "The House-That-Jack-Built."

The Democratic party favors the system that makes the wealth. That combines with the Republican party to send the old ship of state to the gemtition bow-wow.

Ergo, it is a case of pull republican Dick, push Democratic Devil and of course the old ship has to go.

Moral: Working people should get a class-conscious move on themselves and vote the Socialist ticket.

The same editorial duplicates the revival of the military spirit as the gravest of all menaces to the liberties of the people. But the readers of the Republic have not forgotten that it has been most persistent in urging the government to make Jefferson Barrack's great military center—that it has also been most persistent in clamoring for a more efficient state militia and for the reorganization of the cavalry companies that did such effective work during the strike back in the eighties. Especially do they remember its brutal flippancy last summer during the street car strike, when it said: "The boys in Battery A are getting impatient. Their good, new guns are rusting from lack of use. They are anxious to get out on the streets and put them to use"—meaning, of course, to shoot the strikers. Hell is brimming over with the Republic's brand of consistency and sincerity when it indulges in such maudlin gush about "grave menaces to the liberties of the people," and the perils of "militarism." If I hadn't already exhausted my stock of prayers in compliance with Governor Dockery's ykase to the Almighty, I would pray most fervently that the Republic and all of its ilk be seized with an irresistible desire to do as Judas did after betraying his Master—or what would be more appropriate, imitate the swine which, after the unclean spirit had entered them, jumped into the sea and drowned themselves. The same old sexualized journal, in a later issue, says: "The American government is now being run on the Hamiltonian basis of the government of the common people by a privileged and 'superior' class whose rule is exclusively for their own advantage."

Thus, inadvertently, old granny lets the cat out of the bag, though the working class seem to have such an aggravated case of mental strabismus they will not get a glimpse of that cat, even were it as large as the Bengal tiger. So then, there are "classes" in this country—admitted by a capitalist organ which held up its unclean hands in holy horror a few months ago before Pingree made allusion to classes. Surely Socialists are being unwittingly vindicated in their contention that there are classes in this country. Surely we are making progress when two such papers as the Post Dispatch and the Republic admit respectively: "Such a strike is in effect war—internal and industrial war," and that "the government of the common people is by a superior class." Thanks! Mayhap the working man who reads nothing but capitalist papers and votes only capitalist tickets, will conclude, after a while that Socialists are right in asserting that there are classes and that a war is on between them.

From Holland and Belgium.

The result of the municipal election is also favorable for the Social-Democratic party. In a few places Socialists candidates have been directly returned; in many other places they come in for the second ballot with fairly good chances. All eyes in this campaign were fixed on Amsterdam, where our friends had a hard but splendid fight. They received in the Parliamentary elections on July 14, 3 660 votes, last week 5,680, that is 29 per cent of all the votes polled in the nine divisions of the chief town. However, only in the third division have they brought it to a second ballot—Comrade Polak received 1,814 votes, Comrade P. L. Tah 1,599, against 1,852 and 1,832 given to their Liberal opponents.

The General Council of the party has issued a manifesto to the people, in which it states that the reactionary party has learned nothing from the past, is blind and deaf to the claims of the workers, and will only give up resistance to universal suffrage when the latter, as in 1893, show their power and determination. The council declares that, true to its old policy, the workers' party will use all peaceful and lawful means to obtain the end, but should it be necessary the party will not shrink from revolutionary means.

The General of the Civic Guard, speaking about the critical times, said that the guard should keep its powder dry. The Socialists protested in Parliament very strongly against such threatening utterances. Some of them said that if anything happened they would reserve a bullet for that man.

The Socialists have some intention should they be forced to grant universal suffrage, to extend the voting right also to women. The women are for the most part in the hands of the Clericals and under the influence of the priest. Thus the Clericals think to counteract the Socialists, who would gain considerable by universal suffrage. The General Council of the party has discussed the possibility thereof. Some of the members were, with Comrade Bertrand, of the opinion that the enfranchisement of women would be reactionary to the interest of Socialism, and keep the cause back at least half a century. Vanjerelde and others thought differently. Although they admitted that the women were in no way so much educated in the principles of Socialism as the men (who were a good deal to blame for that), experience should teach women as it taught men, that their interests were only considered by the Socialists, and from no other party could they hope anything for a better future. The Socialist party stood for the equality of the sexes, and should not depart from that, Bertrand said later that the discussion had changed his opinion, after which a resolution of Comrade Vinck was unanimously adopted, wherein the government was challenged to enfranchise the women as well, and the Socialists invited to propagate the principles of Socialism as much as possible amongst the women.

V. de V.

Closer Organization Needed.

One of the most stupid features of a strike is that when one branch of an industry walks out or is locked out other branches remain at work and thus directly and indirectly play into the hands of employers. "Stick together!" That has been the cry of labor for years, and while the rank and file is not always clear as to how the "sticking" process should be accomplished, their hired officers ought to think out the plans and point the way. But too many officers encourage factionalism, just as kings advocate patriotism and race prejudices, to hold their jobs. They want to be "grand exalted chief," "worthy president," etc.

If we had our way about it two-thirds of the cumbersome, expensive machinery in the labor movement would be wiped out and the branches of a particular industry centralized under one head. The metal trades ought to have one government, composed of a delegate from each branch to act as a cabinet; the wood-working crafts ought to be under an other government, the clothing workers tobacco-workers, printing trades, etc., under their separate governments, and the whole to be federated as now, led with more power vested in the federation in the matter of strikes, boycotts, assessments, etc., than at present.

Imagine a general going into battle who must first ask other generals and captains whether they will lend assistance! If they won't come into the fight, will they kindly loan ammunition! The fact is, capital has organized industry on a large scale; labor must be organized on a large scale. Capital can paralyze industry in a day's time; labor must be in a position to paralyze industry in a day's time if necessary—Cleveland Citizen.

The Comrade.

Do not forget the business meeting of Local St. Louis next Thursday night at Druid's Hall. A big boom must start in the Socialist movement of this city as soon as the national convention adjourns.

The Socialist Bricklayers Club of Chicago is doing excellent work for the cause.

Boys and girls of Chicago are organizing a Socialist fire and drum corps.

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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, 4052A Finney Ave., St. Louis, Mo.

ST. LOUIS CITY CENTRAL COMMITTEE meets every Monday evening, 8 p. m., at Room 7, 22 N. 4th St. Wm. Detjen, 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 1051 S. 12th St. Sec., Chas. Specht.

7TH AND 8TH WARD BRANCH.—Meets 1st and 3d Wednesdays at Dewey Hall, 2391 S. Broadway. Sec. Geo. Schiefelstein, 2528 S. 9th st.

9TH WARD BRANCH meets 1d and 4th Tuesdays, 8 p. m., at Wyanong Sts. Sec. J. Stoll, 3543 Salena St.

10TH WARD BRANCH meets 2d and 4th Wednesdays, 8 p. m., at South-west Turner Hall, Potomac and Ohio Av. Org.—Wm. Ruesche, 3734 Oregon Av.—Edw. Ottersky, Sec'y, 3521 Wisconsin Av.

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

16TH WARD BRANCH meets first Tuesday of every month at Ganss' Hall, 15th and Cass ave. Sec. C. Scheffler, 1448 Mullaphy 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 367 Whittier Building, Sec. Janet Putvove, 367 Whittier Bldg.

So-Called Rights of Capital and Labor.

Capital, a tool, a factory plant, a railroad, a thing or things not attached to any man, Labor, life force, labor, is a power inseparable from the man, no man can use the labor power of another man. He himself may intelligently apply his energies upon the natural resources or he may remain idle.

Any man or men may use a tool, a factory plant or a railroad if he or they have the intelligence and the opportunity to do so.

A man may use his labor power without capital to his benefit; he may pick berries.

Capital must be idle until some man or men use it.

Capital is necessary to workmen in securing to themselves the advantages of civilization.

Private owners of capital (capitalists) are unnecessary to workmen, in fact, a hindrance as they prevent workmen from using tools (capital).

Therefore, the so-called rights of capital and labor means nothing but the confusion that exists in the minds of such writers.

Given the right to live, a place to live in must also be a right. Given life and a place to live, the means to continue life is a right. No man created life, no man created the earth on which we live. Many men worked to build the capital of the world, while a few men schemed to gain control of capital thus made and also to prevent its use.

Have laws etc. and capitalists equal rights? Yes, capitalists are now secured in the use of capital, and when by the right laborers have in establishing the Co-Operative Commonwealth, they too, become secure, in the right to cooperate and equal ownership of all social capital. Then and not until then will the workmen use their rights; then and not until then will the capitalists use their own rights only, and not, as now, the rights of thousands of workmen, together with their own. It is to the interest of the laborer without capital to give as little work for as large a wage as possible. It is to the interest of private capitalists to get as much labor power as possible for the lowest wage possible.

The economic interests of the two are in direct hostility.

The private capitalists, as such, have no economic right which workmen are bound to respect.

NO MASTER.

Saith man to man, We've heard and know.

That we no master need To live upon this earth, our own.

In fair and manly deed, The grief of slaves long passed away.

For us hath forged the chain, Till now each worker's patient day Builds up the House of Pain.

And we, shift we, too, crouch and snail.

Ashamed, afraid of strife, And lest our lives untimely fail, Embrace the Death in Life!

Nay, cry aloud, and have no fear, We few against the world; Awake, arise! the hope we bear Against the curse is hurled!

SOC - GAL 11 - DUKE 10 - JUL 27

It grows, it grows - are we the same, The feeble hand, the few?

Or what are these with eyes aflame, And hands to deal and do?

This is the host that bears the word, No Master, high or low

A lightning flame, a shearing sword, A storm to overthrow

—William Morris

Ignorant Editors.

The ordinary editorial writer for American newspapers is so grossly ignorant of the great international working class movement - so entirely oblivious, even of the struggles and the nebulous hopes and aims of the trade union movement in this country - that the editorial discussions of the conflicts between labor and capital would be amusing if they were not so pernicious as the consequences that follow when the fool who didn't know it was loaded gets hold of a gun.

Even the most radical of the editorial writers who feel a sympathy for the working class base all their efforts to improve the workers' condition on the fatal hypothesis that "the interests of capital and labor are identical." Naturally, starting from this premise, they become involved in a labyrinth of sentimentality and Utopianism which should make the workingman, like the astute politician, pray to be delivered from his fool friends. Particularly in the discussion of Socialism does the ordinary honest editorial writer say fearful and wonderful things. As an instance a case may be cited of an editorial in one of the best-known of American daily newspapers. The writer of the editorial, personally known to me as a lovable and honorable man who has a considerable reputation for a highly developed logical faculty, wrote an editorial on "Socialist Slavery," developing the Herbert Spencer idea. A Socialist, after much trouble, succeeded in having a reply printed. The editorial writer, in retort, proceeded to demolish the luckless Socialist

who had employed the adjective "capitalistic" in describing the present method of production and distribution. Upon this the editorial writer seized and rolled it as a sweet morsel under his tongue as follows:

"The plants now existing will wear out and must be replaced, otherwise production will be enormously reduced and with this will come a reduction of each man's share, whether equal or unequal. It is said that Socialism will take from each man's product enough to replace the machinery that is to preserve the capital intact. THEN SOCIALISM ADVOCATES AND BECOMES CAPITALISTIC!"

Such amazing ignorance, considering the source, seems impossible in this day of easily accessible information, but it is an old story; how Habbes, the eminent authority in physics, as late as 1888, proved the impossibility of a trans-Atlantic cable; how the wagon of one day is the ferry of another - Chas. Dabry.

Socialism and Invention.

Under Socialism everything would sink to one dead level of mediocrity in consequence of attempting to give practical effect to the theory of "to everyone according to his needs," instead of rewarding all in proportion to the services rendered. Above all there would be no stimulus to industry, no incentive to invention. That, at any rate, is the idea put forward by the average opponent of Social Democracy. He seems to imagine that everyone is rewarded for services rendered today and that the man who invents some

new machine or process will be rewarded through the medium of the market.

It is to be noted in any way benefits both himself and his fellow creatures. How far this is from the truth is proved by the innumerable instances of inventors dying in want and misery. The Daily Mail the other day had the following: "Willie Wood had died in the seventieth year of his age on September 28, 1821, and his remains are interred in St. Hilda's Churchyard. The inscription on his tombstone records the fact that he was the inventor of that invaluable blessing to mankind, the lifeboat, but he was allowed to die poor and neglected."

This man, of course, is only one of very many who have conferred invaluable blessings on mankind but who have been "allowed to die poor and neglected." Now we are told that a young Burnley weaver has invented an appliance which threatens to effect a revolution in the weaving industry. This is an arrangement which can be attached to the looms and which largely reduces weaving to an automatic operation. The result will be that at present rates of pay each weaver will be able to earn more but fewer weavers will be required. The result will be that a number of them will be thrown out of work, and a further result will be that those still in employment will have their wages reduced as a consequence of the competition of those who are thrown out of employment. Under Socialism such an invention would be an all-round blessing; it would mean an increase in social wealth and increased leisure for all the workers. Today it is sure to prove a curse to some, and may even injure the inventor himself. As Mill says: "It is doubtful if all the mechanical inventions that the world has ever seen have lightened the day's toll of a single human being." And that must be the case so long as these inventions are monopolized by a class instead of belonging to society and being used for the benefit of all. It is not Socialism but capitalism that offers no incentive to invention, no reward for industry. - London Justice.

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NATIONAL PLATFORM.

Social Democratic Party of America

The Social Democratic Party of the United States, in convention assembled, reaffirms its allegiance to the revolutionary principles of International Socialism and declares the present political scene 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, acting in its steadfast purpose to use those powers, since achieved, to destroy wage-slavery; abolish the institution of private property in the means of production, and establish the Co-operative Commonwealth.

In the United States, as in all other civilized countries, the natural order of economic development has separated society into two antagonistic classes - the capitalist class and the wage-workers.

The capitalist class, by its control of production and distribution (land, mines, machinery, and means of transportation and communication), and the large and ever increasing class of wage-workers, possessing the means of production, are in a condition of economic dependence, economically exploited and oppressed, intellectually and physically 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 and the multitude of destitute wage-workers and unemployed, and ever fiercer the struggle between the class of the exploiter and the exploited, the capitalists and the wage-workers.

The evil effects of capitalist production are intensified by the recurring industrial crises which render the existence of the greater part of the population still more precarious and wretched.

These facts amply prove that the modern means of production have outgrown the existing social order based on production for profit.

Human 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. Wage-slavery has become a system of discrimination against the colored, the discriminating standard is maintained, the destruction of whole races is sanctioned, in order that the capitalist class may extend its commercial dominion abroad and enhance its power at home.

The introduction of a new and higher order of society is the historic mission of the working class. All other classes, 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.

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

We, therefore, call upon the wage-workers of the United States, without distinction of color, race, sex, or creed, and upon all citizens in sympathy with the historic mission of the working class, to organize under the banner of the Social Democratic Party, as a party truly representing the interests of the toiling masses and uncompromisingly warring upon the exploiting class until the system of capitalist production is abolished and the Co-operative Commonwealth shall be set up. Pending the accomplishment of this, our ultimate purpose, we pledge our support to the Social Democratic Party for the immediate improvement of the condition of labor and for the securing of its progressive demands.

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

First - Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people, irrespective of sex.

Second - The public ownership of all industries controlled by the monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third - The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation and communication; all waterworks, gas and electric plants and other public utilities.

Fourth - The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth - The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth - The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh - Useful inventions to be free to the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth - Labor legislation to be national, instead of local and international, when possible.

Ninth - National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment, and 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 wars and the introduction of international arbitration.

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| | | |
|---------------|------|-----------|
| Denmark | 1872 | 215 |
| " | 1884 | 6,365 |
| " | 1887 | 8,448 |
| " | 1890 | 17,232 |
| " | 1892 | 20,996 |
| " | 1895 | 25,513 |
| " | 1898 | 32,000 |
| Great Britain | 1895 | 55,900 |
| " | 1899 | 100,000 |
| Italy | 1892 | 20,000 |
| " | 1895 | 76,400 |
| " | 1898 | 134,846 |
| " | 1897 | 134,846 |
| Servia | 1895 | 50,000 |
| Spain | 1892 | 7,000 |
| " | 1895 | 14,300 |
| United States | 1897 | 28,000 |
| Switzerland | 1890 | 13,500 |
| " | 1892 | 29,322 |
| " | 1896 | 38,468 |
| Belgium | 1894 | 834,500 |
| " | 1898 | 534,234 |
| Germany | 1867 | 30,000 |
| " | 1871 | 101,527 |
| " | 1874 | 351,670 |
| " | 1877 | 486,843 |
| " | 1878 | 437,174 |
| " | 1881 | 511,961 |
| " | 1884 | 599,990 |
| " | 1887 | 768,129 |
| " | 1890 | 1,427,288 |
| " | 1893 | 1,789,718 |
| " | 1898 | 2,125,000 |

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

SOCIALIST REGISTER.

The name and address of every Socialist in St. Louis is wanted by the Central Committee. If you are a Socialist, fill out this blank and send it to the Organizer at once.

Names received will be kept confidential.

WM. H. BAIRD, Organizer Social Democratic Party, Room 9, 22 N. 4th Street

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