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Number I.

AN ADDRESS TO POPULISTS

Setting Forth the Difference Between the Populist Movement and the Socialist Movement—Populists Should Join the S. D. P., But They Must Realize What it Means.

We understand that a conference of the middle of the road Populists of the United States will be held in St. Louis on Saturday, December 29, which will have an important bearing upon the future course of their party.

As might have been expected, the assembly of this party has not been heralded up and down the land by that harlot of capitalism, the Associated Press.

This gathering of men imbued with deep-seated convictions and earnest purposes will not be greeted by a blare of trumpets from the crags and mountain tops of capitalism. On the contrary, it is as sure as the law of gravitation, that all of the agencies of communication and intelligence, altogether in capitalist hands, will be used either to ignore this meeting, or if that cannot be to depict and belittle it.

And yet this gathering is fraught with momentous possibilities. The Middle-of-the-Road Populists have it in their power at this time to take such action as will define sharply and finally the political issue of 1904 to be Socialism. If they take this course and unite with the Social Democratic party, they will deserve credit for having inflicted a courageous and decisive blow at capitalism, coming as it would at a most critical period in the alignment of the Socialist forces of the country. That they will declare uncompromisingly and unequivocally for Socialism, would seem to accord most fittingly with the history and traditions of their party. They assemble at a time in the history of the country, when the class struggle between capitalists and laborers was never so sharply defined. Between the capitalist class and the working class, there is now a line of demarcation, that will soon be the scene of an impressive conflict. With which of these two classes will the Middle-of-the-Road Populists align themselves? For answer we must turn to the last platform of their party, adopted at Cincinnati, on May 16, 1898.

Character of the Middle of the Road Platform.

The platform is too lengthy to be published here in full. But it consists of a preamble and seven clauses, in which they re-affirm the cardinal tenets of the platform adopted by the People's Party at Omaha; they demand public ownership of railroads, telegraph and telephone lines, coal mines, etc.; paper money and free coinage of silver; a graduated income tax; election of President, Vice-President, Federal judges and United States Senators by direct vote of the people. They also demand restoration to the people of all land held by railroads and other corporations above their actual needs; all land held by aliens; and oppose monopoly of land for speculative purposes. They also denounce trusts and the hypocrisy of the old parties in dealing with this question and declare no solution possible excepting the adoption of the principles of public ownership of public utilities. Here is a platform that breathes of the discontent and resentment that find expression in revolution; but while all Socialists are revolutionists, no class conscious scientific Socialist would be satisfied with a platform minus the letter and spirit of his faith. The middle-of-the-road platform upholds individualism; the private ownership of capital; the competitive system; the profit system; wage slavery and ignores the class struggle. We do not mean to say that their platform upholds these things in express language, but by omitting any mention of them. Socialists would condemn the platform for its omissions and commissions. Those of omission have been stated and as to those of commission, a platform that expressly upholds private ownership of land, free coinage of silver and graduated income tax, is in our judgment an expression of middle class or small-capitalist faith for whose salvation there is no hope. The middle class capitalist will be completely buried within the next four years. No power on earth can save him. The evolution of civilization has decreed the extinction of the middle class. Millions of people in the middle class have already been crushed and many of these have been satisfied to become the "hewers of wood and the drawers of water" for the capitalist class. On the other hand, thousands of the crushed middle class all over the land have cast their lot with the downtrodden working class, to seek emancipation with them in the glorious advent of economic equality. The middle of the roaders are now at the "parting of the ways." Will they still hold out for the restoration of middle class capitalism, which is pregnant with the evils against which they revolt, or will they join forces with the seven million organized Socialists of the world to bring about the co-operative commonwealth and the brotherhood of man?

Character of the Social Democratic Platform.

Let us now take up the platform of the Social Democratic party. It is more lengthy than that of the middle of the roaders and will not permit of publication in full in the limited space at our

disposal. But we will consider the main points, and as it so happens, those which are either omitted or remotely referred to in the People's Party platform adopted at Omaha and Cincinnati. The language of the Social Democratic platform dwells expressly and uncompromisingly, among other things on "economic equality; the industrial revolution; the private ownership of the means of production; the class struggle between the capitalist class and the propertyless class; the trade union movement and the collective ownership of the means of production. The platform declares the objects to be the formation of a working class party; the abolition of wage slavery; severance with all capitalist and reform parties; abolition of class rule; the establishment of international Socialism or the brotherhood of man."

It also makes certain demands as steps in the direction of Socialism, some of which are similar to those in the Omaha and Cincinnati platforms. Herein is a radical difference between the People's party and the Social Democratic party. The Populists make these demands the all important end and purpose (may we say "paramount issue?"); while the Social Democrats expressly state that they are merely means to an end. There is one feature in the Social Democratic platform upon which it lays chief stress, which is the keynote of the party and the foundation of its revolutionary programme, and it is of this feature that we find no reference in the Populist platform. It is the class struggle or the evolution of capitalism.

The Class Struggle.

What is the meaning of capitalism? Capitalism is an economic term. It is applied by political economists and sociologists to the economic system of civilization, by means of which men achieve economic independence and have the privilege of living idly upon the labor of others, who produce a surplus value above that which they receive for their own subsistence. Capitalism refers to the system. A capitalist is one who profits by the system. If he labors himself, it does not alter the fact that he has an income apart from his labor sufficient to sustain him for life without labor, and therefore, he is economically independent. Those who perform labor of some kind, yet are drawing some income through rent, interest and profit that not sufficient to live upon for a lifetime, without labor, are not economically independent. They belong to the middle class of capitalism. They may be producing a surplus above the cost of their own subsistence, which is being absorbed through capitalism, but they are contented because they are receiving a larger surplus from the labor of others than that which they part with, and they hope to increase their income until they achieve economic independence, like other capitalists. The working class under capitalism live in hope of creating an income and of increasing it through the appropriation of the surplus products of others who labor. They would like to achieve economic independence in the same manner as the capitalist class. Capitalism therefore consists of three classes of society, the capitalist class, which has achieved economic independence; the middle class, which has partial economic independence, and the working class, which includes those who are not able to do more than sustain life by means of selling their labor to the capitalist class. Capitalism divides society into two antagonistic forces, because it is based upon two sets of conflicting economic interests. They each desire economic independence. One of these forces believes that it is justly entitled to the economic independence which it has, but which it manifestly did not create; the other force believes that it is being unjustly deprived of that which it creates and which it never possesses. The Social Democratic platform among other things declares that the middle class is "disappearing in the mill of competition," and that the issue is now between the capitalist class and the working class. Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is the seed of germ of capitalism, of which wage slavery is the most revolting feature. This seed has now brought forth a bitter fruit in the class struggle, but the Social Democratic party, championing the working class, declares its intention to be "the abolition of wage slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution; to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism."

The Money Question.

The declaration of the middle of the roaders for an increase in the quantity of money is the most marked middle class issue in their platform and one with which Socialism has not the slightest sympathy. Under the system of competition for the private ownership of capital, the most that can be claimed by the advocates of an increase in money is that it will have a tendency to enable more individuals to compete and thus temporarily or permanently revive the middle class, and that this revival of the middle class interest would lead to more regular employment and better wages for the working class. Assuming all of this to be true (which it is not) it means the perpetuation of wage slavery. Are the slaves to be blamed for voting against the proposal to perpetuate their slavery? Are men whose consciences revolt against the cruelty of the competitive system to blame because they vote against it? The wage class have never been in thorough sympathy with the increased money advocates. The reason for this, we would state in the following terms:—The wealth of the world amounts in round numbers to 300 billions. Of this amount 12 billions consists of money (including all the silver and gold in the world available for that purpose and all the paper money in use). Which is the working class most interested in, the possession of the property of the world, which it created, or the possession of the money, which is a creation of capitalist laws and which is principally used to exchange property between capitalists that has been stolen from the workers? Ninety-eight per cent of the wealth of the world is owned by the capitalist class. Two per cent is owned by the working class. The chief function of money is as a medium for the exchange of property. The interest of the working class in the money question under capitalism cannot amount to more than the property which it has to exchange with the use of money

Further Comparison of Platforms.

We have given preponderance in this article to the class struggle, because it is the most prominent and uncompromising feature of the Social Democratic platform, while the absence of it from the People's party platform and the silence of their prom-

inent speakers and influential journals on this subject, would seem to indicate that they do not quite grasp the philosophy or comprehend the fundamental economic principles of the Social Democratic party.

The programme of the Populist party for the "public ownership of public utilities" is too vague and indefinite. It would be impossible in this epoch of the social evolution for many men to agree upon just what constitute public utilities. Every day now sees the adoption of some new method in production and distribution by which enterprises formerly conducted through individuals become clothed in the garb of a corporation. While the public are still exploited for private profit, yet the corporation possesses functions which the individual did not and could not exercise. This creature of law applying new methods, more economical and suitable to our civilization than the old; exercises semi-public powers and necessarily bears a relationship to the public that in the very nature of things makes it a public utility, whether it be a street railroad or a milk trust. So far as we can learn from the Populist platform they define public utilities as railroads, telegraphs, telephones and coal mines. This is limited co-operation or partial Socialism. In Germany, this programme, under the name of State Socialism, was adopted by Bismarck to check the growth of democratic Socialism. Under State Socialism, while the people are relieved of the exactions of capitalism in railroads, telegraphs, telephones, etc., they are yet the prey of the private owners of other capital, who increase their exactions, in proportion to the extent of the relief which the people have obtained from the other parasites.

Democratic socialism proposes the relief of the people from the exactions of the capitalist class in every utility, and it was for the very purpose of defining the difference between state socialism and democratic socialism that the German Socialists, followed by the Socialists in other countries, named their party the Social Democratic party. The attitude of the Populist party in favor of the private ownership of land and productive capital; of free coinage of silver and absolute paper money and of an income tax, subject it is true to certain regulations and restrictions; nevertheless at best, can only be regarded as a declaration of conservative individualism as opposed to the existing anarchy of individualism.

The private ownership of land upholds with it the present planless system of production. As the Populist party has a large representation among the farmers, we would ask them, "are you opposed to a scientific and exact plan of national and international system of production, due to the individual ownership and cultivation of land for private profit, together with the introduction of machinery which so greatly multiplies results, under the competitive system, bound to be profitless and ruinous to the farmers. Why should they of all men be opposed to collective ownership of land?"

How many of them to-day own the land they live upon? Why should we struggle through a lifetime to maintain private ownership of a few acres, to leave to our children, subject to all the vicissitudes of the capitalist system, when through the substitution of collective ownership, we believe ourselves in this death grapple with greed, make ourselves and our children the wards and defenders of society, and elevate competition for property to rivalry for praise of men?

Under socialism, private ownership and barter in capital being at an end, money would lose the functions which it possessed under capitalism and would be abolished. The Socialists propose to use non-transferable, labor certificates which each individual would receive in an amount equal to his per capita proportion of the annual national product.

Income Tax. The proposition of the Middle-of-the-Road Populists for a graduated income tax is one with which Socialists have no patience. We regard all such laws as middle class efforts at self-preservation; by forcing the capitalist class to disgorge part of their spoils, while leaving them in control of the capitalist system, by which they can recover and absorb the property of the people.

Conclusion.

In presenting these views before the Populists of the United States who were met in this city on December 29, we are not animated by any kindness or hostility to them as individuals or to their party, as a political factor. On the contrary, there is a revolutionary spirit prevalent in the language (if not in the actual letter of their platform),

CHICAGO SOCIALISTS

Hold a Rousing Municipal Convention.

One Hundred and Sixty Delegates Present and a Full City Ticket Nominated—Great Enthusiasm.

The largest and most important city convention of Socialists ever held in Chicago assembled last Saturday evening at Ulich's hall, 27 N. Clark street. Delegates were present from thirty-three of the thirty-five wards of the city. A municipal platform was prepared and a ticket nominated for the city election, to be held next April. It was decided to go on the ballot in the spring election under the name Socialist party. In a session which lasted from 8 o'clock in the evening until 2 o'clock Sunday morning, questions of vital importance to the Socialist movement in Chicago and in the whole country were discussed and disposed of in an open and intelligent manner. When the business of the convention was finished the comrades went to their homes tired, sleepy, but enthusiastic, and carried with them the conviction that a great good had been done for the cause of socialism.

The convention was held in pursuance of the call issued by the unity conference and mass meeting held Nov. 18 at Brand's Hall, at which Comrade George D. Herron delivered his now famous address on Socialist unity. This call provided for the complete reorganization of the Socialist forces of Chicago independent of any national executive authority. The ward was to be the basis of representation in the convention, each ward being entitled to five delegates. Conventions were held and delegates elected in thirty-three out of the thirty-five wards of the city. The two wards not represented, the third and seventeenth, were handicapped in their organization by the shortness of the interval between the unity mass meeting and the convention. The 155 delegates composing the convention represent an enrolled membership of 922 in the thirty-three ward branches of section Chicago, Socialist party.

The following platform was adopted: "In view of the fact that the municipal elections in Chicago are to take place in April, the Chicago Socialist convention affirms its all of internationalism."

In calling to rally to the support of the cause of socialism, the Socialists wish to emphasize the fact so often reiterated, that until the complete triumph of the working class, which can only find expression in the overthrow of the capitalist system, be accomplished, any temporary palliatives must of necessity be partial and insufficient. Therefore, with this distinct understanding, we present the following immediate measures, which our candidates will enforce according to the amount of power conferred upon them, for the consideration of all workmen who desire to achieve the emancipation of their class by means of the ballot:

1st. The employment of all unemployed citizens by the municipality.

2d. That the municipality shall furnish support and assistance to all workmen upon strike, and aid them with every public power which can be

Statistics show that this amounts to 2 per cent and that is just the amount of interest that a laboring man ought to take in the money question. If the increased money advocates in any party hope to interest the working class in money as a measure of values, believing that the increase in the quantity of measures will increase the wages of the working class, we would like to ask how the worker can be interested in a measure of values that pays him \$2.00 for a day's work in the factory, or nine or ten on the farm and charges his wife \$2.00 for his product at the retail store? Every Socialist understands that the capitalist class can increase the price of its property more rapidly than the government can increase the quantity of money. We might as well try to "whip the devil around the stump" as to beat the capitalist class at their own game.

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used to help them accomplish their object.

3d. That school facilities be made adequate for every child of school age in the city of Chicago, including free books, clothing and meals, and that all children of school age shall be registered, and that there be a strict enforcement of the law prohibiting child labor by the municipality, the register to be in evidence in all cases of violation of the law. That all systems of public education, adequate kindergarten and primary instruction be the first consideration, and that in the higher grades manual training be introduced wherever possible, not as a means of learning a trade, but as a means of education.

4th. That adequate medical and hospital care be provided free of cost by the municipality for the sick and injured.

Pending the accomplishment of our ultimate purpose, we pledge every effort of the Socialist party for the immediate improvement of the condition of labor and also for the securing of its progressive demands.

Workingmen of all countries, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains, and have a world to gain. The committee on resolutions adopted the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That it is the sense of the convention that a delegated conference of the Socialist organizations in Illinois be called at an early date, for the purpose of forming an effective union of the forces of this State.

Resolved, That this convention congratulate the Chicago Federation of Labor on its recent stand in inviting the colored workmen into equal membership with white citizens in the labor unions, and points to the fact that it is only by the union of the workmen of the world without regard to creed or color that their emancipation will come.

Resolved, That, since the Socialists of Chicago stand for a political union of the working classes for the purpose of putting an end to the present oppressive and unjust capitalist system of industry and the bringing about of a co-operative commonwealth, we recognize, nevertheless, the necessity of obtaining for the working class all that is possible under the present system, as long as it shall last; therefore, we endorse the trades union movement and extend our sympathy to the trade

For Treasurer—D. H. Daly.

It was past 2 o'clock when all the business before the convention was disposed of. The delegates departed for their homes, and the most memorable convention of Socialists ever held in Chicago was a matter of history. The comrades have since been busy predicting the possible results. It is argued that, with the splendid new organization, with its active membership gaining day by day, it will be an easy matter for the new Socialist party to gain a place on the official ballot in Chicago in the April election. Every party member is infused with new zeal, and the next few months will undoubtedly be filled with a campaign of propaganda such as Chicago has never before witnessed.—From The Workers' Call.

and in the past record and present attitude of their party that strikes a sympathetic chord in the Social Democratic party. We hope that they will canvass the existing national and international situation, with reference to the application of scientific and humane principles of government. If they decide upon Socialism for their emancipation, they are on common ground with us. They may not unite with us in the Social Democratic party, although if they did we could offer them a party standing for more than their own; just as well if not better equipped for its task, encouraged by large gains throughout the country and marching forward confidently with giant strides toward the historic mission of the working class—the abolition of wage slavery and establishment of the co-operative commonwealth.

WAGE EARNER.

"Trust-Smashing" Item.

Columbus, O., Dec. 21.—The Supreme Court of Ohio late this afternoon dismissed, under the motion of Attorney-General Sheets, made yesterday, the case against the following companies, brought by former Attorney-General Mottet under the anti-trust laws of Ohio: Solar Refining Company, Ohio Oil Company, Buckeye Pipe Line Company, Standard Oil Company of Ohio and the Continental Tobacco Company.

The cases are all dismissed without record and at the cost of the State.

Subscription Cards.

If you want to help MISSOURI SOCIALIST along, go down into your jeans and send us a remittance for a few subscription cards. The yearly cards are fifty cents and the semi-yearly twenty-five cents. You sell the card to some heathen in search of enlightenment, he fills out the card and mails it to us. You are sure to get your money back, as the cards can be sold a year from now and they will still be good.

CURRAN IN ST. LOUIS.

Speaks to Trade Unionists at Druid's Hall.

And Tells Them What the Unions are Doing in the British Kingdom—An Interesting Lecture.

Pete Curran, Organizer of the Gasworkers' Trade Union and Chairman of the General Federation of Trade Unions of Great Britain, addressed a mass meeting for Local St. Louis at Druids' Hall Friday evening, Dec. 21st. As the notice of his coming was very short, little preparation had been made for the meeting. Nevertheless, the attendance was good and all that could be expected under the adverse circumstances. The audience was deeply interested in the speaker's remarks and manifested its approval by frequent bursts of applause.

Comrade Curran devoted the first part of his speech to the trade union movement in England. He said in

reference to the fact that we have been favored in England with an exceptional wave of prosperity during the last four years, and during that time we have been engaged in making concessions from our employers. We expect during the next four years an era of depression and that we will be engaged, not so much in making demands as in retaining the concessions we have already gained. We watch the market and when it is favorable secure a share of the gains and the prosperity for our members. On the other hand, our employers are organized and we expect them, when times are dull and the streets thronged with unemployed men, to attempt to wrest from us the concessions they have previously granted. In anticipation of this, our members pay high dues during prosperous times and when, during hard times, our employers threaten to encroach upon the ground we have acquired, we are able to shake a large bank account in their faces and defy them.

Referring to the recent strike in this city he said: "You have, in times of industrial war, scenes that would not be tolerated in England. We have no

imagine that securing an eight-hour workday is the highest mission of organized labor; for we have come to realize that industrial combination will not be complete until all industry is owned and controlled by the people collectively. The socialist movement and the trade union movement are practically one and the same in England. We have no use for a man pretending to be a revolutionary socialist who is not affiliated with the union of his trade.

"While we were ignoring political action, the capitalists were controlling and using the powers of government to protect and defend their interests. This opened our eyes and we entered the political field. At first we worked with the Consolidated Liberals and succeeded in placing them in power, only to hear them flatterly refuse to fulfill their promises. As a result of our experience with the old political party, we now say: 'A plague upon both your houses; we have weighed you in the balance and found you wanting, and now we will do our own legislative work.' We now have a working class party, which has returned two men to Parliament who, being supported financially by their trade unions, can snap their fingers at the Liberals on one side and the Tories on the other."

"The Independent Labor Party and the Social Democratic Federation work together in the elections. We are greatly hampered by the fact that we must pay \$1300 for filing the nomination of each candidate for Parliament. Furthermore, only householders and single men who pay a certain rent can vote. It is the house that votes, not the man. But in spite of all these obstacles and in spite of the war spirit, we have succeeded in raising our aggregate voting strength from 34,000 in 1895 to 65,000 in 1900.

"Our people have recently gone mad with patriotism, have become blood-thirsty and extremely desirous of killing somebody, without knowing why. If there is any gain from annexation, which is a nice word for stealing, it will go into the pockets of the capitalists and not of the workers. The congress of British trade unions declared by a vote of more than ten to one against the war in South Africa, so it can be said that at least the intelligent workers of England are opposed to it."

Socialists do not claim that St. Louis would be a paradise under a socialist municipal administration, for very little can be done towards abolishing the wage system until the state and national governments are under the control of workmen. But we do promise that every effort, every power and every influence given to the Social Democratic Party by the votes of St. Louis workmen will be used to the very limit first and always in the interests of the working class, and no other.

A FAIR WORLD MAYOR.

A Campaign Pamphlet by Leon Greenbaum.

Author of the Last Days of the Nineteenth Century and Formerly Editor of the Review of Reforms. Lecturer in the Trade Union movement and candidate of the Social Democratic Party for Mayor of St. Louis.

Dedicated to the Working Class who erect homes and live in hovels; make clothing and wear rags; mine coal and freeze; mill flour and starve; make shoes and go barefooted; build railroads and tramp; sell their bodies, brag they're free; own the earth, don't enjoy it; curse effects, don't see causes; create millionaires, destroy themselves; fight capitalists, vote for them; eat, sleep, slave, don't read or think; love capitalism and hate socialism.

How Profits are Made.

Are you a union man or a sympathizer with the working class? Are you opposed to sweatshops, convict labor, child labor, coolie labor, scab labor, low wages and long hours? Are these conditions desired by any class of people, and if so, by whom, and for what reasons? These conditions are not desired by the working class.

They are utterly opposed to these evils, which to-day are the subjects of special investigation and legislation by every civilized country on the globe. It is an old axiom of criminal law that if you would discover a culprit, look for the party who is benefited by a crime. The clothing manufacturers reap the profits from sweatshops. The foundation of the convict labor system is profits made by contractors. Coolie labor means big profits to cigar manufacturers. Child labor is cheaper and therefore more profitable to the employers. Low wages and long hours means a harvest of profits to those who buy labor and a world of misery to those who must sell their labor to live. It is therefore apparent that those who are benefited by the evils herein referred to, are the manufacturers, contractors and employers of all kinds and all individuals with similar interests, who believe in buying labor as cheaply as possible, and selling the products of labor at the highest price that laborers can be forced to pay.

The difference between the price at which labor is bought and the price at which its product is sold is called profits; these profits after accumulating are called capital and the possessor is called a capitalist.

Capitalists are combining to buy labor as cheaply as possible. Laborers are combining to sell their labor for the utmost wages they can obtain. Society is thus divided into two antagonistic economic forces, the capitalist class and the working class. In order to give an example of the economic struggle, let us use a shoe factory to illustrate our point.

Under the machine method, a worker makes a pair of shoes in one hour and if he works ten hours per day, his product is ten pairs of shoes, which would ordinarily retail at \$2.00 per pair. The average shoemaker is not paid over \$2.00 per day, or the price of one pair of shoes.

The capitalist shoe manufacturer wipes the sweat off his brow with a cool \$18.00, which represents the surplus value which the shoemaker has produced above his wages.

Competition is the Death of Wages.

The people in the working class combine into trades unions to maintain wages at an agreed point. Were it not for an understanding of this kind they would compete against each other and he who could live the cheapest would set the level of wages and living for the rest. When the demand for labor is greater than the supply, competition among workers is not so keen. But the natural effect of the class struggle between capitalists and laborers is to make the supply of labor greater than the demand. The reason for this is plain enough. Lawrence Gronlund in his "Co-operative Commonwealth," quotes statistics based on census reports, showing that the working class receive an average of 50 cents in wages for every dollar's worth that they produce. Of course the wage class cannot buy one dollar's worth of products with 50 cents in wages. The result is an accumulation of surplus products, until finally it is called an overproduction. In order to stop the overproduction, capitalists close down industries, thus throwing labor into idleness. Thus the supply of labor becomes greater than the demand. During these periods of idleness, the capitalist can live unconcernedly on his capital, but the laborers must resort to their savings deposits (if they have any), or by mortgaging, pledging or selling their homes or personal effects. The supply of labor being greater than the demand, the purchasing power of laborers is curtailed; the merchants find their business decreasing, and having obligations to meet, go to the small banks to borrow; the small banks go to the large banks and the

latter to the large money lenders on Wall Street, and as this condition accentuates it becomes a run for money or panic. The foundation causes of this panic are not the popular ones, "lack of confidence" or "scarcity of money." The panic is the inevitable effect of the inability of labor to buy what it produces. This position is sustained by Chauncey Depew, who stated recently that the workers of the United States produce annually two billions more than they can consume. Another important factor in making the supply of labor greater than the demand is the introduction of labor saving machinery. Here is a list of some of the recent devices for saving labor and increasing the profits of the capitalist class who own the machines:

A new electrical riveting machine inserts 1200 rivets in 19 hours.

A needle making machine turning but 260 needles a minute.

A new can making device, operated by a child. Sheets of tin are fed in at one end. At the other end 64 cans drop out every minute, 38,000 every day. An expert thinner can make but 500 cans a day. Each child operating one of these machines displaces between 70 and 80 men.

A recently invented and ingenious mechanical device pastes paper labels on 100,000 cans in ten hours. The cans are carried on an endless belt and each one picks up a label as it passes.

The self-feeding platen press prints army, the means by which peoples and 10,000 or more cards an hour, registering to a hair.

Cigar making machines turn out neatly wrapped cigars at the rate of 3000 a day.

The bread making machine by which three persons can mould 20,000 loaves a day.

The glass blowing machine turns out tumblers at 6 cents a hundred against fifty cents by the old hand process.

In the cotton industry, one man and two boys do the work formerly requiring 1000 spinners.

In weaving one man does the work of 50.

In making horseshoes, one man does the work which years ago required the labor of 500 men.

Making nails—one man does the work formerly requiring 1000 men.

Steel industry—three men with the latest machine turn out 250 tons of steel billets in 10 hours. In 1892 it required 115 men to do the same work in the same time.

Boiler making—30 men do the work that but a few years ago required 500 men.

In every branch of industry labor saving inventions are being introduced. The genius of man is directed in this channel because it is most profitable. Inventors all over the world are studying day and night upon inventions to save labor and increase the profits of the capitalist class. There are changes imminent in production and distribution which are so portentous that the working class cannot be too strongly warned in time of the dangers that are coming.

The introduction of liquefied air will dispense with the labor of every miner and fireman in the country. The recent experiments of the Northern Central Railroad in the State of Washington in using the waterfalls of that State to generate electricity for the motive power of its engines, instead of steam, means that at a near future day scab motormen can be transferred from street cars to run locomotives. Electricity is already being generated by water power at Niagara Falls and being supplied for municipal and manufacturing purposes to cities, such as Buffalo, N. Y., Rochester and Elmira. If these experiments continue to be successful how long before the Mississippi will be used to generate power for St. Louis or for the whole Mississippi Valley? Do the engineers, firemen, stokers, etc., realize what this means to them?

The Drainage Canal is being used for this purpose by Chicago. From 1880 to 1890 new machinery was introduced in the United States equivalent to the labor power of 49 million men. Massachusetts has machinery doing as much work as 50 million men. The machinery in the mills of Great Britain is equal to 700 million men, more than all the adult inhabitants of the earth.

Mr. Gladstone stated that by the aid of machinery, the manufacturing power of the world doubles every seven years. Do the wages of the working class double every seven years, and if not why not? The working class have not as much to fear from the pauper labor of Europe and Asia as they have from the competition of labor saving machinery in America. This country contains several millions of tramps. Fifty years ago there were neither tramps or millionaires.

In 84 organized trades in the United States, there are only 29 in which the workers are employed 300 days in the year.

Through trade unionism we can increase wages and reduce the daily hours of toil, but we cannot dictate to the capitalist class how many days in a year they must employ us.

Why We Are Slaves.

"Self preservation is the first law of nature" and competition is the result of this law.

In the beginning of society, competition took on a very crude form, and the strong arm of individual might was right. The courage and strength of one individual caused him to engage single handed two or more opponents. Personal safety is the first condition of the enjoyment of existence. Without

it man's life would be miserable. The provisions of nature for securing personal safety are the instincts of self-preservation, resentment and sympathy; by the last of which men are led to combine to secure their common safety. At an early stage of development men combined for offense and defense, and from this learned that a combination of numbers or organization could secure greater personal safety for each man than any power he could wield alone for himself. The possession of herds and flocks, of women who did the work and of rudimentary implements, was the beginning of the property interest, and the private ownership of property is the seed or germ of capitalism. The first capitalist was a man who owned some cattle, a stone hatchet, a bow and arrows, probably a spear, a few dogs and several women. The possession of this property afforded him a crude sense of security, or economic independence. He had enough to eat and drink without labor on his part. While his women attended to the work, the first capitalist hunted, fought and loafed. Now,adays, every man and woman wants to be a capitalist, and it was likewise so in the hunting age. It was in those days that the principle originated, that "to the victor belong the spoils."

It was not expressed in such polite language in ancient times, but it was applied then practically as it is to-day. The instinct of self-preservation begat competition or warfare between men for the possession of the property which was essential to security against want. He who killed or subdued the largest number of his fellow beings by the might of his arm was the most feared and honored, and as it was customary to rob or enslave the victims, he also became the most powerful.

These men became leaders over those whom they subdued and over whom they exercised the power of life or death. As society progressed from one stage to another the weak became the slaves of the strong and men were divided into two classes, the slaves and the slaveholders. The leaders always considered themselves superior to their subjects, but as the latter were numerically superior, their combination was a latent danger to the rulers, and as this fear of the popular will was a sympathetic feeling, it naturally led to organization among the ruling or property holding class. This organization of society to govern people has been in the hands of the slaveholders, lords and capitalists from the beginning of civilization up to the present time.

The chief use that has been made of all governments by the ruling or property holding class (which we now call the capitalist class), has been to protect themselves in the private ownership and enjoyment of the wealth created by and stolen from the working class. The ancient band, the medieval legion and the modern nations have been conquered and enslaved, have also been afterwards used by the conquerors to hold the conquered in subjection. In ancient times the method by which the working class were fleeced was called slavery; in medieval times it was called serfdom; in modern times it is called wage slavery. But under whatever name the system of robbery exists, the cause and effect are the same. The cause is the private ownership of productive capital. The effect is the appropriation by an idle class of the wealth created by a working class. The competition between nations for the private ownership of productive capital and for the profits from the labor of the working class is causing the capitalist class of England to invade the Transvaal, caused the capitalist class of the United States to seize the Philippine Islands, and is now causing the capitalist class of all the great civilized nations to go into a partnership for the dismemberment of China. The competition between individuals for the private ownership of capital and for the profits from the labor of the working class is the actual cause of 99 per cent of all of the quarrels, disputes, wrangles and tumults between men.

Nearly all the laws in existence have been made for the protection of life and property, and as the judges of the courts are the creatures of the capitalist class, they so construe the laws that all of the force of government is used to protect the life and property of the capitalist class. The working class of the United States consist of 88 per cent of the population, but they own only 14 per cent of the wealth, and this consists principally of household effects and personal property.

The capitalist class, consisting of 12 per cent of the population, own 88 per cent of the wealth. In order to keep the working class in subjection, it is the first importance to make a good showing of force and use it whenever occasion requires; consequently the capitalist class for its own protection has found it necessary to be in complete control of all of the machinery of government, including standing army, militia, police, detectives, sheriffs, deputies, etc. And in order to make the working class completely subservient to force, they must be kept in ignorance; so the capitalist class has used its wealth and power to buy up, influence or control all the great avenues of intelligence and instruction and especially the two great political parties, the Republican party and the Democratic party. In accordance with a fixed policy, the capitalist class uses its power of disseminating intelligence and morals, to debauch morals and destroy intelligence, in order to create distrust, discord and division among the working class. The purpose of this is to cause the working class to fight each other and prevent them from combining into a great class conscious political organization, which would naturally have for its object the capture of government, confiscation of private ownership of productive capital and the substitution therefor of public ownership and operation.

[Concluded next week.]

Prof. Charles B. Spahr says in his book "America's Working People": "There is no doubt about the facts—American weavers turn out nearly twice as much work per day as their English competitors, and their wage per piece is absolutely a little less."

VOTE IN MISSOURI.

The Social Democratic Vote Almost Quadrupled in Two Years.

The official returns have been received from the Secretary of State showing the vote by counties. The S. D. P. received votes in every county in Missouri except St. Genevieve. Missouri socialists may justly feel proud of the splendid increase resulting from their work during the last two years.

The fact that the vote is a straight vote for the whole ticket is very gratifying. The vote for Governor, in spite of the Republican claim that their candidate was a trade unionist, was only 604 below that for President, while the other candidates all received within 177 votes of that received by Debs and Harriman. The total vote in the state of the minor parties is as follows:

FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT.

Barker and Donnelly, Prog. Peop. 4244
Woolley and Metcalf, Pro. 5965
Debs and Harriman, Soc. Dem. 6181
Malloney and Rommel, Soc. Lab. 1294

GOVERNOR.

James H. Hillis, Prog. Peop. 4356
Charles E. Stokes, Pro. 5195
Caleb Liscomb, Soc. Dem. 5577
Lewis C. Fry, Soc. Lab. 1213

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR.

A. Neff, Prog. Peop. 4261
Simpson Ely, Pro. 5685
Leon Greenbaum, Soc. Dem. 6048
J. P. Graber, Soc. Lab. 1295

SECRETARY OF STATE.

Bernard Flinn, Prog. Peop. 4263
E. Brizide H. Benham, Pro. 5559
Wm. H. Stripe, Soc. Dem. 6114
Edw. Heitzig, Soc. Lab. 1322

STATE AUDITOR.

Benj. F. Allen, Prog. Peop. 4385
Orange J. Hill, Pro. 5573
L. M. Ribeson, Soc. Dem. 6123
Chas. Wimperman, Soc. Lab. 1291

STATE TREASURER.

DeWitt C. Fuller, Prog. Peop. 4264
Samuel S. Allen, Pro. 5591
Wm. M. Brandt, Soc. Dem. 6128
H. M. Graber, Soc. Lab. 1302

ATTORNEY GENERAL.

Zach. Taylor, Prog. Peop. 4296
Lewis G. Adams, Pro. 5676
John F. Delaney, Soc. Dem. 6146

RAILROAD AND WAREHOUSE COMMISSIONER.

Caspar Miller, Prog. Peop. 4249
Wm. W. Taylor, Pro. 5575
Thos. Hassler, Soc. Dem. 6029
W. J. Carten, Soc. Lab. 1276

JUDGE OF SUPREME COURT.

John M. Voris, Prog. Peop. 4255
Ray Bell, Pro. 5525
Albert E. Sanderson, Soc. Dem. 6004

VOTE FOR CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATES.

Fifth District—
Cowherd, Dem. 27,644
Brown, Rep. 24,367
Marfording, Soc. Dem. 476
Tenth District—
Boite, Dem. 18,488
Barthold, Rep. 24,252
Putnam, Soc. Dem. 1,693
Ernst, Soc. Lab. 366

Lincoln	10	55	19	9
Linn	47	40	11	2
Livingston	7194	125	29	2
McDonald	18	33	21	4
Madison	31	68	133	14
Madison	6	15	6	4
Marion	11	72	21	5
Merced	9	41	10	2
Miller	32	22	5	2
Mississippi	1	12	2	3
Moniteau	121	32	23	13
Monroe	23	23	17	3
Monterey	31	43	16	2
Morgan	31	15	1	1
New Madrid	1	3	1	1
Newton	31	148	23	7
Nowaday	24	112	53	29
Oregon	13	5	30	2
Osage	1	50	8	1
Ozark	20	16	5	2
Pemissot	1	4	2	4
Perry	1	16	15	3
Pettis	6	65	103	6
Phelps	47	18	12	3
Pike	5	35	12	1
Platte	3	20	4	1
Polk	80	43	17	2
Pulaski	2	7	2	2
Putnam	28	33	16	2
Ralls	6	18	4	5
Randolph	38	51	26	8
Ray	15	46	20	5
Reynolds	3	3	3	3
Ripley	28	31	2	1
St. Charles	2	14	24	4
St. Clair	128	75	21	2
St. Francois	5	29	17	3
St. Genevieve	9	5	1	1
St. Louis	4	69	101	8
Saline	33	58	29	1
Schuyler	39	65	2	1
Scotland	27	50	12	1
Scott	4	14	14	1
Shannon	15	8	15	2
Shelby	10	57	5	1
Stoddard	29	30	32	13
Stone	34	7	15	4
Sullivan	3	58	17	4
Taney	4	10	16	2
Texas	26	14	9	2
Vernon	26	118	60	14
Warren	14	15	20	7
Washington	12	3	1	3
Wayne	2	19	13	11
Webster	79	40	16	6
Worth	49	34	8	2
Wright	17	27	11	6
St. Louis City	152	327	275	817

Totals 4244 6965 6181 1294 1645
Total vote—683,698.
Total Socialist vote in 1900—7475.
Total Socialist vote in 1898—2708.

THE VOTE IN ST. LOUIS.

Elector, Kuntz	S.D.P.	2722	817
Elector, Morrison	S.D.P.	2750	822
Elector, Colman	S.D.P.	2775	827
Governor, Lipscomb	S.D.P.	2436	730
Lieut. Gov., Greenbaum	S.D.P.	2818	861
Secy. of State, Stripe	S.D.P.	2845	824
State Auditor, Richeson	S.D.P.	2856	796
State Treasurer, Brandt	S.D.P.	2873	804
Atty. General, Delaney	S.D.P.	2872	804
R. and W. Com., Hassler	S.D.P.	2786	785
Judge Sup. Ct., Sanderson	S.D.P.	2746	776
Judge Cir. Ct., Gelbart	S.D.P.	2845	804
Judge Cir. Ct., Eckart	S.D.P.	3004	853
Sheriff, Tomson	S.D.P.	2888	827
Cir. Atty., E. Val. Putnam	S.D.P.	2897	836
Asst. C. Atty., Hildebrand	S.D.P.	2916	845
Coroner, Dr. Davis	S.D.P.	2930	850
Pub. Administrator, Stoll	S.D.P.	2885	827

THE VOTE IN ST. LOUIS BY WARDS.

1st Ward	S.D.P.	111	35
2d Ward	S.D.P.	122	50
3d Ward	S.D.P.	53	18
4th Ward	S.D.P.	36	10
5th Ward	S.D.P.	34	11
6th Ward	S.D.P.	88	23
7th Ward	S.D.P.	164	52
8th Ward	S.D.P.	252	79
9th Ward	S.D.P.	241	76
10th Ward	S.D.P.	345	70
11th Ward	S.D.P.	125	55
12th Ward	S.D.P.	206	48
13th Ward	S.D.P.	81	17
14th Ward	S.D.P.	101	11
15th Ward	S.D.P.	57	17
16th Ward	S.D.P.	44	19
17th Ward	S.D.P.	57	15
18th Ward	S.D.P.	110	42
19th Ward	S.D.P.	119	42
20th Ward	S.D.P.	119	42
21st Ward	S.D.P.	26	11
22nd Ward	S.D.P.	18	2
23rd Ward	S.D.P.	69	20
24th Ward	S.D.P.	65	20
25th Ward	S.D.P.	22	13
26th Ward	S.D.P.	37	13
27th Ward	S.D.P.	49	11
28th Ward	S.D.P.	27	13

Total 2775 817
The Social Democratic Party cast votes in 274 out of 333 precincts in St. Louis. Now for the next battle!

NOBLE SELF-DENIAL.

Now given daily feasted.
And, was gorgeously arrayed,
Not at all because he liked it,
But because 'twas good for trade.
That the people might have calico.
He clothed himself in silk.
And surfeited himself on cream.
That they might have the milk.
He fed five hundred servants.
That the poor might not lack bread.
And had his vessels made of gold.
That they might have more lead.
And e'en to show his sympathy
With the deserving poor,
He did no useful work himself,
That they might do the more.

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

IN HANNA'S LAND.

Erie, Pa. Socialists are engaged in a municipal campaign. Local Philadelphia has nominated its ticket for the February municipal election. Chicago ward branches of the party are experiencing a remarkable growth in membership. The four delegates of the Miners' union at the A. F. of L. convention cast 1,610 votes, about one-fifth of the vote on roll call.

Comrade Walter Thomas Mills opened a night school of political economy in the Schiffer Building, Chicago, on December 13th. 250 pupils attended the opening lecture.

A sympathetic strike of all labor bodies in Texas is threatened in order to assist the electrical workers in their strike against the Southwestern Telephone Co. The strike is to include all communities with which the Telephone company is identified. The matter has been referred to the meeting of the State Federation, which assemblies at San Antonio on January 14th.

Six hundred and eighty-eight strikes were officially noticed during the fiscal year, involving 213,190 members. Of this number 455 were won, 74 compromised, 106 lost and 53 pending. The number of persons benefited were 217,493, and 11,257 did not receive a substantial benefit.

The Chicago Federation of Labor has issued an appeal to the negroes to join the trade unions. The class struggle knows no color line. It is employed against employers—wage slaves against masters. All differences and prejudices are being obliterated and the working class is organizing itself into one compact body to wage war on its oppressors.

The labor organizations of Sparta, Ill. have invited Comrade Leon Greenbaum to deliver a lecture in that city on Friday, January 4th, 1901. His subject will be "Trade Unionism in the Past, Present and Future." Comrade Greenbaum spoke at Grand Tower, Ill., on the 20th of December and at Nashville on the 21st.

A canvass of the cotton mill operatives in Augusta shows there are employed 449 children under 12 years of age, and of this number only 116 can read and write. This indicates that about 75 per cent of the white children of Georgia in the city cotton mills districts are, under present conditions, condemned to lives of total ignorance.—Ex.

THE CENTRAL TRADES AND LABOR UNION.

The Central Trades and Labor Union elected the following officers for the ensuing term, at its regular meeting, Sunday, Dec. 23: President McArthur Johnson, Secretary David Kroyling and Financial Secretary J. J. Hund were all re-elected. The new first vice president is R. DuBarry, of the Woodworkers' Union; treasurer, S. Levy, of the Cigar Packers' Union; Sergeant-at-arms, William Schilling, of the Clearmakers' Union, and the trustees, William Barton, Charles Roloff and George Nuernberger. The fraternal delegates to the Building Trades Council are Owen Lee, Louis Johnson and J. T. Nettie.

A communication was read from the Glassblowers' No. 44, enclosing a list of names preferred by Glassblowers' No. 5 against four cigarmaker delegates. The charges stated that the four delegates mentioned had said on the floor of the Central body that any unionist who did not vote the Social Democratic ticket was a scab. The meeting laughed at the charges and the cigarmakers delegates declared that, while they had not said that a unionist who failed to vote the S. D. P. ticket was a scab in the sense that the term is used against a man who takes a striker's place, they did say, and reiterated it, that any man who was a union man 364 days in the year and voted any other than a socialist ticket on the 365th day was scabbing on himself without knowing it. Strong resolutions were passed condemning the action of the Glassblowers' Union.

OFFICIAL VOTE FOR PRESIDENT.

State	Pop.	P.	D.	R.
Alabama	1,467	379		

WHO WILL DO THE DIRTY WORK

The following article by Charlotte Perkins Stetson, published in the New Nation two years ago, will bear reproduction as it effectually disposes of one of the quibbles resorted to by opponents of socialism.

There is a perennial inquiry among individualists as to who is going to do the dirty work under a Socialist regime.

Before answering it again—and it needs to be answered as long as it is asked—let us look at the world's present attitude regarding its most disagreeable tasks. It is not a conscious attitude; people do not deliberately claim to hold it, but it is there just the same, however unconsciously.

Their position is this: Human comfort and progress require the performance of various functions in themselves disagreeable. No man will do these things even for himself if he can help it, and no man will do them for others save under the pressure of dire necessity.

Socialism allows freedom of choice in the selection of tasks, and no man would choose to do disagreeable things. Therefore Socialism would have to use some arbitrary force to compel people to perform the necessary but offensive tasks; and such compulsion is against the principles of individual liberty. Therefore we object to Socialism.

There is room for such argument here. It requires to be proved, first, how far these specified tasks are essentially necessary; second, how far they are essentially disagreeable; third, if it is finally true that no man will do these things for himself, or for others, unless compelled to.

Then, if all these things were shown to be as claimed by the individualist, it again remains to be proved, taking him on his own ground entirely, whether the supposed arbitrary force to be exercised under Socialism would be any more subversive to personal liberty than the force of necessity which now, by their own statement, all that drives men to do these things.

What more of personal liberty is there in being a cleaner of streets or a layer of drains on pain of death by starvation, than in being assigned such work by governmental order and forced to it under civil penalties?

Even on this last step of the unproven argument, it can not be shown that such legal pressure is harder to bear or more injurious in its effects than the bitter pressure of approaching starvation. Indeed, under such conditions it would seem more intelligent and just to compel the performance of such duties by selected persons proven unfit for other work, or as a species of penal servitude for misbehavior in other lines.

But such a condition need not be seriously dwelt upon, because the previous steps in this individualist argument are not established and cannot be. First, as to the necessity of disagreeable work. Much of the worst part and the unpleasant labor of the world could be dispensed with even now, and more being outgrown each year, as for instance, in kitchen work—always held as a last resource of helpless poverty (and as a proper sphere for women).

The growing specialization of household labor is rapidly eliminating the private kitchen, and will reduce that field of labor not only in extent but in the degree of disagreeableness involved. Which brings us to the second question, as to the essential amount of unpleasantness involved in a given field of labor. The chemist, the engineer, the architect, the plumber, are steadily encroaching upon the area of dirty work, reducing its amount and improving its nature. Science, mechanics, and art will make life simple and clean as fast as we let them; and nature, as we learn to understand her better, will be a sure basis for all this further development.

Third, as to the unwillingness of the individual to do these things. As men rise in the scale of intelligence and good breeding they are more and more willing to do what is necessary and right, whether they personally like it or not. On all calls for volunteer service, of difficult, dangerous, and unpleasant nature, it is the best men who are the most willing. A wider range of risks, a greater self control, and the habit of consideration for others makes the lady and the gentleman far more able and more willing to do things they do not like than are the underbred.

In the beautiful growth of human character which Socialism ensures we shall raise the standard of willingness and ability to do what is disagreeable on the one hand as fast as science and invention lower the standard of disagreeableness on the other. Under socialism, progress the problem works itself out on natural lines, answers itself, slowly and quietly. One of the factors in the case which Socialism will soonest change is the element of unwillingness to do these things for other people. A man will proudly tinker and mend in his own home what he would dislike to do for hire for a stranger; he will mow his own lawn with pleasure; he will care for his own horse with no sense of thereby becoming a hostler. It is this feeling which keeps women content to do their own kitchen work who would suffer keen shame in doing some one's else.

In common ownership we find the same state of mind. The ladies of a church will wash the church dishes after an entertainment; the men who camp together will take turns in cooking; collective interest on terms of perfect equality gives the same content in services as does personal interest.

The Socialist child will grow up in an atmosphere of common ownership. He will feel the city streets are his, as much as his father's lawn. The sense of common ownership will be strong and practical; and this alone will go far to minimize the difficulties of this problem.

As to the large field of labor, which is not disagreeable in itself, but grown so by ultra-specialization and bad surrounding conditions, that will rise in its quality through several changes. Less

economic pressure will reduce somewhat the degree of specialization. Short hours in proportion to the unpleasantness of the task will be another factor. And the uplifting and beautifying of the conditions of the environment, both material and social, will lift the odium from all such labors.

A strong, healthy, happy, well-bred man or woman can do an uninteresting and wearisome thing for a reasonable length of time without injury if they understand that it is necessary to be done for our common good, and at the conditions of time, place and circumstance are what they should be.

Shorten the hours of what is wocal to do; improve the work, improve the conditions, improve the people—this is how Socialism will answer the question of who will do our dirty work."

The Red Flag

From the remotest antiquity the banner of the "ancient" classes was white, or white and azure. The "classes" affected white as significant of their pure descent from divine ancestors. Red, on the other hand, was the color of the robes worn by Ceres and Minerva, the divinities most favorable to industry. Ceres befriended the husbandmen, while Minerva took charge of mechanics and inventors.

What more natural, then, than adhere to the brilliant hue preferred by these beneficent goddesses? Flag, flagma, or flamma, is a blazing fire. Hence the flag of labor is coeval with sun worship. It has come down through the ages with a persistence that is marvelous, and all its association with blood and rapine are mere malevolent inventions of the "classes." The crimson vexillum became a war banner only when the workers began to assume military importance, and frequently was it used by their cunning generals in order to stimulate them to deeds of desperate valor in the field. They would in shape to toss it into the enemy's camp or line of battle, and then urge their men not to allow a symbol so dear to them to be captured.

Eventually crimson became so popular a hue in apparel that the "classes" resolved to appropriate it to themselves. They made it a crime for anyone but themselves to wear it, and thus by cutting off the demand, they succeeded in ruining the entire dyeing trade of Phœnicia, an industry of immemorial antiquity and rare excellence. The very secret of the exquisite Tyrian crimson hues was lost, and has never been recovered. The splendid banner borne by the Social Democrats at the great Eight-Hour Day Demonstration in Hyde Park is, perhaps, as near an approach to the ancient labor banner as it was possible to come.

From "Annals of toil," by J. Morrison

IN OTHER LANDS

Socialists have won several seats in the Württemberg Landtag.

76.7 per cent of the men in Denmark and 21.7 per cent of the women are trade unionists.

The Socialist deputies in Belgium have introduced a bill to pension miners at the age of fifty.

Several municipal Socialist councillors were elected in the second ballots at Stettin, Germany.

2,500,000 wage workers of England out of a possible eight million are organized into trade unions.

Besides the two Socialists, Hardie and Bell, there are nine trade unionists in the British Parliament.

Socialists have elected five members to the municipal council at Leipzig, Germany. They received 7,529 votes.

A Socialist has been elected a member of the Landtag of Saxo-Gotha. There are now nine Socialists in that body.

The unions of plumbers and painters in Honolulu have gained the eight-hour workday. The carpenters have organized and will demand the eight-hour day.

A grand bazaar and fancy fair was held in London for two days, December 26 and 27, for the benefit of the Social Democratic Federation. It is expected that nearly \$5,000 will be realized from the affair.

30,000 dock laborers in Antwerp are out on strike. The coal men have joined them and they expect success as good. Several serious riots have occurred and a number of strikers were wounded.

The strike inaugurated in Genoa on account of the closing of the Bureau of Labor Unions by the Prefect of Police has been called off on the announcement that the Government has consented to the reconstruction of the bureau.

Social Democrats had a rousing meeting at Manchester, England, on December 6th. Incidentally they took up a collection to the tune of \$45. It is said that the collection is never omitted from the programme at a meeting of English Socialists. We might take a pointer from that. If we want socialism we will have to foot the bills.

The following have been appointed by their respective countries members of the International Socialist Committee, which is to meet at Brussels, by Germany, Auer and Singer; by France, Jaures and Vallant; by England, Hyndman and Quelch; by Belgium, Anseele and Vandervelde; by Austria, Poland, Boleslas, Jedrowski and Wojnarowska; by Italy, Ferri and Turati. The other countries have not yet chosen their representatives.

Help Missouri Socialist along by purchasing five dollars' worth of subscription cards. Each card is good for one subscription and can be filled out and sent in at any time during the twentieth century.

MUNICIPAL TICKET

Social Democratic Party of St. Louis.

For Mayor..... Leon Greenbaum
For Comptroller..... Wm. M. Brandt
For Auditor..... M. Ballard Dunn
For Treasurer..... Leonhard Stoll
For Register..... C. H. Davis
For Collector..... John Mueller
For Inspector of Weights and Measures..... Julius Rudolph

For President of Board of Assessors..... G. A. Hoehn
For President of Board of Public Improvements..... Bernard McCaffery
For President of the City Council..... John Zach

For Members of the City Council:
WM. HAGER — H. STRUCKHOFF,
S. G. GELBART, H. P. NELSON,
PHIL MUELLER, JOHN GOEJFKEER

For Members of the Board of Education:
HENRY MAACK,
GEORGE GRUND,
DR. L. H. DAVIS,
H. J. STEIGERWALT.

Municipal Platform.

Adopted December 2d, 1900.

The Social Democratic party of St. Louis, in convention assembled, reaffirms its allegiance to the revolutionary principles of International Socialism and declares the supreme political issue in America to-day to be the contest between the working class and the capitalist class for the possession of the power of government. The party affirms steadfast purpose to use those powers, once achieved, to destroy wage slavery, abolish the institution of private property in the means of production, and establish the Co-operative Commonwealth.

In the United States, as in all other civilized countries, the natural order of economic development has separated society into two antagonistic classes—the capitalists, a comparatively small class, the possessors of all the modern means of production and distribution (land, mines, machinery and means of transportation and communication); and the large and ever-increasing class of wage-workers possessing no means of production.

The evil effects of the private ownership and operation of the means of production and distribution are intensified by the recurring industrial crises continually rendering the existence of the greater part of the population more precarious and uncertain, which amply proves that the modern means of production have outgrown the existing social order based on production for profit.

Human energy and natural resources are wasted for individual gain. Ignorance is fostered that wage slavery may be perpetuated. Science and invention are perverted to the exploitation of men and children. The lives and liberties of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit. Wars are fomented between nations; indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged; the destruction of whole races is sanctioned in order that the capitalist class may extend its commercial dominion abroad, and enhance its supremacy at home.

The notorious corruption and inefficiency so prevalent in the administration of this and other large cities are the logical fruit of capitalism. The working class has no interest in common with what are designated "Business Men's" tickets or "Good Government" parties. They should not be deluded by promises of clean streets while their wives and children are in hunger and want.

The introduction of a new and higher order of society is the historic mission of the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflict, are interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the means of production. We, therefore, charge that in this country the Democratic, Republican and all other parties which do not stand for

THE MISSOURI "GANG."

Comrade Lark in turns in subs in bunches. The cigarmakers are all good workers.

Kansas City Local is getting in some good work. It holds its regular election of officers on January 3d.

The 8th, 9th and 10th Ward Branches are arranging for a joint festival to take place some time in February.

Comrade Kober has set out to get a hundred subscribers to Missouri Socialist. He has already passed the quarter post.

Extra copies of Missouri Socialist can be had for fifty cents per hundred when desired for free distribution, if ordered before going to press.

Local Pleasant Hill meets every second and fourth Monday, 8 p. m., in Township Hall. Has fifteen members and is on the war path.

Parties interested in organizing a Socialist drum and bugle corps will please communicate with Comrade E. D. Emme, 3734 Iowa av.

Comrade Lipscomb orders twenty six-months cards. They're mighty handy. Try a bunch. Fifty cents for yearlies, twenty-five cents for semi-yearlies.

Local Webb City meets every Sunday, 2 p. m., in the Police Court room. The Jasper county Socialists are good rustlers. Notice their vote. Webb City has sixteen members now.

Sixteen months ago the Social Democratic party of Missouri, had about seventy-five members in St. Louis; a small handful in Kansas City, and no

the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production are alike the tools of the capitalist class.

The working class cannot, however, act as a class in its struggle against the collective power of the capitalist class except by constituting itself into a political party, distinct and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied class.

We, therefore, call upon the wage-workers of St. Louis, without distinction of color, race or sex, 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 waging war upon the exploiting class, until the system of wage slavery shall be abolished and the co-operative commonwealth shall be established.

While we recognize that it is not in the power of the municipality to restore to the people all of their rights, we are fully conscious that the municipality can, and should place at the disposal of the people and of civilization every power that it possesses, to the end that no further injustice be done, and that mankind may be permitted to continue to progress to a greater and nobler life; therefore we demand

1. Such amendments to the city charter as are necessary to enable the people to effect a municipal programme in accordance with the principles of the Social Democratic Party.

2. Adoption of the principles of the initiative and referendum and proportional representation. All officers to be subject to recall by their constituents.

3. Public ownership and operation of street railways and gas and electric light plants.

4. Public construction, ownership and operation of all subways and underground conduits and all overhead wires to be removed and placed therein.

5. Public ownership and operation of brick yards, stone yards and asphalt plants.

6. Public ownership and operation of Banks and Merchants' bridges or the erection of a free municipal bridge across the Mississippi River.

7. Substitution of public ownership and operation for private ownership wherever feasible through the exercise of municipal power.

8. Construction and operation of free municipal hospitals, foundlings and orphan's homes, homes for abandoned women, a modern insane asylum adequate to the needs of St. Louis, and homes for the aged, crippled and disabled poor.

9. Establishment and maintenance of modern public lodging houses as resting places for the poor instead of police stations.

10. Erection of a suitable building for the Public Library.

11. Abolition of the contract system on all public work. Street sprinkling, sweeping, removal of garbage, dead animals, etc., to be performed by the city with its own outfits and by its own employees.

12. Classified civil service; all appointments and promotions to be based upon merit and not for political reasons.

13. On all municipal work an eight-hour workday, with a minimum wage of two dollars per day, and the union scale of wages and union conditions to govern on all public work.

All the powers and influence of the municipal administration to be used in support of the principles of organized labor.

14. The inauguration of great public works by the city whenever necessary to provide a livelihood for unemployed workmen.

15. Prohibition of child labor under seventeen years; compulsory education; the municipality to furnish free books, meals and clothing when necessary.

16. Establishment of a Municipal Labor Bureau.

17. Inspection of factories and workshops with reference to health and safety of the workers. Suppression of the so-called sweating system.

18. Rigid system of food, milk and dairy inspection.

Establishment and maintenance of public bath houses.

Public ownership and operation of laundries.

organization at any other point: Now it has about 210 members in St. Louis, 110 in Kansas City, 90 in Sedalia, and organizations at twenty-four other points in the State. The total membership in Missouri, conservatively estimated, is now seven hundred.

Organize a local in your town. It is only by organization that we can overthrow capitalism.

Local Harrisonville, reports ten new members. The Local has only been in existence three months.

Local Milan, of Sullivan County, is distributing literature. It has ten very active workers. H. D. Morrison is secretary.

Don't be discouraged by factional disputes. We cannot expect smooth sailing all the time. Just go ahead making converts to Socialism and all the powers that be will not be able to stop the rising tide.

We were favored with a call this week from our friend, James Peds Howe, who has traveled over several States recently. He reports that Socialism is coming to the front in all quarters.

Comrade Eckart turned in a handsome list to begin with. So did Comrade Nelson. Comrade Scott took out ten yearly cards on the 15th inst, and four days later he wanted a few more. It's easy to sell them.

The Central Branch, which was composed of members from several wards, has been dissolved and its members are now organizing into separate ward branches; as it is believed more effective propaganda work can be done in this way.

Liebkecht on the Class War.

Why for poverty, enthusiasm for liberty and equality, the recognition of social injustice and the wish to end it, is not Socialism. The denunciation of riches, the appreciation of poverty, such as we find in Christianity and other religions, is not Socialism. Primitive Communism, as it existed before the institution of private property and as it has loomed up before earnest and enthusiastic men in all periods and among all peoples as their goal, is not Socialism. The forceful equality-making of the followers of Babeuf, is not Socialism.

In all these the real basis of capitalist society with its class antagonisms, is lacking. Modern Socialism is the offspring of the capitalist society, and of its class antagonisms. Failing these it cannot exist. Socialism and Ethics are two different things. That must be thoroughly understood.

Whoever regards Socialism in the sentimental sense of philanthropic striving for equality, without having a firm grasp of the essence of capitalist society, is no Socialist in the sense of the class war, without which modern Socialism is inconceivable. Whoever has arrived at the full consciousness of the essence of capitalist society and the foundation of modern Socialism knows well that a social movement which quits this ground may be anything it pleases to call itself, but is not Socialism.

This class war is the main point of attack in the fight which capitalist political economy carries on against Socialism. That political economy denies the existence of the class war, and wishes to "make" the workers' movement into a section of the movement of the capitalist parties—Social Democracy thus becoming a shade of middle-class democracy. All the efforts of capitalist political economy and political thought are directed against the class character of the modern working-class movement.

Our party, grown up as it has out of the class war, knows its existence as a party on that class war. Through and by this class war it is unconquerable; without it we are lost, because we have lost the roots of our strength. The man who loses sight of that and considers that the class war is a lost position, and that class antagonisms are being gradually obliterated, that man stands on the footing of the capitalist conception of society.

The internationality of Socialism is a fact which daily makes itself more obvious and effective. We Socialists are a nation of our own—one and the same international nation in all countries of the world. And the capitalists, with their tools, agents and dupes, are also an international nation, so that we can truly say: There are to-day only two nations in all countries, the one fighting, the other in the great class war, which is the new revolution—in that class war which will be fought on the one side by the proletariat championing Socialism, on the other side by the bourgeoisie, championing capitalism.

HOW TO ORGANIZE LOCALS.

1. Any number of persons can organize themselves into a Local providing they accept the platform and constitution of the party and sever absolutely all relations with all other political parties.

2. The officers to be elected are: a) Organizer or Business Agent. b) Recording and Corresponding Secretary.

c) Financial Secretary. d) Treasurer. e) Literature Agent. f) A Chairman at each meeting.

3. Order of business: a) Reading of the minutes. b) Admission of new members. c) Correspondence. d) Financial report. e) Report of Organizer or Business Agent. f) Reports of Committees. g) Unfinished business. h) New business.

4. The amount of monthly dues shall be fixed by the Local. A monthly tax of 10 cents for each member shall be paid to the National Executive Committee or to the State Committee.

5. A full report of the first meeting and a list of all members together with 10 cents for each member shall be sent in, upon which a charter will be granted.

6. Due stamps are supplied by the National Executive Committee at the rate of 10 cents each; one of these stamps shall be affixed to each member's card upon the payment of each month's dues as fixed by the Local, and shall serve as receipts for the payment of dues.

7. Each Local shall hold a business meeting at least once a month, as well as semi-monthly meetings for the discussion of political and economic questions.

8. Semi-annual reports of the membership and the financial condition of each local, as well as upon the progress made by the Party and its prospects in the locality, shall be sent regularly to the National Secretary.

9. Any person living in a city or locality where no Local exists, may apply directly to the National Secretary for admission to the Party, enclosing

DIRECTORY

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY:

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, Room 34, Theatre Building, Court Square, Springfield, Mass., Wm. Butscher, Nat'l Sec'y.

MISSOURI STATE COMMITTEE—Chairman, Geo. H. Turner, 307 Whitney Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.; Secretary, A. L. Stone, Room 7, 22 N. 4th St., St. Louis, Mo.

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

LOCAL, ST. LOUIS, meets every Friday, 8 p. m., at 312 N. 12th Street. Membership dues, 25 cents per month and 10 cents additional at beginning of each quarter. Each member receives a weekly paper.

ST. LOUIS WARD BRANCHES.

2ND WARD BRANCH—Sec. H. J. Steigerwalt, 1112 Chambers St.

6TH WARD BRANCH—Meets every 2d Tuesday of the month, 8 p. m., at 1631 S. 12th St. Sec. Chas. Specht, Room 7, 22 N. 4th St.

7TH AND 8TH WARD BRANCH—Meets 1st and 3d Wednesdays at Dewey Hall, 2301 S. Broadway. Sec. Fred Vierling, 1908 S. 3d St.

9TH WARD BRANCH meets 2d and 4th Tuesdays, 8 p. m., at 13th and Wyoming Sts. Sec. L. Stoll, 3543 Salena St.

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

12TH WARD BRANCH meets 3d Sunday of each month, 2:30 p. m., at National Hall, Dolman and Allen Av. Sec.—Wm. E. Eckart, 1211A Armstrong Av.

22ND WARD BRANCH meets every Monday, 8 p. m., at 2306 Locust Ct. Sec.—Wm. J. Hager, 2206 Locust.

KANSAS CITY CENTRAL COMMITTEE meets every Thursday night at 307 Whitney Building. Sec. J. A. Clarke, 307 Whitney Bldg. Secretaries will please send prompt notice of changes and corrections.

one month's dues, and will be enrolled as a member-at-large.

10. In regard to pamphlets, leaflets, platforms, and other information, address the National Secretary, William Butscher, Theatre Bldg., Court Square, Springfield, Mass.

Steps are being taken to establish a class in economics in St. Louis. It is probable a lecturer of national prominence will be secured for a series of ten or twenty lectures. Every Socialist will find it interesting. Communicate with L. E. Hildebrand, 4820 Suburban rd.

Local Aurora, Lawrence County, reports that it now has twelve members and that a full city ticket will be nominated in the near future for the spring election.

This is your paper! Get out and work for it. Do you expect Socialism to come without effort on your part?

Notice to Members. To members of Local, St. Louis: You are hereby notified that the regular semi-annual election of officers will occur on Friday evening, January 4th, at 312 North Twelfth street. All members are requested to attend.

E. VAL PUTNAM, Secretary.

BENTLEY'S

ST. LOUISIANA

St. Louis Union Made 5c Cigar.

FIRST ANNUAL FESTIVAL OF THE Social Democratic Women's Club OF ST. LOUIS.

Sunday Evening, January 27th, 1901. at the Upper Hall of the

South St. Louis Turner Hall, Cor. Tenth and Carroll Streets.

Coucert, Raffle, Songs by the Workingmen's Singing Societies, Musical Entertainment, Recitations, Hop, &c.

Doors open at 7 o'clock. Commencement 7:30 P.M. TICKETS 10 Cts A Person. Children Free.