

MISSOURI SOCIALIST.

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

Volume I.

St. Louis, Mo., Saturday, February 23, 1901.

Number 8.

Mr. Johnston Must Resign

Honor of the Central Trades and Labor Union is at Stake.

Having Condemned Capitalist Parties, it Cannot Afford to Allow the Words "President C. T. & L. U." to Follow the Name of a Democratic Candidate.

On the Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis consistently allow a candidate of a capitalist party to continue to act as its president and to represent it in its struggles for the emancipation of the workers?

Can an organization that fights the capitalist class in the economic field allow its officers to associate and co-operate with the same enemy in the political field?

These are questions which the delegates of the Central body must discuss and decide at its next meeting. Let them look the situation squarely in the face.

Attitude of C. T. & L. U.

The platform of the Central Labor Union says: "The organization aims to secure the emancipation of the laborer from the bonds of wage-slavery."

This places the organization in direct opposition to any and all capitalist parties.

Section 3 of Article VI of its constitution says: "This C. T. and L. U. shall not endorse or support in any manner either any candidate of either, as there is, and candidate of either as there is, and can be, no issue between them which concerns labor's interest. And we caution all friends of labor, that any party which has outlived the original principle on which it was founded, necessarily takes sides on new issues only as far as compelled to do so, and then only on policy and to secure votes."

What will be thought of the C. T. and L. U. if it continues in office a president who does not heed the warning set forth in its constitution? On September 3, 1900 the C. T. and L. U. adopted resolutions, of which the following are extracts:

"In view of these terrible conditions, and in view of the fact that THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTIES ARE SIMPLY THE POLITICAL MACHINES OF THE RULING CAPITALIST CLASS RUN AGAINST THE INTERESTS OF THE WAGE-WORKING CLASS, the C. T. & L. U. of St. Louis hereby submit the following for the earnest consideration of our members and friends: IT IS A CRIME FOR ORGANIZED LABOR TO FOLLOW THE BANNER OF THE OLD CAPITALIST PARTIES. There is little difference whether workingmen are shot down by democratic state militia or republican federal troops; by means of democratic Winchester rifles or by means of republican riot guns; whether strikes are enjoined in republican courts in St. Louis or in democratic courts in New York. For ten years we have witnessed a most desperate civil war. Remember Homestead! Remember Buffalo! Remember Brooklyn! Remember Tennessee! Remember Cripple Creek! Remember Coer d'Alene! Remember Pullman! Remember the great miners' strike! Remember the unemployed movement to Washington! Remember Cleveland! Remember St. Louis! Remember the co-operation of the democratic state government, the republican city administration, and the St. Louis Transit Co! Remember the bloody work on Washington avenue.

This is no longer a fight between democrats and republicans, but a serious struggle between labor and capitalism."

No Time to Hesitate.

Is now the time to mince words? If "it is a crime for organized labor to follow the banner of the old capitalist parties," can the C. T. and L. U. allow to pass unnoticed the fact that its highest officer and recognized representative is guilty of this very crime?

The Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis has for a number of years maintained a hostile attitude toward the Democratic and Republican parties, knowing that they were mere tools in the hands of the capitalists who rob the workingman of the results of his toil. Now, in order to catch the votes of organized labor, the Democratic party places the President of the Central body on its ticket. Will the bait be swallowed or will some vigorous action be taken in order to demonstrate the uncompromising attitude of the C. T. and L. U. towards the capitalist parties? The action of the Democratic machine is an insult to the intelligence of the delegates to the Central.

We Have Not Forgotten.

Does Harry Hawes think that we have forgotten the occurrences of the

eventful summer of 1900? Who but Harry Hawes is responsible for the order given to the police to shoot into crowds whenever and wherever stones were thrown? Is it necessary to repeat any of the history of that great strike in order to remind ourselves that the Democratic and Republican parties were equally our foe during that conflict? Surely the scars and bruises we still wear upon our bodies from the blows of Hawes' mounted police are enough to make us remember that the Democratic party was not our friend.

A Strange Combination.

Rolla Wells, the head of the ticket upon which McArthur Johnston's name appears, admits that he took the place of striking street railway men in 1881. How would a ticket like this impress the public with the sincerity and good judgment of organized labor?

For Mayor—Rolla Wells, self-confessed scab.

For Inspector W. and M.—McArthur Johnston, President Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis.

For Member B. of Ed.—R. B. Dulla, resident manager of scab tobacco company (the "Continental," which is a branch of the American Tobacco Co., the worst foe of trades unions.)

Honor of C. T. & L. U.

These remarks are not addressed against Mr. Johnston personally. What he does as an individual is immaterial. If he does not agree with the position of the C. T. and L. U. towards the Democratic party, that is his privilege and I do not deny that he may be sincere in his action, although I think he is making a serious blunder. It is only with the President of the Central that I am concerned at present. The title "President of the Central Trades and Labor Union" means something, and the delegates to that body have a right to say in what way it shall appear. They have a right, and it is their duty to see that it does not appear after the name of any candidate of a party that the Central body has repeatedly denounced.

No greater disgrace could befall the labor movement of St. Louis than after all the bitter struggles of the recent strike, after all the sufferings of the working class, the very men who were responsible for these brutalities should be allowed to point to their machine made ticket, representing the interests of our masters, and say "here we have the name of your highest officer upon our ticket, vote for it."

Johnston Must Resign.

There is but one thing to be done. If Mr. McArthur Johnston's name is to remain on the Democratic ticket it must not be followed by the words "President of the Central Trades and Labor Union." Mr. Johnston must resign. The C. T. and L. U. must go on record as rescinding the insult tendered it by the Democratic Party and as being opposed to any and all parties that do not declare for the complete emancipation of the workers. It must remain true to its principles and show the world that it has no compromise to make with its enemy—the capitalist class. I hope that the delegates will not hesitate to take a firm and courageous stand on this matter, for the honor of the labor movement of this city.

TOM TOIL.

The Tendency to Socialism.

It is now admitted by all inquirers worthy of the name that history, including economic history, is a succession of orderly phenomena, that each phase in the line of succession is marked by facts and tendencies more or less peculiar to itself, and that laws and principles which we now condemn had formerly a historical necessity, justification, and validity. In accordance with this fundamental principle of historical evolution arrangements and institutions which were once necessary and originally formed a stage in human progress, may gradually develop contradictions and abuses and thus become more or less antiquated. The economic, social and political forms which were the progressive and even adequate expressions of the life of one era become hindrances and fetters to the life of succeeding times. The existing arrangements of landlord, capitalist, and wage laborer, are burdened with contradiction and abuse. The life of society is being strangled by the forms which once promoted it. The really vital and powerful tendencies of our times are toward a higher and wider form of social and economic organization—towards socialism.—Encyclopedia Britannica.

HANNA SEES IT COMING

Senator Mark Hanna addressed the Republican Club banquet at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York on Lincoln's birthday, and this is what he said:

"The influence of the business man in politics is more far-reaching than one would at first imagine. We don't wish to array class against class. The great mass of workingmen, who are the employees of capital, and therefore the partners of capital, wield a great influence either for good or evil, as they are made to see things. It is the duty of the business man of America to show to that great class—the most powerful because of its numbers—that we do not discriminate between all classes, but that you have their welfare at heart. Then we need not fear when it comes to an issue between Republicanism and Socialism."

HERRON'S LECTURE

On "The Economic Goal of the Will to Love."

At Central Music Hall, Chicago, Sunday Feb. 17th—A Crowded House.

The following report of Comrade Herron's lecture in Chicago on Sunday, Feb. 17, appears in the Chicago Record:

Discussing "The Economic Goal of the Will to Love" Prof. Herron spoke to many persons at Central Music hall yesterday afternoon. Numbers were waiting at the door when it was opened. The seats were quickly filled and some who could not find chairs stood through the entire service.

While many were yet seeking seats the great organ pealed forth a voluntary and three men took chairs on the stage. When the organist paused one of the men stepped to the footlights and explained the collection which was to be taken up. The organ sounded again, ushers hurried the contribution basket around and the crowd finally adjusted itself.

There was a second or two of expectant silence and the drapery of the stage parted and Prof. Herron emerged. He shook hands with his coadjutors on the stage, bowed stiffly to the audience and stepped to the half-desk, half-pulpit in the middle of the stage. The whole proceeding seemed plain, businesslike rather than ecclesiastical. As the speaker appeared there was hand-clapping. Yesterday's audience was exceptionally attentive. Old men and young, matrons and girls listened as if enraptured to all that the speaker uttered.

Prof. Herron, tall and slender, seemed taller and more slender yesterday afternoon. He is not an emotional speaker. His pallid face, intensely black hair and heavy eyebrows over piercing eyes give the impression that he is intense and earnest rather than sympathetic. His gestures disclose the intensity of his feelings rather than clarity and emphasize the meaning of his words. Inveighing against what he believes to be the wrong he clenches his hands with a sudden fierceness and thrusts his face toward his auditors.

Prof. Herron declared his purpose in the closing six lectures of the course to be the statement of what kind of world we have to make and live in if the idea of Jesus were put into practice in the whole round of collective and individual being and doing. He said:

"We speak of Christian wars, but there can no more be a Christian war than there can be a Christian highway robbery, or a Christian murdering of one's children. We speak of this rich Christian having done this or that; yet there can no more be a rich Christian than there can be a black whiteness or a white blackness. Wealth is often made a power for great relative good; but a rich Christian—that is a contradiction of terms. The Christian state of mind is one to which private wealth is intolerable—indeed, the willingness to have while others have not is the precise anti-Christ state of mind.

"My insistence on socialism is not that it fulfills the idea of Jesus, but that it will have to come first in order for his idea to have ground to stand upon, or find a working basis of social fact from which to appeal to the common faith. Socialism is a world movement in the direction of the kingdom of heaven. The socialistic society must precede communism and its free individuality, just as the foundation must precede the building, or the plant precede the blossom.

"You can also see that there can be no economic question of mine and thine in a society vitalized and formed by the idea of Jesus, no question of how much one shall have above another. We socialistically say that the best reward of labor is the whole produce of labor; as a rudimentary proposition that is true. But the economic goal of the kingdom of heaven calls for something away beyond that; calls for a fraternity that is infinitely

deeper than our rude political and economic notions of equality.

"In that society it will be unthinkable that a man should need to be paid for his labor or need to serve for wages—as unthinkable as it is that the flower should be paid for its blooming, or the tree paid for its fruit, or the mother paid for loving her child. In the perpetual ecstasy of self-expression which each man's life and labor shall become, our civilization that degrades man by yoking him to the necessity of working for pay, with its buying and selling, will be seen to have belonged to the savage and fear-driven stage of human development. And the creative necessity, which is the deepest fact of every man's being, will at last have free course and it will be glorified in the infinite variety of useful and beautiful things to be done for the common life, and because of the intrinsic worth of doing them.

"In truth, the best things of the world have always been done for the love of doing them, or for the love of those for whom they were done, and not for the pay or reward. And there is nothing in nature that answers to our ideas of reward, or profit, or cost. My heart does not beat for pay; you do not truly love for reward; our great teachers do not serve for what we give them; the acorn does not become an oak for wages; the sun and the air do not give themselves for what they get. The best things of life or nature or labor are the free and priceless things which men have in common.

"There are an increasing number of things in social development that are being put into economic harmony with the communism of nature. The public road, the public school, the great galleries of art, the free street railways of Australian cities, supported out of economic rent are without regard to any kind of economic or social discrimination.

"The experience of the world is slowly getting hints of an economy that finds justice in equality, goodness in liberty, safety for all men and things in the giving to all men of all things. We are just beginning to wonder if the true way of liberating and completing each man's life is not to make his bread and art as sure as his sunlight and air; if the final way of curing men of the desire for more than they need is not to make all that they need certain and priceless.

"It may not be so long hence when the cities will distribute bread and milk as freely as they distribute their public-school education, or as the sun distributes its rays; and this as a practical economic measure, growing out of the experience which socialism will furnish. Every citizen will then have bread according to his need, as surely as he has a fire engine or a street according to his need. Men will labor freely in order to partake freely, and partake freely in order to produce freely and produce the best, when production and distribution are organized in the communistic harmony of the kingdom of heaven, which is none other than the kingdom of nature.

"Our belief that the people in common should own the resources and things upon which they depend in common, and that they should organize their production and distribution for the equal good of all, is the resultant of our belief in reason and principle as inherent in the nature of things. We look upon civilization and its machinery as important only because they are the materials by which the spirit to do right can express itself, but a civilization organized for exploitation and profit seems to us unprincipled, insane and diabolical. Our instinct of a universal good, and our faith in it as the only ground upon which we can reason about anything, demands a human society that shall express the highest right of which man is able to conceive. And the instinct for good, or the spirit to do right, is simply another term for the will to love.

Comrade Geo. H. Goebel of New Jersey

Will speak Thursday evening, Feb. 28 th, 8 o'clock, at Dewey Hall, 2301

South Broadway, and

Friday evening, March 1st, 8 o'clock, at Eckhardt's Hall, corner Cherokee street and Texas avenue.

All Socialists attend and bring your friends.

NOTICE, SOCIALISTS OF TWELFTH WARD.

The regular meeting of the Twelfth Ward Branch, Social Democratic Party, will be held Sunday, Feb. 24th, 2:30 p. m., at National Hall, Dolman and Allen avenue. This ward polled 250 Socialist votes in the last election. Attend this meeting and help us perfect an organization that will sweep the ward for Socialism. Do your duty. Stand by the working class. Join the Social Democratic Party. This means you.

ORGANIZER 12TH WARD, P'S.—Bring your petition list.

"No! True freedom is to share. All the chains our brothers wear. And with hand and heart to be Earnest to make others free!" —Lowell.

CHICAGO IS "IT"

A Hog Rampant for Its Seal and "Out For the Stuff" Its Motto.

Chicago, Where Capitalist Exploitation Has Reached Its Apex, Is the Key to the Industrial Situation.

A. M. SIMONS, IN THE WORKERS' CALL.

The very fact that capitalism has reached its climax in this city lays new duties upon those who are conscious of the tendencies of that capitalism. There is no city on the face of the earth where the gospel of greed is so orthodoxly observed as in Chicago. At no other point is the rule of mammon more absolute, the hideousness of capitalism more obtrusive. Countless foreign observers have told us this. The killing of pork and the hoggishness of the "yards" have become typical of Chicago life, and the most appropriate device that could be suggested for a city seal and coat of arms would be a "hog rampant," with "out for the stuff" as a municipal motto.

There are no divisions of birth, intellect or breeding in the social maelstrom of Chicago. There are only the eaters and the eaten. Her geographical democracy prevented the appearance of any natural superiority of elevation in different portions of the city such as have made "aristocratic heights" and "hills" in other cities. Here the best that could be done was to put a little better pen around a portion of the population that were least useful to society and thus transform a section of plutocracy into an aristocracy. But in spite of all precautions new intruders were constantly climbing over the wall and no one dared to ask whether these newly-made "aristocrats" had arisen through pork, beer, brothers or hotels.

But the leveling influence of capitalism wiped out differences among capitalists, it prevented their formation among laborers and quickly eliminated any original lines of demarcation. From the very fact of its heterogeneous and ever-changing population the nationality line could not be drawn and maintained. With the old Nineteenth Ward speaking seventeen languages in as many different colonies it would be a good racial surveyor who could run the curved and twisted line necessary to show the racial divisions. The fiercest exploitation the world has ever known made short work of intellectual lines of demarcation between producers, until the Western Electric works have any quantity of college graduates among its employes working for no more than it pays its porters and less than it is forced to give to teamsters, while Armour Institute graduates in chemistry are working in the Armour packing houses for very much less than their master finds it necessary to pay those who clean intestines for sausage covers.

One of the first things that strikes a Chicago man when he visits the great cities of this or any other country, is the very much larger number of small producers that still remain, compared with those in his native city. It comes as a surprise to one who has been accustomed to see the long lines of "To Rent" signs that act as memorial tablets to the deceased middle-class of Chicago, to find that in New York, London, Paris or Brussels, this class is still flourishing in almost countless numbers.

Plutocracy in Chicago stands face to face with exploited democracy with no buffer class between them and no disintegrating strata within their respective ranks. This gives rise to the sharpest class antagonisms known to modern society, and the person who in Chicago talks of "no class distinctions" or of "bringing the various classes together" is either a designing knave, or a philanthropist—too hopelessly idiotic concerning social phenomena to be worth consideration.

But if the lines of the class struggle are so sharp that all who look can see that it only remains for the workers to enter in and take possession of their inheritance through the political overthrow of their exploiters, it is no less true that the appointed time is at hand for action and that the industrial field is ripe for the harvest of Socialism. Nowhere else are there such gigantic social aggregations of industrial capital as here. The Krupp gun works are sometimes given as an example of the largest industrial community of to-day, yet this employs but about 15,000 men, while the stock yards and packing houses of Chicago employ over 50,000. Deering, South Chicago Steel Mills, ship yards, McCormick's, Western Electric and several others have industrial armies of over 5,000 each. These men are already drilled, classified, organized and prepared for social production independent of the capitalist.

Once they are made to realize that they are to-day carrying on production independent of their exploiters it will not take them long to learn enough to use their votes to cut the tie of bondage that prevents them from distributing their own product as they see fit.

All this leads to the conclusion that the progress of Socialism in Chicago

will be like wildfire among the prairie grass when once its principles have been well understood by even a few men in each of these great industrial centers. Furthermore there is not a shadow of doubt but what if this city should once fall into the hands of the Socialists that the existence of capitalism would be terminated so far as America is concerned. It has often been said in these later days that no nation can declare war without the assistance of the packing houses of Chicago. The transportation lines of the greater portion of America focus in this city and their present concentration in a few hands lays all that territory under tribute to those few owners.

What then would be the effect were Chicago to be captured by Socialism? It would mean the possession of the vantage point of American capitalism, and the consequent almost immediate downfall of the whole system. It would permit the formation of an industrial unit, not only sufficiently large to be economically independent, but large enough to economically dominate a large portion of our present society. It would mean the possibility of the immediate application of the principles of Socialism to a greater extent than would be attained by the capture of any other city on earth.

These positions, if true, lead to the conclusion that not only is Chicago the easiest city to capture for Socialism, but to the somewhat contradictory position that it is the most important stronghold of capitalism, the key, so to speak, of the industrial situation. All this means increased responsibility and also increased encouragement for Chicago Socialists. It means that every class-conscious worker has a more pressing need than anywhere else on earth to see that his knowledge of Socialism is increased and its propaganda more widely spread.

The Angel of Discontent.

By Sam Walter Foss.

When the world was formed and the morning stars Upon their paths were sent, The loftiest-browed of the angels was named

The Angel of Discontent.

And he dwelt with man in the caves of the hills,

Where the crested serpent stings, And the tiger tears and the she-wolf howls, And he told of better things.

And he led man forth to the towered town,

And forth to the fields of corn; And he told of the ampler work ahead For which his race was born.

And he whispered to men of those hills he sees

In the blush of the golden west, And they look to the light of his lifted eye.

And they hate the name of rest.

In the light of that eye doth the slave behold

A hope that is high and brave, And the madness of war comes into his blood—

For he knows himself a slave.

The serfs of wrong in the light of that eye

March on with victorious songs; For the strength of the right comes into their hearts.

When they behold their wrongs.

'Tis by the light of that lifted eye

That error's mists are rent— A guide to the table-land of Truth

Is the Angel of Discontent.

And still he looks with his lifted eye

And his glance is far away, On a light that shines on the glimmering hills

Or a diviner day.

Comrade Leon Greenbaum has just finished a short tour of Southern Illinois' towns, speaking before trade union meetings. He reports good audiences at each place and always found a number of Socialists at each point. He sold over two hundred Socialist books during the trip. The dates of his meetings were as follows: Feb. 12, Percy; Feb. 14, Campbell Hill; Feb. 15, Carbondale; Feb. 16, Alto Pass; Feb. 17, Murphysboro; Feb. 18, Grand Tower; Feb. 19, Pinckneyville; Feb. 20, Harrisburg; Feb. 21, Freeburg.

Local Liberal, Mo., has arranged for two meetings on March 2d, to be addressed by Comrade Geo. H. Goebel, of New Jersey.

Missouri Socialist

Issued Every Saturday at Room 9, 22 N. 4th St. St. Louis, Mo.

Owned and Published by Local St. Louis of the Social Democratic Party of Missouri.

Board of Directors: WM. H. BAIRD, Chairman; M. BALLARD, Editor; C. R. DAVIS, Treasurer; Louis Kober, Secretary.

Managing Editor: E. VAL PUTNAM

Subscription Rates in Advance: One Year \$1.00; Six Months .50; Three Months .25.

Address all complaints against management of the paper to C. R. Davis, 27 Market St.

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

The fact that a socialist article is published does not commit Missouri Socialist to any opinion 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, 1901.

ALLIED COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS

Do your part in the Social Revolution.

Get your name on the weekly guarantee list.

The right to work should be as sacred as the right to vote.

A step towards Socialism—5,000 votes for Leon Greenbaum on April 2d.

The wild creatures of the forest find it easier to obtain a living than the workmen does under our present system.

The campaign fund took a remarkable leap again this week. Add your mite to the list and see it grow.

Under capitalism the workingman who invents a labor saving device injures his fellow workers by throwing them out of employment. Under Socialism he would be conferring a blessing on them by shortening their hours of labor.

Lee Meriwether stumped the state last fall for the Democratic ticket. The entire state ticket of which was named by Hawes' machine. In other words, Meriwether supported Hawes, the man who proved himself an elegant tool in the hands of the Transit Co. for suppressing strikes.

Rolla Wells is a typical representative of the capitalist class. There is probably not a man in the city who despises the workingman as much as he does. If he is elected, the first big strike that occurs in this city will be known throughout the world for its police outrages.

The history of all previous society is the history of class struggles. The aim of Socialism is to abolish class struggles through the overthrow of capitalism by the working class, which cannot emancipate itself without at the same time freeing all men and putting an end to classes.

Missouri Socialist and the Arbeiter-Zeitung are indebted to the Social Democratic Women's Club for a donation of ten dollars to each, and now the ladies call again with a donation of ten dollars to the campaign fund. Missouri Socialist extends thanks to the ladies and assures them that their work is highly appreciated by all the comrades.

Is municipal ownership right? Of course it is, but so is honesty on the part of public officials. Shall we then lay aside the struggle for emancipation of the workers in order to elect men to office who are honest? Would it have been right for the abolitionists to have laid aside their movement for the emancipation of the negro in order to elect some HONEST man to office who opposed abolition in preference to some DISHONEST man who opposed abolition?

There would have been no strike, no paralysis of business, no shooting of citizens, no running of human blood on the streets of our city had St. Louis owned the Transit Company instead of the Transit Company owning the people's streets and dictating to the people's servants," says the official organ of the Municipal Ownership League.

My dear municipal ownership bunch, is your range of vision limited to the end of your prospect? Would there ever be any strike in the coal mines, the shoe factories, the tobacco factories, the breweries, the stove foundries, the printing houses, the garment factories, the cotton and woolen mills, the cigar factories or any other industry if these were all owned by the public?

Do you think a street car strike is the only kind that ever causes bloodshed? Why do you pick out one industry and clamor for the public ownership of it, at the same time assuring the proprietor of other industries that "private corporations, as such, have your good will and esteem"? Out upon such hypocrisy! Your clamor for public ownership is but a clamor for office. You are trying to ride into power on a wave of sentiment created by the strike. Your whole course is that of the demagogue.

Which One Does the C. T. & L. U. Say to Vote For?

The Democratic party pledges itself in recognition of the rights and interests of organized labor, and we favor all measures which, with due regard to the public interest, shall tend to relieve the laboring classes from the disadvantages from which they have suffered during the carnival of favoritism and corruption which has existed in the city under Republican administration. The Democratic municipal platform.

This C. T. and L. U. shall not endorse or support in any manner either the Republican or Democratic Party, or any candidate of either, as there is, and can be, no issue between them which concerns labor's interest. And we caution all friends of labor, that any party which has outlived the original principle on which it was founded, necessarily takes sides on new issues only as far as compelled to do so, and then only on policy and to secure votes.—Constitution Central Trades and Labor Union.

An Exposition for Profit.

The managers of the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo send us a little booklet on the Expo, with a request that we comment on it. With pleasure. From the illustrations in the booklet we judge that the sights at the exposition will be good to look upon. The best that man has produced in the way of art, inventions, etc., will probably be on exhibition. These things are good. It is well that men try their skill in this way, for it means progress, and all genuine pleasure for mankind finds its true source in progress. But there is one thought that will hulk up in our mental department in spite of everything. It is that all this show of art, architecture, science, invention and beauty is for, but one thing—profit. "Profit" is written over the gates. It confronts us at the doors of all the buildings, it is reflected in the crystal waters of the little lake, it mars the beauty and splendor of the entire affair. Everyone knows that the sole object of the promoters of this exposition is to draw people to their city who will spend money. It is not the natural, unfettered desire of man to create that finds expression in the Pan-American exposition. What is suppressed and over the whole thing is daubed the word "profits." The men who produce the exposition, the toilers who make all the fine things will not be there to view with pride the results of their labor, their art. While the men who have appropriated to themselves the greater part of these toilers' products are leisurely enjoying the sights at Buffalo, these same wage-slaves will be toiling away day and night to keep body and soul together. The thought of this would not allow us to enjoy the exposition. We could find no beauty there.

An Agitator Who Wouldn't Hurt a Fleec.

Dave L. Guyette, secretary of the Missouri Federation of Labor, writes a letter to the Union Record of this city in which he makes the following statement: "Too many of our members are contented to let well enough alone, as it were, and make no effort to improve the condition of themselves, or, incidentally, to encourage and take an interest in the welfare of their employer, thus directing and improving the very occupation that furnishes the bread that keeps them from being a burden upon society." If Mr. Guyette had a proper conception of the aims and object and the nature of the labor movement he would not be wasting his fine writing in silly twaddle about employees taking an interest in the welfare of their bosses. Who doesn't the good-hearted secretary of the State Federation resign his position and start out on a crusade organizing an association of employees for the prevention of cruelty to bosses? Suppose every wage-slave in the world should develop a sudden and astounding interest in the welfare of his employer and should set to work with might and main to do twelve hours work in a ten-hour day. What would be the result? Only that every employer would be ahead of the game by two hours of labor per diem, that's all.

Weekly Guarantee List.

The following comrades have agreed to purchase subscription cards to the amount set opposite their names every week until May 1st. They do this in order to guarantee the paper sufficient backing to make it a success. E. M. Pesbody 1.00, Leon Greenbaum 1.00, W. H. Baird 1.00, Richard Murphy 1.00, Louis Kober 1.00, C. R. Davis 1.00, M. McCaffery .50, Chas. Hager .25, A. Winkler .25, A. Bickler .25, Wm. Eckart .25, H. P. Nelson .25, W. C. W. 1.00, W. H. Scott .25, J. H. Buttrell .25, F. J. Coennes .25, Louis Froehlich .25, F. J. Gomes .25, Louis Meyer .25, Otto Vierling .25.

Our excellent brother Missouri Socialist copies from us the poem "Charity" and credits it simply to "Exchange." This gives us a chance to say that only by an oversight did we omit to print the name of the author, one of the ablest in America, true poet and true Socialist, Charlotte Perkins Stetson.—The Socialist, Seattle, Wash.

HOW WE STAND

Extracts from the National Platform and Resolutions, etc., of the Social Democratic Party, Showing Its Attitude Toward Trades-Unionism.

We hold the trade union movement to be indispensable to the working people under the prevailing industrial system in their struggle for the improvement of their conditions, as well as for the final abolition of the wage system; we further recognize the urgent need of thorough organization among the workers.

Independent political action and the trade union movement are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its political, the other its economic wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system.

The working class and all those in sympathy with their historic mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

We commend an honest co-operation to that end by the members of the Social Democratic Party by becoming members of the unions in their respective trades or callings, or of the Federal Labor Unions, and strive to organize all such trades as have heretofore not been organized and assist the organization of labor in every way possible.

We reaffirm the truth expressed in the proceedings of the International Labor Congress, held in London in August, 1896, that while it is absolutely necessary for the working people to make use of the political power in order to secure and enforce the demands of labor, yet differences of political views held by members of the labor organizations should not be a reason for separate organization in the economic struggle causing dissensions and disruptions.

We consider strikes and boycotts as historically necessary weapons to obtain the demands of trades unionism; we further recognize in the union label an important factor in strengthening the power of organization, and educating the public to demonstrate in a practical way its sympathy and assistance to the cause of labor; and we therefore endorse all the labels of the bona fide trades unions, suggestively recommend to the membership of the Social Democratic Party to patronize only such concerns selling products bearing the same.

In order to more effectively resist the encroachments upon labor we advise organized labor to combine into national and international unions, pledging ourselves to extend to them all possible assistance to accomplish this end.

We condemn the attempt to disrupt the labor movement by organizing rival unions to the bona fide trades unions.

We encourage the movement of organized labor for the establishment of a legal eight-hour workday and the Saturday half holiday.

The solidarity of labor connecting the millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to international Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

Trades unions are by historical necessity organized on neutral grounds, as far as political affiliations 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 alignment of the forces of labor in the struggle for proletarian emancipation.

The present system of social production and private ownership is rapidly converting society into two antagonistic classes—the capitalist class and the propertyless class. The middle class, once the most powerful of this great nation, is disappearing in the mill of competition. The issue is now between the two classes first named. Our political liberty is now of little value to the masses unless used to acquire economic liberty.

Capitalist vs. Socialist Municipal Ownership. Municipal ownership is now absorbing the minds of the working man. But he seems to be generally unconscious of the fact that there are two distinct kinds of municipal ownership. There is first the capitalist municipal ownership, the sole object of which is to benefit the capitalist class. Then there is the Socialist municipal ownership, a bulwark of the wage-worker, to retain as much as possible of the wealth he produces. No matter how the capitalist class, little or big, may pretend to relieve the wage class they will not execute these pretensions. And what is more, they can not. For such an act means for the capitalist to take a certain part out of his private property and give to the wage-worker. Such an act is simply a question of charity, but one of economics and politics. To illustrate this point: The wealth of the country is divided between two classes—the wage class, who produce all this wealth, and the capitalists, who produce nothing. According to statistics, in the dividing of this wealth the wage class gets 17 per cent and the capitalists 83 per cent. The 17 per cent is called wages and the 83 per cent profit. When Mr. Capitalist, little or big, comes before the toilers and says he has some scheme to benefit the wage-workers, it means he wants us to have better food, better clothes and better abodes. To get these we must have higher wages which means we must increase our 17 per cent of the whole wealth. This can only be done by decreasing or taking a chunk out of Mr. Capitalist's 83 per cent. In other words, to reduce his profits. Profit is his deity, which he defends at the point of the bayonet. We know what happens when we go out on a strike to increase our wages or to protest against a decrease: As an object lesson to prevent us from doing it again, he calls out the militia or standing army and shoots us in the back. This ought to be sufficient to convince us that Mr. Capitalist will not, and can not, do anything for us. Under whatever mask he may disguise his hypocrisy, whether under the issue of money, foreign expansion, good government, taxation or municipal ownership, in the end it means one thing. And that is, that the only way to relieve our condition is to take a chunk out of Mr. Capitalist's 83 per cent. But we will still give further evidence that municipal ownership as set forth by the capitalists, and that which is advocated by the Socialists, are in every way opposed to each other. One great object of the capitalists, especially that part known as the middle class, in crying municipal ownership, is cheapness. The Populists demanded public ownership of railroads to get cheap transportation. They wanted this that their profits might be increased. Cheap transportation meant to cheapen the cost of running railroads. The great cost of such is labor. Hence the public ownership of railroads, with the middle class Populists, meant cheap labor. For the same reason the middle class of the cities are yelling themselves hoarse for public ownership of street car service. Claiming it will cheapen fares and thus cheapen rents by building up tenant houses in the suburbs. In every instance where fares have been reduced, rise in rents in suburbs have exceeded what the workers saved in reduction of fares. Even if municipal ownership did in any way lower rent, in the end it would not benefit the working class. It is a false idea to think cheapness of living redounds to our benefit. To reduce the costs of our living only enables the capitalist class to reduce our wages. This accounts for the press and pulpit being so concerned in our living cheap and constantly preaching economy to us. They do not propose we shall have more than an animal existence. In the last campaign they called this existence a full dinner pail and gave us to understand that we must be contented with it. They tell us that municipal ownership will cheapen gas and electric lights. But they very carefully forget to tell us that the working class can generally afford to burn nothing but coal oil. There is one kind of cheapness this middle class never ceases to harp upon, and that is, cheapness of taxation. They tell us that the profits of municipal ownership will go towards reducing taxes. But again they keep silent as to the fact that we have nothing to pay taxes on. And what is more, never will have under capitalism. As a vote-catcher they picture to us the rosy treatment we will receive when the city owns all the public utilities. We only need turn to Germany, Belgium, Great Britain and Glasgow to learn that the working people are treated no better than under private ownership. If capitalist municipal ownership is run for profit and cheapness, it must result in cheap wages and great exactions. Many large capitalists are interested in this question. It gives them an opportunity to sell their plants at bootleg prices and convert them into bonds. The mouths of the politicians are watering for its plums in the way of fat salaries. Now compare this capitalist municipal ownership with that of the Socialist. Such ownership as advocated by the Social Democratic Party would be run with but one object, to benefit but one class—the wage class. It would be run co-operatively; that is, the employees of any public utility would receive all its earnings or profits, to be distributed, of course, in proportion to the amount of labor performed by each employee. They would also elect all their own officers and decide upon all matters pertaining to their welfare. In detail there would be variations of these principles, governed by locality and other conditions. Where a person could not get em-

What Our Readers Think.

Capitalist vs. Socialist Municipal Ownership.

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Where a person could not get em-

ployment from the capitalists, he would be employed at the highest wages by the city. In case of a strike, the municipality would, when necessary, assist the strikers by donating them funds. Any material assistance that the municipality might render, the working class would have to be raised through taxation. Hence when the Social Democrats got into political control of a city their demands would tend to increase taxation, instead of decreasing as advocated by capitalist municipal ownership. This would simply be restoring to the wage class a part of the wealth that they have produced, and which has been appropriated by the capitalist class who have never paid for it. All capital is unpaid labor. In brief, the benefits of Socialist municipal ownership would accrue to the wage class only. While the capitalist scheme of such ownership would only add power to the exploiting class. No matter how municipal ownership may be arranged by the working class, it will never be more than a temporary relief. The only permanent abolition of the working man's wrong is the common ownership of the instruments of production on no less a scale than the whole nation. Anything short of this that Socialists may advocate, has no further object than to lessen the sufferings of the working class while they are passing from capitalism to Socialism. In other words, to relieve the pangs of the birth of the new civilization. There is one thing that should be emphasized. As long as the working class depend upon the capitalist politician to concoct something in a platform that they claim is for our welfare—just so long will the capitalists have respect for us. How can they have respect when they realize that in spite of holding the political power, and being a helpless minority, we depend upon them to hatch out some issue for us to vote on? But when we make a grand charge upon the ballot box as an independent working man's party, then they will not only respect us, but they will fear us. This being our attitude, they would know better than to offer us such temporary relief as municipal ownership. Knowing that we have become conscious of our power, and that we stand up like men and demand a whole loaf, they would be aware that we would not accept by their hands, a half loaf.

NOT COURTESY BUT EFFICIENCY. My attention has been called to the following article in the C. K. of A. Journal headed: "A VALUED COURTESY BY THE ST. LOUIS POSTMASTER." St. Louis Post Office, Feb. 6th, 1901. John W. Nordhaus, Dep. Sup. Treasurer, C. K. of A., St. Louis, Mo. Dear Sir and Brother—Referring to our conversation of recent date relative to special postal facilities on the floor of the Supreme Convention to be held in May, I beg to inform you that our worthy postmaster, Mr. F. W. Baumhoff, has assured me that a full P. O. will be established on the convention floor, where stamps and money orders can be purchased, letters registered and money orders paid, and mail for delegates be delivered. Special messengers will be detailed to make frequent trips between the main office and the Convention Hall to insure prompt delivery of all mail arriving here for the delegates during the Convention. I would therefore suggest that the delegates and visitors be requested to have their mail addressed care C. K. of A. Convention and prompt delivery will be assured. This information should be published in several issues of the Journal, and particularly the one of May 1st, 1901. You may also mention the fact that the Secretary of Branch 741 has been delegated by the Postmaster, to represent the St. Louis Post Office at the Convention, and who will be pleased to look after the wants of the delegates, so far as postal matters are concerned. Respectfully, J. B. BIEDENSTEIN, Asst. Supt. Information Bureau, St. L. P. O.

The editor of the Journal praises the order of the post office as a special favor and courtesy of the authorities and suggests that the thanks of the convention are due the superintendent for bringing about this special courtesy. What the editor of the Journal calls a valued courtesy is nothing but the efficiency of the system of collective ownership, which is not understood by that editor, and therefore mistaken as courtesy. The postmaster as well as the superintendent are simply trying to give the public the best available service, and no special thanks are due them for their efficiency in public service. The post office authorities are aware that it is their duty to give the public the best possible service, and they are doing it. This incident, however, is a fair refutation of the superstitious assertion that private gain is the only incentive to work and the exertion of men's natural abilities. The postmaster as well as the superintendent have no special gain in their efforts in behalf of that convention, and their incentive is not gain but the desire to give the public the most efficient service, which alone can secure their recognition and advancement in the ranks of public service. Under public ownership the incentive is the desire to give satisfaction and efficiency, while under private ownership the incentive is profit, gain and greed, and nothing else. If the post office were owned and operated under the system of private ownership, the capitalist in control would ask: how much will the convention pay for that privilege? and unless the arrangement there would be no such special privileges granted. The postoffice is not a capitalistic concern, and therefore the

question of how much is in it does not come up, but the desire to give the public the very highest possible efficiency in service is the incentive to the postmaster's order to establish a post office branch on the convention floor. The editor of the Journal should bear this in mind, and teach his readers the advantages of public ownership. FRANK TOMBRIDGE

From National Secretary.

Springfield, Mass., Feb. 17, 1901. There are still about 50 Locals who have failed to send in their semi-annual reports and the officers of these organizations are requested to give this matter prompt attention and see to it that their report is forwarded at once. All reports should have been in by Feb. 1st so comrades huddle in your reports so that we can ascertain the true membership of our party. For the week ending Feb. 16th, I report the organization of the following Locals: Bessemer, Ala.; Schenectady, N. Y.; Reading, Mass.; Dakeston, Wash.; Mallock, Wash.; Belmont, Wash.; St. John, Wash.; Milan, Wash.; Thornton, Wash. The vote on unity propositions is coming in daily from all parts of the country and all organizations having as yet not reported have until March 1st to do so, when the referendum closes; send in your votes, comrades, and swell the vote so that there will be no doubt in any one's mind that unity is desirable. All Locals paying dues direct to the N. E. C. that are in arrears are requested to forward same at once, and are urged to promptly remit same the first of every month. WM. BUTSCHER, National Secretary.

MUNICIPAL TICKET

Social Democratic Party of St. Louis.

- For Mayor: Leon Greenbaum
For Comptroller: Wm. M. Brand
For Auditor: F. O. Salsbery
For Treasurer: Wm. H. Baird
For Register: C. R. Davis
For Collector: John Mueller
For Inspector of Weights and Measures: Julius Rudolph
For Marshall: John C. Lyons
For President of Board of Assessors: G. A. Hoeba
For President of Board of Public Improvements: Bernard McCaffery
For President of the City Council: John Zack
For Members of the City Council: WM. J. HAGER, H. STRUCKHOFF, JOHN A. KREIS, H. P. NELSON, PHIL MUELLER, JOHN GOEDEKER
For Members of the Board of Education: HENRY MAACK, GEORGE GRUND, DR. L. H. DAVIS, H. J. STEIGERWALT
For House of Delegates: 1st Ward—Albert E. Sanderson, 2d Ward—Fred Spahr, 3d Ward—A. Lippard, 4th Ward—Wm. Voegel, 5th Ward—G. B. Nelson, 6th Ward—A. J. Flori, 7th Ward—Wm. Jones, 8th Ward—Leonard Stoll, 9th Ward—John Shaerpf, 10th Ward—Francis J. Krause, 11th Ward—Julius G. Lydon, 12th Ward—L. P. Gomes, 13th Ward—Louis Froehlich, 14th Ward—John P. Larkin, 15th Ward—J. H. Buttrell, 16th Ward—L. E. Hildebrand, 17th Ward—Jas. R. Tierman, 18th Ward—L. Walker Evans, 19th Ward—Henry Benner, 20th Ward—M. B. Dunn, 21st Ward—F. P. O'Hare, 22nd Ward—Clas. Hahn, 23rd Ward—Hy. Ruesche

The exercise of irresponsible power by whatever means, is tyranny, and should not be tolerated. The power which men irresponsibly exercise for their private ends, over individuals and communities, through superior wealth, is essentially tyrannous, and inconsistent with democratic principle and as offensive to self-respect as any form of political tyranny. That was ever endured. As political equality is the remedy for political tyranny, so is economic equality the only way of putting an end to the economic tyranny exercised by the few over the many through superiority of wealth. The industrial system of a nation, like its political system, should be a government of the people, by the people, for the people. Until economic equality shall give a basis to political equality, the latter is but a sham. Edward Bellamy. Mrs. Nation and a number of other fanatics of the sort have brought themselves to public attention by adopting the "propaganda" of demagogues, and now some fanatics of another sort, Chicago women belonging to Dowie's Zionite sect, who declare that drugs are at invention, the devil, have gone to wrecking drug stores. No arrests were made. Still posing some of the overworked, half-starving sweat-shop slaves were to go uptown and smash the windows in their employers' houses or were to loot the bakeries and meat-shops in order to get one good meal—how active the police would be and how the respectable newspapers would react against the wicked Socialists.—The Y. People.

The Communist Manifesto.

By Carl Marx and Frederick Engels.

A Historic Document Which Every Socialist Should Study.

(Continued from last week.)

CONSERVATIVE OR BOURGEOIS SOCIALISM.

A part of the bourgeoisie is desirous of redressing social grievances in order to secure the continued existence of bourgeois society.

To this section belong economists, philanthropists, humanitarians, improvers of the condition of the working class, organizers of charity, members of societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals, temperance fanatics, hole and corner reformers of every imaginable kind. This form of Socialism has, moreover, been worked out into complete systems.

We may cite Proudhon's Philosophie de la Misere as an example of this form.

The socialistic bourgeois want all the advantages of modern social conditions without the struggles and dangers necessarily resulting therefrom. They desire the existing state of society minus its revolutionary and disintegrating elements. They wish for a bourgeoisie without a proletariat. The bourgeoisie naturally conceives the world in which it is supreme to be the best; and bourgeois socialism develops this comfortable conception into various more or less complete systems. In requiring the proletariat to carry out such a system, and thereby to march straight-way into the social New Jerusalem, it but requires in reality that the proletariat should remain within the bounds of existing society, but should cast away all its hateful ideas concerning the bourgeoisie.

A second and more practical but less systematic form of this socialism sought to depreciate every revolutionary movement in the eyes of the working class by showing that no mere political reform, but only a change in the material conditions of existence in economical relations could be of any advantage to them. By changes in the material conditions of existence this form of socialism, however, by no means understands abolition of the bourgeois relations of production—an abolition that can be effected only by a revolution—but administrative reforms, based on the continued existence of these relations; reforms, therefore, that in no respect affect the relations between capital and labor, but, at the best, lessen the cost and simplify the administrative work of bourgeois government.

Bourgeois Socialism attains adequate expression when and only when it becomes a mere figure of speech.

Free Trade; for the benefit of the working class. Protective Duties; for the benefit of the working class. Prison Reform; for the benefit of the working class. This is the last word and the only seriously meant word of bourgeois Socialism.

It is summed up in the phrase: The bourgeoisie is a bourgeois—for the benefit of the working class.

CRITICAL-UTOPIAN SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM.

We do not here refer to that literature which, in every great modern revolution, has always given voice to the demands of the proletariat, such as the writings of Babeuf and others.

The first direct attempts of the proletariat to attain its own ends, made in times of universal excitement, when feudal society was being overthrown, these attempts necessarily failed owing to the then undeveloped state of the proletariat, as well as to the absence of the economic conditions for its emancipation, conditions that had yet to be produced and could be alone produced by the impending bourgeois epoch. The revolutionary literature that accompanied these first movements of the proletariat had necessarily a reactionary character. It inculcated universal asceticism and social leveling in its crudest form.

The Socialist and Communist systems properly so called, those of St. Simon, Fourier, Owen and others, spring into existence in the early undeveloped period, described above, of the struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie (see section I, Bourgeoisie and Proletariat).

The founders of these systems see, indeed, the class antagonisms as well as the action of the decomposing elements in the prevailing form of society. But the proletariat, as yet in its infancy, offers to them the spectacle of a class without any historical initiative or any independent political movement.

Since the development of class antagonism keeps ever pace with the development of industry, the economic situation, as they find it, does not as yet offer to them the material conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat. They therefore search after a new social system, after new social laws, that are to create these conditions.

Historical action is to yield to their personal inventive action, historically created conditions of emancipation to phantastic ones, and the gradual, spontaneous class organization of the proletariat to an organization of society specially contrived by these inventors. Future history resolves itself, in their eyes, into the propaganda and the practical carrying out of their social plans. In the formation of their plans they are conscious of caring chiefly for the interest of the working class as being the most suffering class. Only from the point of view of being the most suffering class does the proletariat exist for them.

The undeveloped state of the class struggle, as well as their own surroundings, cause Socialists of this kind to consider themselves far superior to all class antagonisms. They want to

improve the condition of every member of society; even that of the most favored. Hence they habitually appeal to society at large, without distinction of class; nay, by preference to the ruling class. For how can people when once they understand their system, fail to see in it the best possible plan of the best possible state of society?

Hence they reject all political, and especially all revolutionary action; they wish to attain their ends by peaceful means, and endeavor, by small experiments, necessarily doomed to failure, and by the force of example to pave the way for the new social gospel.

Such phantastic pictures of future society, painted at a time when the proletariat is still in a very undeveloped state and has but a phantastic conception of its own position, correspond with the first instinctive yearnings of that class for a general reconstruction of society.

But these Socialist and Communist publications contain also a critical element. They attack every principle of existing society. Hence they are full of the most valuable materials for the enlightenment of the working class. The practical measures proposed in them, such as the abolition of the distinction between town and country, of the family, of the carrying on of industries for the account of private individuals, and of the wage system, the proclamation of social harmony, the conversion of the functions of the State into a mere superintendence of production, all these proposals point solely to the disappearance of class antagonisms which were at that time only just cropping up, and which, in these publications, are recognized under their earliest, indistinct and undefined forms only. These proposals, therefore, are of a purely Utopian character.

The significance of Critical-Utopian Socialism and Communism bears an inverse relation to historical development. In proportion as the modern class struggle develops and takes definite shape, this phantastic standing apart from the contest, these phantastic attacks on it lose all practical value and all theoretical justification. Therefore, although the originators of these systems were, in many respects, revolutionary, their disciples have in every case formed mere reactionary sects. They hold fast by the original views of their masters, in opposition to the progressive historical development of the proletariat. They therefore endeavor—and that consistently, to deaden the class struggle and to reconcile the class antagonisms. They still dream of experimental realization of their social Utopias, of founding isolated "phalanxes," of establishing "Home Colonies," of setting up a "Little Icaria," (c) duodecimo editions of the New Jerusalem, and to realize all these castles in the air, they are compelled to appeal to the feelings and purses of the bourgeois. By degrees they sink into the category of the reactionary conservative Socialists depicted above, differing from these only by more systematic pedantry, and by their fanatical and superstitious belief in the miraculous effects of their social science.

They, therefore, violently oppose all political action on the part of the working class; such action, according to them, can only result from blind unbelief in the new gospel.

The Owenites in England, and the Fourierists in France, respectively, oppose the Chartists and the "Reformists."

IV.

Position of the Communists in Relation to the Various Existing Opposition Parties.

Section II. has made clear the relations of the Communist to the existing working class parties, such as the Chartists in England and the Agrarian Reformers in America.

The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the monetary interests of the present; they also represent and take care of the future of that movement. In France the Communists ally themselves with the Social Democrats (a) against the conservative and radical bourgeoisie, reserving, however, the right to take up a critical position in regard to phrases and illusions traditionally handed down from the great Revolution.

In Switzerland they support the Radicals without losing sight of the fact that this party consists of antagonistic elements, partly of Democratic Socialists, in the French sense, partly of radical bourgeois.

In Poland they support the party that insists on an agrarian revolution, as the prime condition for national emancipation, that party which fomented the insurrection of Cracow in 1846.

In Germany they fight with the bourgeoisie whenever it acts in a revolutionary way against the absolute monarchy, the feudal squintocracy and the petty bourgeoisie.

But they never cease for a single instant to instill into the working class the clearest possible recognition of the

(a) The party then represented in parliament by Ledro-Wollin, in literature by Louis Blanc, in the daily press by "Reform." The name of Social Democracy is significant; such these inventors, a second form of the Democratic or Republican party, more or less tinged with Socialism.

hostile antagonism between bourgeoisie and proletariat, in order that the German workers may straightway use, as so many weapons against the bourgeoisie, the social and political conditions that the bourgeoisie must necessarily introduce along with its supremacy, and in order that, after the fall of the reactionary classes in Germany, the fight against the bourgeoisie itself may immediately begin.

The Communists turn their attention chiefly to Germany, because that country is on the eve of a bourgeois revolution that is bound to be carried out under more advanced conditions of European civilization, and with a much more developed proletariat, than that of England was in the seventeenth, and of France in the eighteenth century, and because the bourgeoisie revolution in Germany will be but the prelude to an immediately following proletarian revolution.

In short, the Communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things.

In all these movements they bring to the front as the leading question in each, the proper question, no matter what its degree of development at the time.

Finally, they labor everywhere for the union and agreement of the democratic parties of all countries.

The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling class tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

Workingmen of all countries unite!

Wants Convention in May.

Whereas, The Locals of the N. E. C. at Springfield, Mass., began in November, 1900, constitutional initiation for referendum on question of call to national convention of all Socialist bodies in the United States recognizing the class struggle and favoring one organization, and

Whereas, The N. E. C. in response to this initiation, did, at its meeting on Dec. 23, 1900, submit broad propositions for referendum. Vote to be returned by March 1, 1901. Giving two (2) months for discussion; and

Whereas, On Dec. 1, 1900, the Chicago N. E. C. suddenly issued call for a national convention of their membership. If on the initiation of local branches, they are not made known, this convention was in session in Chicago, Ill., from Jan. 15 to 18, and submitted to their membership a referendum on the question of calling another national convention to meet Sept. 10, 1901, to which other Socialist bodies should be invited. Vote to be returned by Feb. 21, 1901. Four days ahead of the Springfield N. E. C., and permitting one month for discussion. This referendum does not allow their members or that of any other body any option as to date, place of meeting or plan of representation, which we consider narrow and arbitrary, particularly in view of the reported representation at their convention. No list of delegates being printed, and

Whereas, We believe the honest, class-conscious Socialists of the country are more than ready for a joint convention on genuinely democratic basis of representation, at an early date, and the good of the masses with "blanched faces" demand it without waste of energy or dollars, therefore, We

Resolved, That Local Tiffin, asks that the N. E. C. be urged to exert its best efforts to have a joint convention in the month of May, at the point best suited to secure the largest possible representation at minimum of cost. So that the various states may know where they are at in time to hold their state conventions on July 4, to get benefit of reduced rates, and have time to secure signatures to petitions necessary to get on official ballot, and we demand that the basis of representation be not an absurd multiplication of individual power in convention—a dangerous plan. The referendum alone can safely register opinion of individual members, and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the N. E. C., and to Socialist papers, with a request for Sections, Branches and Locals to take up and officially act on the question of date, plan of meeting and plan of representation.

Adopted by Local Tiffin, Ohio, Feb. 17, 1901. F. J. MEIER, Secretary. CHAS. R. MARTIN, Organizer.

Inasmuch as the capitalist is said to be so necessary in the conduct of great industries, we are anxious to learn how Carnegie's steel works are going to run along without him.—The People.

Don't forget to be at the Euchre and hop at Dewey Hall, Broadway and Shenandoah, Saturday evening, February 23, Eighth, 9th and 10th ward branches.

Pope Calixto issued a bull against a comet in his day, and it was about as effective against that celestial visitant as will be that of Leo against the growth of Socialism.—The New Dispensation

OFFICIAL.

The Ninth Ward Branch meets next Tuesday evening at 11th and Wyoming. All members and socialists of the ninth ward should be on hand.

Comrade Geo. H. Goebel of New Jersey, will speak at Dewey Hall, 2301 S. Broadway, on February 28, instead of the 27th, as reported last week. He will also speak at Eckardt's Hall, Cherokee and Texas avenues, Friday evening, March 1, under the auspices of the ninth and tenth ward branches.

A branch has been formed by the members of the 3d, 4th and 5th wards with fifteen members. A Lippar has been nominated for House of Delegates from the 7th ward. Comrade C. R. Davis, 217 Market street, is secretary and Chas. J. Meyer, 22 N. 4th street, is organizer of the new branch. The branch meets every Saturday night at room 7, 22 N. 4th street.

The weather was so pleasant last Sunday afternoon that Comrade Hildebrand started an impromptu open air meeting on the street corner near our regular meeting place and soon gathered quite a large audience. Besides Comrade Hildebrand, the following comrades spoke: Dunn, C. R. Davis, Baird, De Celle and McCaffery. About four o'clock the street meeting was adjourned and the crowd went into the hall where the programme was continued.

Regular meeting City Central committee at 22 N. 4th street, Monday evening, Feb. 18. Comrade Detjen elected chairman. C. J. Meyer, Kreis, Winkler, Detjen, Gomes, Larkin, Hildebrand, Bunnier, Ruesche, Budd, McCaffery and Hager present. Secretary reported balance on hand, \$55.76. Organizer reported organization of 11th ward; 4th ward reported nomination of A. Lippar for House of Delegates; 6th ward reported nomination G. B. Nelson, and 9th ward nomination of Leonhard Stoll for House of Delegates. Sub-committee reported that arrangements had been made for meeting at Dewey Hall on Feb. 25, to be addressed by Comrade Goebel of New Jersey, and that the 9th and 10th wards would arrange another meeting on March 1 at Texas and Cherokee. Committee drafting campaign circular submitted copy, which was approved and fifty thousand copies ordered printed. Comrade Baird elected to fill vacancy caused by resignation of Comrade Stoll. Comrade Larkin elected to fill vacancy on Commune festival committee caused by Comrade McCaffery's resignation. Secretary instructed to order 100 "Merrie England's," 250 of "The Trust Question" by Chas. Vall, 250 of "The Mission of the Working Class," Chas. Vall, and \$1.50 worth of "Socialism and the Labor Problem," by Rev. T. McGrady.

Campaign Fund

Last week the campaign fund took a sudden leap of forty dollars and nearly knocked the secretary off his feet with the surprise. He had scarcely recovered from the blow when the boys came at him again. This week's increase is even more than last week, amounting to an addition of \$41.95. Keep it up gents. This is the kind of work that counts, and now that the fund is on the boom let's see just how high we can make it jump. Everybody take a hand:

| | |
|--|----------|
| Previously reported | \$61.50 |
| On list No. 21— | |
| Aug. Zimmerman | 25 |
| C. Wittershagen | 25 |
| Lud. Winkler | 25 |
| Gust. Liepe | 25 |
| Gus. Naske | 25 |
| Gus. Thaurich | 25 |
| Fr. Friedmann | 25 |
| Wm. Schmolt | 15 |
| P. G. Benner | 50 |
| Fred. Koss | 25 |
| Collected on list No. 22 by Hy. Fellner | 50 |
| H. Fellner | 50 |
| B. Diedrich | 50 |
| Henry Kesten | 50 |
| Anton R. Winter | 50 |
| John Schmitt | 25 |
| Wm. Fischer | 50 |
| John Masraung | 50 |
| Chas. Schuetz | 25 |
| Ed. Berg | 25 |
| F. Hoffman | 25 |
| A. Kruse | 25 |
| Wm. Ruesche | 50 |
| Fred. Schreck | 50 |
| C. Friede | 50 |
| H. Kropp | 25 |
| On list No. 47— | |
| F. Halg | 25 |
| Philipp Scherer | 25 |
| P. Schindler | 25 |
| J. Adler | 1.00 |
| Collected by C. R. Davis on list No. 35— | |
| F. Mayer | 50 |
| Jac. Huther | 50 |
| C. R. Davis | 1.00 |
| Miscellaneous— | |
| 6th Ward Branch | 5.00 |
| Social Democratic Women's Club | 10.00 |
| H. P. Nelson | 1.00 |
| W. C. W. | 5.00 |
| Hy. Struckhoff | 1.00 |
| E. Mueller | 1.00 |
| Max Demmler | 50 |
| Collected by Voegel and Hochstet | |
| Bakers' Union, No. 15 | 5.55 |
| Socialist | 25 |
| Total | \$102.50 |

Vote! Vote! Vote!

HEADQUARTERS PROVISIONAL STATE COMMITTEE. St. Louis, Mo., Feb. 1, 1901. Members of Social Democratic Party of Missouri.

Pursuant to Sec. 3 of the State Constitution, which has just been adopted, you are called upon to elect Chairman, a Secretary and a Treasurer for the State Committee.

The following nominations have been received: For Chairman, G. H. TURNER, of Kansas City. For Secretary, W. J. HAGER, of St. Louis. For Treasurer, F. P. O'HARE, of St. Louis.

In accordance with the National Constitution (Art. III, Sec. 1) you are called upon to elect a member for Missouri to the National Council.

The following nominations have been received: CALEB LIPSCOMB, of Liberal. D. F. ESKEW, of Poplar Bluff. HERMAN PENKERT, of Bevier.

You must scratch out all but the name you vote. If you desire to vote for a comrade other than the nominee for the respective office, write his name in on the dotted line and scratch all the rest.

THE PROVISIONAL STATE COMMITTEE. Members of Local St. Louis will please fill out the above ballot and forward to me at once as the entire vote must be reported to the state committee this week. WM. J. HAGER, Sec. Room 7, 22 N. 4th street.

AMERICAN ITEMS.

The comrades of Oregon have started a state organization fund. Socialists of Homestead, Richland County, N. D., formed a club of nineteen members. Boston Social Democrats have arranged for a series of Sunday evening lectures.

The Worker is the name of a new Polish S. D. P. paper in Chicago. Local New York has set June 30th as the date for its annual picnic.

Cremakers, carpenters and other organizations of New Castle, Pa., are aiding the S. D. P. to elect their ticket.

Socialists of Chicago gave a rousing concert and ball on the 10th last, which broke all records.

Texas Socialists have subscribed \$185 for stock in a state paper and the subscriptions are still coming in.

This year the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Blacksmiths, Patternmakers, etc., will celebrate their fiftieth anniversary all over the world. Comrade Chas. S. Wallace of Fairhaven has been elected to represent the state of Washington on the S. D. P. national council.

A stenographers and typewriters' union is being organized in New York. Mental laborers are fast becoming class conscious. Capitalism is drawing the line.

The Chicago Bohemian comrades have raised \$170 to meet expenses incidental to doubling the size of Spravedist, the Bohemian Social Democratic weekly, next month.

The Socialist, Seattle, Wash., complains that the vote of the State of Washington has not been correctly stated. It should be: Social Democratic, 1982, and Socialist Labor, 803.

Advices from A. F. of L. headquarters are to the effect that more charters were issued during the month of January than in any three months of last year.

Walter Hurt, formerly editor of the Cleveland, O., "Gatling Gun," a virile writer, whose exposures of the rottenness of society life brought him persecution and suffering, is now a Socialist.

Locals Frankfurt, Peekskill, Oneida, Watertown, Union Springs and Hornellsville, all of New York State, have put up municipal tickets. Comrade Job Harriman is having a successful tour of the state.

On April 1 the window glass trust and independent concerns will close down 80 plants and throw 30,000 employees out of work. The idea is to curtail production and keep up prices primarily.

Ranhard Buek, author of "The Emancipation of the Workers," a book in which he attacked the philosophy of Socialism from an individualistic standpoint, has boldly recanted and retracted all he has written against Socialism, destroyed the plates of his books and will now work for Socialism.

A SUGGESTION.

Extracts From a Ward Campaign Circular.

Some of the comrades who have been honored by the Local with the nominations for the House of Delegates have taken that hint and are going to strive with all their might and means and methods to put the glorious message of Socialism before every one of their "constituents" (as the capitalist political fakir says). They are primarily imbued with the hope of getting the names of enough "scattered" Socialists within their respective ward boundaries to enable them to organize ward branches before election day, so the party will have at least some show of systematic propaganda in the now unorganized wards, before the people decide on election day.

To obtain that object the circular reads thus after giving the name of the candidate and his address: Every Socialist in the ward should at once communicate with him. This is important if you want Socialist votes counted. Without some organized effort in each ward many votes may be lost to the cause.

Of the two old parties it says: "Please notice that this circular ignores the two old parties (1) because the working class has nothing to expect from them. (2) a, because in their false platform they are guilty of misrepresentation, trickery, fraud, deception, imposition and perversion; (b), because in their primaries and on-convention and election days, they hire armed thugs and assassins to intimidate and kill if need be; they stuff ballot boxes; they cheat; they lie; they steal; they slug citizens; they use money and whisky to bribe the immoral.

Does it pay to reason with thugs and bulldozers and perversers? Social Democrats will not reason with Republicans, nor Democrats, who are letting thugs, hoodlers and bosses run their parties.

Social Democrats will reason with advocates of Public Ownership Parties. Social Democrats say to them: Even if car fares are reduced to 1c per trip, Even if gas rates are reduced to 10c per 1000 feet, Even if houses are made rent free, Even if the cost of living in St. Louis is reduced one-half,

Yea, even then the working class will not be permanently benefited. Because Reduced cost of living in St. Louis will bring more people to St. Louis. This will increase the demand for houses in St. Louis. Landlords own all the houses in St. Louis. Landlords can and will raise rents in St. Louis.

Ab, but you are going to buy or build your own home and not let the landlord fleece you out of all the gain from cheap car fares, etc.?

Well, that's your privilege, but mark carefully two very important economic laws: (1) Landlords own all ground in St. Louis—the increased rents for houses have raised ground value in St. Louis proportionately (the landlord has got you there again, eh?); then (2) The great influx of people attracted by "cheap living" has increased the number of men hunting jobs in St. Louis. Do wages go up or down when men are hunting jobs? (Here the factory lords have got you.)

Do you cry out enough; down with lords of all kinds. I am a free man and demand my rights; I demand my heritage which is withheld from me by a pernicious political system backed up by cut throat politicians?

Join the Social Democratic Party, learn its principles and if need be you'll die for them.

The circular also touches up the foolish working man who is reconciled to the old corrupt parties when he sees a so-called "labor-leader" on their ticket. It says: "Any workingman who accepts office from any old party prostitute himself and sells out the working class; if he does it consciously he is a knave; if he does so unconsciously then he is very ignorant."

Its most important paragraph has to do with the Socialist Labor Party, by telling the people frankly the facts, the truth about the presence of the two parties—apparently here for the same purpose and yet divided—the comrades who are using the circular expect to see the vote for the old S. L. P. ticket sink into insignificance at the same time attracting those who refrain entirely from voting, or vote for old parties because they have never heard the reason—the truth—about the division of Socialists in America into two parties.

The circular mentions Revolution in strong and unmistakable terms and keeps before the reader the absolute necessity of a revolution—socialism will be preceded by a revolution; it rests with the people whether it be a peaceable one or not.

Any candidate for the House of Delegates desiring any number of this circular from 1000 upwards with his name and address, etc., for his ward should communicate at once with Comrades Henry Ruesche, 5318 Julia place, or E. E. Hildebrand, 4826 Suburban Railroad.

The circular will, of course, advertise our headquarters, the Local hall, and the new plan of advertising our street and hall meetings in the want ads. of the Chronicle.

WAX ENDS.

UNION BAKERIES.

Reydt Bakery Co. Seibach, 12th and N. Market Heinrich, 5138 N. Broadway Casper J. Diester, 1947 Madison Chas. Halter, St. Ferdinand and Sarah Wm. Kessler, 2236 Biddle J. Tegeler, 808 N. Broadway Chas. Schmitt, 2290 Howard st. Jac. Kaufmann, 8290 N. Broadway H. Strackert, 1724 O'Fallon st. Frank Barber, 404 Grand ave. Louis Neuninger, 3502 Cass ave. M. Schaub, 4426 N. Broadway Louis Fjahnler, 3214 N. Broadway Chas. N. Borth, 2306 S. 9d st.

Social Democratic Party of St. Louis Meets

Every SUNDAY, 3 p. m., at Metal Trades Hall, 1310 Franklin Ave.

Speaking and Discussion at Each Meeting

Except first in Each Month.

Come and Hear Principles of Socialism Discussed.

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 issues in America today 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, factories, 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 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 Eads 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.

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

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

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

17. Establishment of a Municipal Labor Bureau.

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

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

20. Establishment and maintenance of public bath houses.

21. Public ownership and operation of laundries.

BEYOND THE SEAS.

BELGIUM.

The glassblowers of Charleroi, after a five months' hard fight, obtained their object—namely, that the employer shall employ only members of the Labour Syndicate.

FRANCE.

M. Allemane, the Socialist candidate in the Eleventh Arrondissement of the Department of the Seine has defeated his opponent, Max Regis, the Anti-Semite, by a vote of 4,255 against 3,347.

HOLLAND.

The yearly conference of the Social Democratic Labour Party will be held at Easter, and will be chiefly devoted to the elections and the relation of the party to the trade unions.

DENMARK.

The employees of the State railways threatened to strike if they did not receive an increase of wages. The Minister of Public Works has agreed to grant the advance asked for.

The dressmakers in Copenhagen have formed a union, and over 1,000 women have joined; they have succeeded in getting their wages raised.

AUSTRIA.

The other day no less than 15 persons selling the Arbeiter Zeitung in the streets of Vienna were arrested; their papers confiscated and the men fined. This shows with what difficulties the Austrian Socialists have to contend. It is illegal to hawk papers, though it is done, and the other papers are not interfered with, but the Socialist never knows when the police will drop on to him.

GERMANY.

Comrade Bebel made it hot for them in the Reichstag on the Chinese question.

Mass meetings called by the Socialists throughout Germany last week passed strongly worded resolutions against the prohibitive agricultural duties, branding them as most unjust and a most onerous burden for the working part of the nation, and dictating a salary by the "brutal class of the empire and the lowest Agrarian selfishness." They not only protest against increased duties, but demand their entire abolition.

WHY NEGROES STEAL.

Now and then we hear the negroes severely condemned for petty stealing and there seems to be a prevalent notion that negroes steal as naturally as they breathe. Let us look at this matter for a moment. Without considering the intellectual level of the negroes as a race, let us ask what is it, as a rule, they steal. Is it not generally something to eat or something to keep them warm? In the majority of cases it is. Is it not also true that as society is organized today the negro receives for his labor less than sufficient to provide the simplest comforts and keep life in the body of any human being? Undoubtedly, this is true. Then, if society denies to the negro enough to comfortably fill his stomach as often as nature requires it to be filled, is it to be wondered at that he pilfers or steals something to eat if the opportunity is afforded? Of course, this petty thieving is annoying, and these remarks are not intended as any apology or excuse for it. They are intended, however, as an explanation of the fact that so many negroes steal, or at least credited with so doing. What is the remedy for this state of affairs? Common sense certainly suggests that if we would change an effect the cause must be removed or altered. It is not to be wondered at that people steal food if society deprives them of enough to eat. But if society guaranteed to all men an opportunity to earn a living (a thing society does not do as yet), then no complaint could be made against petty stealing, because stealing, both great and small, will naturally disappear under such an order of things—men preferring to earn their living rather than to steal it if conditions are right. The remedy then for stealing is a new order of things. Socialism offers this new order to the world, and it can be inaugurated just as soon as you are ready for it. But, of course, if you prefer a precarious existence as a wage slave, confronted by the necessity now and then of stealing in order to fill your stomach, or, if you are a big thief living off the toil and what you can fleece from labor (the producer of all wealth) it is quite useless to appeal to you—it will be possible for men to be honest and live the lives of Christians. Southern Socialist, Louisville, Ky.

The ties of brotherhood are not bounded by caste or crime. Across the plains, and over mountains high, Upon the bosom of the ocean grand, Thro' forests wild, and deserts parched and dry, Wherever I may go, I can but see My own, my native land; And everywhere, I clasp the hand Of slaves whom God intended to be free.

"Why should these toiling millions bend the knee, And pay forced tribute to the others? For all that's living, bond or free, Whatever be their country, tribe or clan, Are sons of God and truly brothers, God made, and gave the earth to be A common heritage for man."

The Eighth Ward Branch held its regular semi-annual election of officers last Wednesday evening. Comrade George Schiefelstein was elected secretary-treasurer and Comrade Detzen was re-elected organizer.

Poplar Bluff Nominates.

The Social Democrats of Poplar Bluff, Mo., met in convention Saturday, February 16th, and nominated the following city ticket:

For Mayor—Carl Knecht.
For City Attorney—George Bullock.
For Collector—George Lutz.
For Treasurer—Henry Dirks.
For Assessor—Phillip Sautier.
For Police Judge—G. G. Massingham.
For Marshal—A. C. Ford.
For City Council: First Ward—D. F. Eskew.

Third Ward—Frank Biebler.
Fourth Ward—Chas. Hinrichs, Sr.
This is the third municipal ticket nominated by Socialists of Missouri for the spring elections. Comrade Lipscomb writes that Local Liberal, Mo., will put up a complete municipal ticket soon. There are also several other locals preparing to take a hand in the spring elections. Missouri will be lively around the first of April.

The spirit of class-consciousness is not a something, indefinite and intangible—a mere catch phrase and cant expression. It is a definite, tangible thing which manifests itself in concrete, material ways. It prevents scabbing; it causes the sympathetic strike. It fills the depleted treasuries of labor unions engaged in a long struggle for the modicum of justice represented by the eight-hour day. It leads the agitator to the prison. It causes the propagandist to devote all his time and talents to the benefit of his fellow. It teaches the workers that democratic discipline without which no revolutionary proletarian movement can ever succeed. Long live the spirit of solidarity! —The Advance.

Mrs. Theodore Sealskin gives a dollar to Jim Shivers. Jimmy's father drives a team for Mr. Theodore Sealskin at \$1.50 a day. Mr. Sealskin makes \$3 a day out of old man Shivers, that is, Shivers earns \$1,000 a year which Sealskin robs him of.
Then Mrs. Sealskin piously and benevolently takes pity on the Shivers youngster, and gives him one of the thousand dollars his father earned but was robbed of by the Hon. Theodore Sealskin.

Shivers and Sealskin stand for wage-workers and capitalists the world over. Workers, unite! You have nothing to lose but your poverty. You have a world (of your own) to win.—The Socialist.

In Boston the union printers have had trouble for years in trying to secure the same wages for female compositors as are paid male help. The contention of the union on this question has stood between it and the unionizing of some of the large book and job offices and weekly and monthly publications. It is understood that President Lynch has finally succeeded in settling this vexed question and that hereafter the female compositors in that city will receive the same as the male.

Socialist Publications

THE STATE AND SOCIALISM, a lecture delivered by Gabriel Deville in Paris, April 26, 1896. Translated by Robert Rives La Monte. International Library Pub. Co., 23 Duane St., N. Y. Price ten cents.

This is another interesting little book of the International Library series. The author's style of treating on his subject appears in the following paragraph:

"We must work without ceasing to elect more and more Socialists to office, to permeate and saturate the state more and more with Socialist ideas, until, in the hands of the Socialist party or the class-conscious, organized proletariat, the state with all its powers, and especially that of law-making, becomes the instrument, which it is destined to be, of the economic transformation to be accomplished. When that transformation is completely accomplished, there will then be, instead of persons to be constrained, only things to be administered, and on that glorious day there will be a social organization, but it will no longer be a State."

THE FOLLY OF BEING "GOOD" by Chas. H. Kerr. Published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co., 56 Fifth Ave., Chicago. Price five cents.

This little booklet, which is the latest of the Pocket Library series is something decidedly new in Socialist propaganda literature. It can be used to reach people who could in no other way be interested. The writer talks frankly to young folks upon the subject of love, courtship and marriage, at the same time ingeniously weaving a few Socialist pointers into his remarks that are calculated to arouse interest in the subject of Socialism. If you know a young man who is love-sick mail him a copy of this book. He will read it through.

The explanation of the title of the book is found in the following lines:

"It is not an accident that the children of the working people are being taught to be 'good.' What does 'good' mean?"

"We call a newly laid egg 'good.' If we break the shell of an egg that has begun to hatch we call it 'bad,' because it is no use to us; but if we had let it alone it might have grown into a 'good' chicken."

"A 'good' dog is one that does as its owner wishes, and shows no strong desires to interfere with the desires of its owner. A 'good' slave is just like a 'good' dog."

"Now the slaves taken together are much stronger than the masters taken together, and so the masters could not make the slaves obey them if they had to do it by force. They have a better way. They control the schools, the churches, the newspapers and most of the book publishing houses, so you see they control most of the places from which most of the people get their ideas. Thus they can and do make people think that to act in the way that is best for their masters is 'good' and that to act in the way that is best for themselves is 'bad.'"

For a Good Time, Come to the

Second Annual Masquerade Ball,

Given By

CIGARMAKERS' UNION, NO. 44,

at Lemp's Park Hall, 13th and Utah Sts.

Saturday Evening February 23.

Tickets, 25c a Person.

A Handsome Souvenir presented to Each Lady Attending.

WM. VOEGE'S Bakery and Coffee House

115 South 2d Street,

Opposite Lemp's Beer Depot. A carefully located Union Bakery.

Haverhill Social Democrat

CONTAINS USUALLY:
1. Reports from Socialists Elected to Office.
2. Articles on the Theory and Practice of Socialism.
3. News of the Movement at Home and Abroad.
4. Editorials on Current Topics.
No active Socialist can get along without the "Haverhill Social Democrat."
One year, 50c; six months, 25c; three mos., 15c
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Preis 1.00 im Jahr; 6 Monate 75
Cent; 3 Monate 40 Cent.
Arbeiter-Zeitung, 22 Nord 4. Strasse,
St. Louis, Mo.

The Red Flag.

It was borne by Spartacus, till he fell,
Fighting the Roman band;
It was waved by Revolution sires
In our own beloved land.

Palaski carried the banner red,
With Maryland's horsemen bold;
And when he was laid away to rest
He was wrapped in its scarlet fold.

It floated above the hosts of France,
When Liberty blossomed there;
It has leaped to the breeze in every age
Of the men who love and dare.

More nobly still, this flag of red,
Was crimsoned a deeper stain,
When angels shuddered—a god was dead—
And the Love of the world was slain!

Desert it? Never! for it means the blood
Of the human race is one;
That His heaven shall come on earth—
That His will shall be done—
—The New Dispensation.

The Correspondence School.

A copy of the first of the printed lessons in the correspondence work of the Chicago School of Social Economy, has been sent to us by Comrade Mills. In this lesson he affirms that all the earth belongs by natural and inherent right to all of the people. The facts on which he depends for his argument are gathered from the most eminent scientific authorities. After the narration of these facts and the theory of the naturalists regarding them, he proceeds with a series of twelve propositions to tie up the situation and by a line of inductive reasoning to establish his claims. He does this not by any general assertions or sentiments, but by a line of reasoning in which there are no missing links and which in the most forcible and conclusive manner refute and deny that there can be any just and natural ownership of the earth or any portion of the earth.

He announces that the next lesson will deal with "Primitive Industry." The cost of the whole twenty lessons together with the correspondence—and the lessons are not in shape to use without the correspondence—is only \$3.00. A course of the same length in the ordinary correspondence school would cost \$25.00.

The Carriage and Wagon Makers' Union gave a delightful smoker and entertainment Tuesday evening at Druid's Hall. Comrades Kreyling, Rucker and Hoehn spoke and Comrade Woestendiek took advantage of the occasion to circulate considerable Socialist literature.

In his advice to young men Russell Sage says: "Save 25 cents out of every dollar earned, and 75 cents if possible." This is good advice, and I handed it to a friend of mine who was complaining of the hard times into which he had fallen. He is a family man with several children who need clothes and school books and food to eat, and occasionally a few of the things that make life bright and agreeable, provided the father can afford them. He looked at the sentence and smiled a wan smile. He said he was employed on one of Mr. Sage's railroads and got \$1.25 a day. I concluded that my efforts were wasted, and passed the item on to a young man whose papa is a banker. I have not learned at this writing what progress he is making.—Appeal to Reason.

The Workers' Progressive Society is another institution started by young Socialists in Cleveland, which meets every Friday evening in Liberty Hall, Perry and Orange streets, and is open to the public. The Citizen reports that several similar institutions are to be established in different parts of the city.

DIRECTORY.

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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.; Wm. J. Hager, Secretary, Room 7, 22 N. 4th St. Office hours, p. m. to 6 p. m.

LOCAL ST. LOUIS, meets every Sunday at 3 p. m. at 1310 Franklin av. Membership dues, 25 cents per month and 10 cents additional at beginning of each quarter. Each member receives a weekly paper.

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2ND WARD BRANCH—Sec. H. J. Steigerwalt, 1112 Chambers st. Meets every 2nd and 4th Thursday, 8 p. m. at Liederkrantz Hall, 2412 N. 14th st.

6TH WARD BRANCH—Meets every 2d Tuesday of the month, 8 p. m., at 1031 S. 12th St. Sec., Chas. Specht.

7TH AND 8TH WARD BRANCH—Meets 1st and 3d Wednesdays at Dewey Hall, 2301 S. Broadway. Sec. Fred Vierling, 1985 S. 3d St.

9TH WARD BRANCH meets 1st and 4th Tuesdays, 8 p. m., at 13th and Wyoming Sts. Sec. L. Stoll, 3545 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, 2821 Wisconsin Av.

12TH WARD BRANCH meets 4th 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 Tuesday, 8 p. m., at 2206 Locust St. 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.

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