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VOL. IV.

ST. LOUIS, MO., SATURDAY, APRIL 25, 1903.

NO. 116.

The "Snake" Kinney-Wells "New St. Louis" Administration.

The House of Delegates, the St. Louis Boodlers' Club, Reorganized and Ready for Business at the Old Stand. "Snake" Kinney as the Leader for a "Clean Administration" and a "New St. Louis." The Fourth Ward Boodler's Vote Elects William Hughes from the Tenth Ward to the Chairmanship of the House. "Snake" Kinney as the Tool of the Millionaire Brewers, Tony Steuver, Charley Lemp and Gussie Busch, and the Political Engineer of the Wells-Harry Hawes Jefferson Club Machine.. Republicans in the New Combine. Some Interesting Facts.



Another "Shamelessness of St. Louis" must be recorded. Last Tuesday both branches of the municipal assembly, elected April 7, effected organization, and the new "Boodler's club" is ready for business at the old stand.

Wm. H. Hughes was elected speaker of the house of delegates. He is advertised as an "administration man," i. e., he is enjoying the benevolence of the Wells-Hawes-Jefferson club machine that promised to work for a "New St. Louis."

"This "administration man" was elected speaker of the house by the vote of "Snake" Kinney, the renowned Fourth ward statesman and "honorable" who figured so prominently in the sensational grand jury boodle investigation of the last year.

The vote for speaker was as follows:

Hughes—Birge, Edward M. Block, William A. Block, Griffin, Hagerman, Hammerstein, KINNEY, Lackland, Meehan, Maloney, O'Brien, O'Neill, Rott, Stoops and Hughes—15.

Fontana—Brennan, Conran, Fontana, Gazolo, McAuliffe, McCarthy, Norp, Teschemacher, Weeke, Wiedner, Williams, Witthoefft, Zimmermann—13.

"Snake" Kinney, who led the fight for Hughes and the administration against Fontana and Butler, also received "congratulations."—St. Louis Republic of April 22.

On April 2 the same democratic organ published the following advice: "Let us not have a democrat like Kinney as delegate for the Fourth ward, when a better man, though a republican, like Clarence T. Case, is available."

Still this same man, Kinney, "led the fight for Hughes and the administration," and the Republic tells us that this means a "New St. Louis administration."

All it does mean, in our humble opinion, is: A "New Boodle Administration," because it originated in the cesspool of corruption and political crime.

Glorious scene! Sweet moments! Mr. Kinney, of the Fourth ward, escorted the newly-elected speaker, Mr. Hughes, to the chair, amid great applause.

The Post-Dispatch says: "The success of the anti-Fontana campaign is

credited, in large part, to the tactics of Delegate "Snake" Kinney, who, owing to his friendships for the Lemps, supported Hughes from the first."

On motion of Kinney, John Stroebel was elected sergeant-at-arms.

The Globe-Democrat says: "A curious feature of the fight was the united support given Hughes by the South St. Louis democratic brewers, Tony Steuver, Gussie Busch and the Lemp boys."

"Snake" Kinney acted as the political engineer for Rolla Wells, Harry Hawes, and for the millionaire brewers, Steuver, Busch and Lemp.

Who is "Snake" Kinney? The Globe-Democrat of April 9 said: "Thanks to the mysteriously-increased registration in the Fourth ward, "Snake" Kinney, as a candidate for re-election to the house of delegates, received 3,122 votes, while his opponent

mustered only 164. "Snake" carries the Democratic banner as a vindicator of the combine."

On April 12, the same paper published the following editorial: "The Republic advises the Republicans of St. Louis not to cry over spilt milk. 'What's the use,' argues the Republic. 'A Democratic administration is now fully installed, and will continue in power for some time to come.' The course recommended is to keep quiet, since nothing is left to steal. Republicans here could take a square defeat from the hands of the people in perfectly good part. But four elections have been stolen. The following from the editorial page of yesterday's Post-Dispatch, under the head of 'Ballot-Box Butchery,' touches the real point at issue:

Here are the returns for two elections in the Fourth ward: 1900—Dockery (Dem.), 1,646; Flory

(Rep.), 1,383. 1903—"Snake" Kinney (Dem.), 3,122; Case (Rep.), 164.

Does any one believe that Kinney's vote is within 2,000 of an honest vote, or an honest count?

How long can St. Louis stand each butchery of the ballot box?

The Post-Dispatch is not a Republican paper, but it declines the Republic's advice to submit quietly to unlimited frauds upon the ballot box in St. Louis. The people of this city have been robbed of their rights of citizenship. They will not keep still about it, because the perpetrators of the horrible crime have all the swag and are anxious to drop the subject. The day of reckoning and retribution is yet to come."

"Snake" Kinney, Rolla Wells, Harry Hawes, Steuver, Busch, Lemp & Co.—a wonderful combination and World's Fair administration.

From St. Louis Chronicle.

PREPARING TO KILL LABORERS.

By A. M. Simons.

There was one act passed at the last session of congress which may prove more far-reaching than the ratification of the Cuban treaty, or the authorization of the Panama canal, but which scarcely received a notice in the columns of the daily press.

Laboring men have begun to realize the fact that to-day the machinery of government is in the hands of the capitalist class. They have been forced to understand the truth of what Clarence S. Darrow says in his recent book "Resist Not Evil:"

"But in reality the prime reason for all the armies of the world is that soldiers and militia may turn their guns upon their unfortunate countrymen when the owners of the earth shall speak the word. And these unfortunate countrymen are the out-cast and despised, the meek and lowly ones of the world, the men whose ceaseless toil and unpaid efforts have built the forts and molded the cannon and sustained the soldiers that are used to shoot them down.

"To say that these armies are frowning forts and gatling guns are needed to maintain peace and order is to admit at once that the great mass of men are held captive by the more powerful few. Organized soldiers and policemen, courts and sheriffs, with guns and forts and jails, have the greatest advantage over the disorganized mass who can not act together, and who know not which way to turn to keep outside the meshes of the law. Not one in a thousand need be trained to arms and authority to keep the unorganized mass in the place reserved for it to live. The purpose of guns and armies is to furnish the few an easy and sure way to control the mass."

Hitherto, these armies in America have been largely made up of militia under the control of the various states. There was always a possibility that in some of these numerous states there might be a government not wholly obedient to the capitalist class. The tendency of laborers to express themselves at the ballot box, as shown by the rapidly increasing Socialist vote, testifies to the fact that the day is not far away when some state governments will be controlled by those who produce the wealth and feed and clothe the people of the nation. If this time ever comes it is certain the militia can not be used to shoot down laboring men.

The national government, however, is so firmly entrenched behind customs and constitutional provisions established in the interest of the ruling class, that these rulers feel positive that this government may for a long time to come be depended on to defend their interests.

At the last session of congress a law was passed TAKING THE CONTROL OF THE MILITIA AWAY FROM THE VARIOUS STATES AND VESTING IT IN THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.

Workingmen have of late shown considerable hostility to the idea of enlisting in the state militia. Some means must be found to insure the continuance of an army for the defense of the profit-taking class. So a clause was included in the law providing that, if necessary, EVERY ABLE-BODIED MAN COULD BE SWORN INTO THE REGULAR ARMY AND COMPELLED TO SHOOT DOWN HIS FATHER, BROTHERS, OR SONS who might be demanding better conditions for themselves and their families. If he refuses, he can be sent to the penitentiary.

Even this was but a beginning. In order that there might not be any doubt about who were to be attacked by these armies, another step was taken by the war department. The regular army and state militia at the present time is armed with the Krag-Jorgensen rifle. The cartridge which has hitherto been used has contained

a steel-covered bullet which can be thrown by the smokeless powder charge behind it a distance of nearly two miles.

This cartridge was prepared to shoot a man similarly armed—an equipped professional soldier like the man who handled the Krag-Jorgensen.

Recently a new cartridge has been issued which, by this time, has been distributed to nearly all the state and national arsenals. This cartridge substitutes for the long steel bullet previously used, two round 30-caliber bullets (about the size of buck shot). These bullets are only effective at a distance of about 100 or 200 yards, but within that distance the great twist in the rifling of the gun causes them to separate and give all the effect of a scattering charge.

This sort of cartridge is of use only against men armed with nothing save their bare hands. It can be used against only those who, helpless and unarmed, are standing ready as targets.

THIS CARTRIDGE WAS ISSUED FOR THE PURPOSE OF KILLING UNION MEN. What do the union men of America propose to do about it?

Striking will not help in this case. Lobbies at Washington will do no good. Indeed, it might be well to ask what the present lobbies were doing when this infamous measure was passed, that they did not even raise a voice against it. This would be a good thing for union men to investigate.

There is one way to meet this and all other similar attacks from a capitalist government, and that is to capture that government and use it in the interest of the working class. THAT IS WHAT THE SOCIALISTS PROPOSE TO DO.

A. M. SIMONS.

(In Boyce's Weekly.)

FROM NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

The Army of Socialists Getting Ready for the Presidential Campaign.

National Headquarters,
Socialist Party,
Omaha, Neb., April 18, 1903.

The national office is sending out a circular letter to all state secretaries requesting a list of officials elected by the party in the respective states at the last elections. It is intended that these lists shall be compiled into one and issued to the press. The increases and victories in the elections last week make this list imperative, both for the purpose of reference and propaganda.

Twenty thousand mill workers are on strike for higher wages at Lowell, Mass., and the whole state is aroused. On Monday, April 13, the strikers held the largest parade seen for years, also hold enormous mass meetings. The principal speakers at the meetings were Representatives James F. Carey and Frederick O. McCartney, Father McGrady and Louis B. Talbot, Socialists. In the report of the speeches given, McCartney is quoted as saying: "I do not think God intended men and women to work for bread alone. The average wages of mill operatives in Lowell are said to be \$6.02 a week. That is not enough for men and women of your intelligence. On the basis of four years ago, owing to the increased cost of living, you operatives were receiving in value only \$3.60 a week. Under those circumstances you have a right to strike, and you would be cowards not to do so.

"Your strike means that you desire to participate in the benefits of the higher civilization of your times. You desire to educate your children, and that can not be done at the prevailing rate of wages.

"The present system is destroying the family life. I saw to-day in the parade children who undoubtedly,

when the mills are open, work in some of the rooms."

Father McGrady said in part:

"Labor will live if all capitalists die or leave the country, but capitalists can not live without laborers being willing to work. To-day, in the United States, taking into account the cost of living, the laborer is receiving less pay than in any country in the world. Considering the purchasing power of money, laborers receive to-day 400 per cent. less than 50 years ago.

"I do not agree with all the remarks of a previous speaker. From my observation the union man has to bear the burden in every way of securing shorter hours and higher pay, and the selfish non-union man comes in and reaps the benefit. Non-union men by refusing to join a union aid the capitalist in keeping down wages. By so doing they are aiding in taking the bread from the mouths of children, and preventing union men and women from getting the full benefit of their labor and skill.

"The development of the soul should be considered in connection with the labor movement. God never intended that men should forever labor in the ditch. He did not intend that millions of operatives should remain forever working in factories assisting to create millionaires and billionaires.

"Operatives as well as other people should have time and money to aid in their mental development. This struggle to-day in Lowell is only one of many against those who believe they are the ruling class. I beg of you in this struggle to remember that your success means better conditions for your wives and children. I say again that in the effort to win you should resist until you are almost starved by the ditch side. If you win you are bettering the condition of your country and advancing civilization."

There is to be a special congressional election in the First Oregon district, and the Socialists have nominated J. W. Ingle. Comrade R. R. Ryan is chairman of the campaign committee and C. F. Sherwood secretary. M. W. Wilkins, national organizer, is assisting in the campaign.

Contributions to the special organizing fund are beginning to arrive at headquarters. Up to date the following have been received in the order given:

J. La Vigne, 20 cents; Leonard D.

Abbott, \$5; D. Jenkins, 50 cents; M. Hilquit, \$10; Clarence Smith, \$5. That is a pretty good start, and the comrades want to keep it up. No amount is too small or too large to be received.

The results of the spring elections furnish fresh evidence that the Socialist Party is not confined to any one section, but that it is truly a national movement. It is as a national movement that we will soon have to fight, and it is essential that every Socialist get down to business and advance the work of organization during the coming year.

Local charters have been granted during the week as follows: Safford, Ariz.; Spring Dale, Ark.; Damascus, Ga., and Springfield, Ark.

Organizer C. J. Lamb, of Michigan, reports that the system of stations being organized for summer agitation in that state promises to be very successful and effective, and great good is expected from it.

WM. MAILLY,
National Secretary.

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FORGER AND DEFAULTER.

The Organizer of the Chicago Anti-Socialist League Has Come to Grief.

Theo. B. Thiele, national secretary of the Catholic order of Foresters, and chief organizer of the Catholic Anti-Socialist league, has come to grief. It was through his planning that the campaign against Socialism was begun in Buffalo and Chicago. He was responsible for the bringing to Chicago in this crusade Anton Heiter, Father Sherman, Bishop Quigley, etc. The constitution of the Foresters' organization provides that none of its salaried officers shall be engaged in any private business, but shall give their whole time and thought to the society. It is now declared by the city papers that Theo. B. Thiele has for a long time been engaged in a private business, and for this reason he has been deposed from office. All this sounds well, if it were not for the story going the rounds that this same man is a defaulter to the tune of \$75,000, and that a most vigorous attempt is being made to cover the fact of his defalcation. For this reason the constitutional provision is pushed forward as a reason for the ousting of this gentleman from office.

Certainly Socialism ought to be deposed and a league organized to dethrone it. Socialism would not make it possible for a man to be a defaulter of another's goods. He might default on his own interests, but he could not steal the earnings of others.

Perhaps Theo. B. Thiele saw this in the philosophy of Socialism, and didn't want to be shut out of an opportunity to be a prosperous parasite.

Modern capitalism has ruined thousands upon thousands. Theo. B. Thiele defended it most vigorously. He has now gone down crushed by the system he defended. Could a more terrible indictment be brought than this.

Further developments in the case reveal the fact that Thiele added forgery to his stealings, and under the law in the penitentiary stares him in the face. It is reported by those on the inside that when this "defender of capitalism" was confronted with the evidences of his peculations he practically told his accusers to go to —.

It is now declared that if the friends make good the loses he will not be prosecuted. It is hinted that some of the local banks will be pinched pretty hard. Robbing widows and orphans and becoming a forger becomes no crime if a brother or two, a priest in the church, dig up the coin.

No wonder Thiele organized a fight against Socialism. Hell and its minions—thieves, forgers, prostitutes, liars and capitalists—all stand to oppose Socialism.

Under Socialism widows could not be robbed.

The Movement in Ohio.

The official call for the Ohio state convention has been issued and all preparations are being made to have a large and enthusiastic meeting. It will convene at Columbus on May 30th, at 10 a. m.

The general results of the municipal elections are very satisfactory and the comrades are now working harder than ever to get everything shaped up for the fall campaign. The official count from Youngstown gives them from 135 to 220 votes instead of the amount reported formerly. This is a large increase and they feel much elated over the results. Many comrades outside of the state fail to comprehend the terrible struggle that took place here this year. The state legislature in special session adopted an entirely new set of code laws for the government of municipalities. These laws were a radical departure from the old system and they were made in such a manner as to give the municipal officers largely increased salaries and unusual powers of appointment. The mayor was granted an unusual amount of patronage to distribute among his faithful ones. On account of these new laws all city officers were elected this spring, thus making a new set entirely. Both parties made the greatest fight ever known in the history of the state. The battle this fall will be a fight for governor and we will systematize our work to such an extent that we hope to have every county organized and the majority of them working with a ticket in the field. The fight in Ohio is on from now and we hope to show the plutes such a fight as will put them out of the business entirely in near future. Ohio will bear watching.

CAMPAIGN FUND.

Amount from last week	\$218 50
J. F. Dobrileit	3 80
Brewers' and Malsters' Union No. 6, list 242	80
Brewers' and Malsters' Union No. 6, list 257	2 75
Brewers' and Malsters' Union No. 6, list 258	2 50
Julius Blumenthal	25

Carl Sauer	25
B. B.	25
G. Krebs	25
H. Heilman	25
M. Joachim	25
H. Bihler	25
W. E. Kindorf	25
Geo. J. Ruffe	25
Edw. Oster	10
Henry Klaus	15
Geo. Davis	15
S. Feldman	15
Phil. Heberer	25
J. F. Wessler	25
L. P. Philippi	25
Theo. Reise	1 00
N. N. Yahlem	25
F. Windmoeller	25
C. Schumacher	25
W. Frenzdel	10
Aug. Probst	50
Richard Darst	25
Chas. Hahn	25
F. W. Asman	25
A. Wanner	25
F. Bosshard	25
F. Arend	1 00

Total\$236 50

DAVID ALLAN,
City Secretary.

Free Lecture Hall.

The People's Fund and Welfare association offer the use of their hall at the northwest corner Eleventh and Locust streets, free of charge, to all organizations for open lectures, entertainments and discussions on social, educational, economic, and all questions of vital interest to the people.

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Every wage earner whose craft or calling is not organized should belong to this union.

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Subscribers changing their residence are requested to promptly notify this office of new address. Also state old address.

The Fight Against Socialism.

Our friends will be delighted to read the following telegrams:

Berlin, April 22.—Emperor William is going to fight the Socialists with their own weapons: It has just been announced here that the government bureau of statistics will in the near future issue a labor paper under the name of the Reichsarbeitsblatt. This paper will really be edited by the kaiser and will be distributed free among labor organizations all over Germany. It is the idea of the government to take up all mooted questions and give an impartial hearing to all parties concerned.

Years of experience have evidently shown him that Bismarck's policy of oppression, so far from annihilating the Socialistic party, has had exactly the opposite result. The party has grown stronger every year and is no longer a power that may be overlooked or slighted.

New York, April 22.—Mr. Ralph M. Early, the secretary of the National Civic Federation, said to-day, when shown the cablegram mentioning the kaisers' new labor scheme:

"The plan of Emperor William is certainly unique. Almost as much so as the czar's peace rescript of a few years ago. If the government paper will keep its promises of strict impartiality, it will no doubt become a mighty factor for good and prevent the great majority of strikes."

The National Civic Federation, whose officers are Marcus A. Hanna chairman, Oscar S. Straus vice chairman, Cornelius N. Bliss treasurer, Ralph M. Early secretary, and on whose executive committee are such men as Grover Cleveland, Charles M. Schwab and Samuel Gompers, has just started a paper similar to the one proposed by the German government. This paper will appear once every month, and will be entirely devoted to furthering good understanding between labor and capital."

Socialism and the labor movement can not be checked by Emperor Wilhelm or Prince Aurelius Mark Hanna. The "harmony between capital and labor" is an idle dream. The class struggle is on and it will continue until the conflicting class interests underlying the struggle between capitalism and labor will be removed. The victory of Socialism will mean the end of the class struggle, because under Socialism there will be no chance for idle drones to exploit the millions of wealth producers.

We smile at Emperor Wilhelm and Mark Hanna's childish attempt to kill Socialism.

State Secretary Willett, of Montana, asks us to "keep our eyes on Montana and you will be surprised at the way we tally up in 1904."

Owners vs. Operators.

D. M. Parry, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, an organization of 2,100 manufacturers banded together for the purpose of opposing labor organizations, maintains the right of manufacturers (machine owners) to combine and organize for their own profit, but denies the right of workers (machine operators) to combine or organize for a similar purpose. By what logic can he or any one else demonstrate that the owners, who never did a strike of useful work, have a right to combine and organize to squeeze the workers with one hand and the consuming public with the other, and yet deny the same right to the workers? If the workers are dependent upon the machines for their living, the owners are equally dependent on the workers to run the machines. Let the workers quit and where is the owners' profit? The owners did not invent the machines. The machines having been invented the owners did not build them. All this was done by workers. Why do not the workers own them? Every useful thing is the product of labor. Why does not labor possess what it has produced? It is the effect of legalized robbery.

The rich control the legislatures, the executive, the judiciary—all the powers of government, and make, construe and execute laws for their own advantage; therefore, whenever there is a dispute between owners and workers we see all the powers of government exercised on behalf of the owners and against the workers, and the consuming public suffers. Socialism will change this by making the machines public property and using them for the public benefit. But public ownership under capitalistic conditions would be injurious to public welfare, because it would give the capitalists a tighter grip on public utilities, backed by public credit in the place of private credit and increase the liability to official corruption.

Capitalists prate about "law and order," yet they are thorough anarchists, disregarding all law except their own sweet will. Socialists are the most law-abiding people in the world. They propose to change existing conditions by process of law, to extend the law (make it cover more ground) and to strictly enforce it for the benefit of all, securing to every one the greatest possible personal independence, but restraining each from injuring others. Can anything be more just?

As for confiscation, we see it all along the line of improvement. When railroads came they destroyed the stage coach and the freight wagon, and so with everything else. Confiscation is only a boogaboo to frighten the ignorant, and is so used by the capitalists. Socialism will take nothing from any one which he can justly claim as his own, but under its benign influence the workers (all will be workers then) will have and enjoy far more than is now possible. The methods by which changes will be made will be determined when the time comes. No one can answer such questions now, but the means will be by legal enactment.

THOS. L. SAVAGE.

April 20, 1903.

About 1,245 voters in Dayton know enough when they voted for men in their own ranks, and men who know to a hair what the needs of the wage workers are. Their votes were not thrown away by any means. No vote cost for a great and undying principle is lost, and that is why the Socialists take such pride in seeing the steady growth of sentiment for their programme.—The Union Pickets.

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Henry D. Lloyd's Protest Against War.

Are war and preparations for war the only way to peace for us Americans?

We have 80,000,000 of people, we shall soon be 100,000,000. These people are the freest, richest, strongest in the world. There has never been a people equal to us in a habitat equal to ours.

* * *

By the tradition of Washington's policy and farewell message—a tradition continued till yesterday—and by our inter-oceanic isolation from Europe and Asia, we are shut off from the irritating collisions and the conquering temptations that have kept the rest of the world the prey of wars and rumors of wars for thousands of years.

Peace never had such a theater as the possession of this continent by this democracy has opened.

But every man of the world knows that this democracy is sliding rapidly down the ways which will launch it, like its own monster iron-clads, into the troubled sea—a sea of the storms of war.

The public men, the contract-seekers, the land dogs of war, and the sea dogs of war, the politicians who want a new supply of post offices and territorial governorships, the "commerce" that needs new markets, because its methods have impoverished the old ones, the philanthropists who make armor-plate—none of these dare advocate war for war's sake. More cunning, they advocate war for peace's sake.

* * *

Some one could do public intelligence no better service than by making a catalogue of the various forms of popular stupidity. At the head of the list should be placed the matter-of-course acquiescence which the people instantly give to the argument that we must build men-of-war, organize great armies, spoil the entrances to our harbors with fortifications, and invent machines, more and more costly and cruel, for tearing our fellow creatures apart, for what? That we, already the strongest nation on this planet—may make ourselves safe!

If this is true, our civilization, our religion, our democracy, our wealth, are lies. But it is not true. There are ready to our hands means no action nor groups of nations could overcome which could enwrap us in a security against foreign attack as profound as the peace we have at home.

* * *

A Tolstoyan secretary of the treasury who would show half as much zeal and ingenuity in manipulating federal finance for the good of all as some secretaries show in manipulating them for Wall street speculators, could easily elaborate a plan for financial and commercial pressure which would bring the debt-ridden, king-cursed, army-burdened regime of Europe in repentance to its knees.

What the ruling powers of Europe and America are now doing is the Utopian thing. They are hurrying us down into an abyss of despotism, bankruptcy and extermination. Every one sees it; they see it; and their only suggestion for escape is that we dig the abyss of debt, and hate, and destruction, deeper, and double the speed of our descent. More cruisers! More guns! More recruits, is their cry.

We must turn some time from all this folly. Why not turn now?

In this wilderness of witlessness into which we have been led by statesmen, diplomatists, capitalists and parsons, there is one company of citizens who have kept their heads and hearts. On the twenty-fifth anniversary

of the battle of Sedan, the German Socialists sent by telegraph to the French Socialists "a greeting and a clasp of the hands and a hurrah for international solidarity." It is a bright spot in a dark sky that there is organized in the actual world of affairs a political party growing stronger every day in Europe and America, now numbering millions of Germans, French, Italians, English and Americans who reject fundamentally the politics, the political economy, the morals and the religions of the gods of bargains and battles.

HENRY D. LLOYD.

MAY FIRST DEMONSTRATION.

C. T. & L. U. will Celebrate and Listen to an Address of Max Hayes of Cleveland.

This year's May Day demonstration will be a successful and very impressive affair. The committees are hard at work to make the final preparations. The full programme will be published later.

The demonstration will take place Friday, May 1, in the afternoon and evening.

MAX HAYES THE SPEAKER OF THE DAY.

Max Hayes, of Cleveland, O., the well known labor leader and Socialist, delegate of International Typographical union to the New Orleans convention of the A. F. of L., and elected by said convention to represent the A. F. of L. at the next British Trades Union congress in London, will be the speaker of the day. Certainly every Socialist and progressive union man will be anxious to listen to this eloquent speaker. He is the man who challenged President Parry of the National Manufacturers' association to discuss the question of Labor and Socialism.



MAX HAYES.

HASHAGEN'S HALL

Is undoubtedly the best hall for such a labor demonstration as the May Day festival. There is the larger dancing hall, and the smaller concert and theater hall, both at our disposal. These spacious and splendidly decorated halls will accommodate 10,000 people, and if necessary 15,000 may find room for celebrating and enjoying themselves.

The programme at Hashagen's will include concert and dance music, theatrical performances by Hashagen's artists, songs by the workingman's singing societies, Vorwaerts, Herwegh Saengerbund, Freiheit and Arion.

Admission 10 cents a person; children free.

Lessons in Scientific Socialism.

FOR SOCIALIST STUDENTS.

The Communist Manifesto.

By **KARL MARX** and **FREDERICK ENGELS**.

a class is being developed which is destined to cut up root and branch the old order of society.

What they upbraid the bourgeoisie with is not so much that it creates a proletariat as that it creates a revolutionary proletariat.

In political practice, therefore, they join in all coercive measures against the working class; and in ordinary life, despite their high-sounding phrases, they stoop to pick up the golden apples dropped from the tree of industry, and to barter truth, love and honor for profit on wool, beet-root sugar and potato spirit (b).

As the parson has ever gone hand in hand with the landlord, so has Clerical Socialism with Feudal Socialism.

Nothing is easier than to give Christian asceticism a Socialist tinge. Has not Christianity declaimed against private property, against marriages, against the State? Has it not preached in the place of these charity and poverty, celibacy and mortification of the flesh, monastic life and Mother Church? Christian Socialism is but the Holy Water with which the priest consecrates the heart burnings of the aristocrat.

(b) Petty Bourgeois Socialism.

The feudal aristocracy was not the only class that was ruined by the bourgeoisie, not the only class whose conditions of existence pined and perished in the atmosphere of modern bourgeois society. The mediaeval burghesses and the small peasant proprietors were the precursors of the modern bourgeoisie. In those countries which are but little developed industrially and commercially, these two classes still vegetate side by side with the rising bourgeoisie.

In countries where modern civilization has become fully developed, a new class of petty bourgeois has been formed, fluctuating between proletariat and bourgeoisie, and ever renewing itself as a supplementary part of bourgeois society. The individual members of this class, however, are being conia by the action of competition and as modern industry develops, they even see the moment approaching when they will completely disappear as an independent section of modern society to be replaced in manufactures, agriculture and commerce, by overlookers, bailiffs and shopmen.

In countries like France, where the peasants constitute far more than half of the population, it was natural that writers who sided with the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, should use in their criticism of the bourgeois regime, the standard of the peasant and petty bourgeois, and from the standpoint of these intermediate classes should take up the cudgels for the working class. Thus arose petty bourgeois Socialism. Sismondo was the head of this school, not only in France, but also in England.

This school of Socialism dissected with great acuteness the contradictions in the conditions of modern production. It laid bare the hypocritical apologies of economists. It proved, incontrovertibly, the disastrous effects of machinery and division of labor; the concentration of capital and land in a few hands, overproduction and crisis; it pointed out the inevitable ruin of the petty bourgeois and peasant, the misery of the proletariat, the anarchy in production, the crying inequalities in the distribution of wealth, the industrial war of extermination between nations.

(b) This applies chiefly to Germany, where the landed aristocracy and squirearchy have large portions of their estates cultivated for their own account by stewards; and are, moreover, extensive beet-root sugar manufacturers and distillers of potato spirits. The wealthier British aristocracy are, as yet, rather above that; but they, too, know how to make up for declining rents by lending their names to floaters of more or less shady joint-stock companies.

the dissolution of old moral bonds, of the old family relations, of the old nationalities.

In its positive aims, however, this form of Socialism aspires either to restoring the old means of production and of exchange, and with them the old property relations and the old society, or to cramping the modern means of production and of exchange, within the frame work of the old property relations that have been and were bound to be exploded by these means. In either case, it is both reactionary and Utopian.

Its last words are: corporate guilds for manufacture; patriarchal relations in agriculture.

Ultimately, when stubborn historical facts had dispersed all intoxicating effects of self-deception, this form of Socialism ended in a miserable fit of the blues.

German or "True" Socialism.

The Socialist and Communist literature of France, a literature that originated under the pressure of a bourgeoisie in power, and that was the expression of the struggle against this power, was introduced into Germany at a time when the bourgeoisie in that country had just begun its contest with feudal absolutism.

German philosophers—would-be philosophers and beaux esprits—eagerly seized on this literature, only forgetting that when these writings immigrated from France into Germany, French social conditions had not immigrated along with them. In contact with German social conditions, this French literature lost all its immediate practical significance, and assumed a purely literary aspect. Thus, to the German philosophers of the eighteenth century, the demands of the first French Revolution were nothing more than the demands of "Practical Reason" in general, and the utterance of the will of the revolutionary French bourgeoisie signified in their eyes the laws of pure will, of will as it was bound to be, of true human will generally.

The work of the German literati consisted solely in bringing the new French ideas into harmony with their ancient philosophical conscience, or rather, in annexing the French ideas without deserting their own philosophic point of view.

This annexation took place in the same way in which a foreign language is appropriated, namely by translation.

It is well known how the monks wrote silly lives of Catholic saints over the manuscripts on which the classical works of ancient heathendom had been written. The German literati reversed this process with the profane French literature. They wrote their philosophical nonsense beneath the French original. For instance, beneath the French criticism of the economic functions of money they wrote "Alienation of Humanity," and beneath the French criticism of the bourgeois State they wrote "Dethronement of the Category of the General," and so forth.

The introduction of these philosophical phrases at the back of the French historical criticisms they dubbed "Philosophy of Action," "True Socialism," "German Science of Socialism," "Philosophical Foundation of Socialism," and so on.

The French Socialist and Communist literature was thus completely emasculated. And, since it ceased in the hands of the German to express the struggle of one class with the other, he felt conscious of having overcome "French one-sidedness" and of representing not true requirements, but the requirements of truth, not the interests of the proletariat, but the interests of human nature, of man in general, who belongs to no class, has no reality,

and exists only in the misty realm of philosophical phantasy.

This German Socialism, which took its school-boy task so seriously and solemnly, and extolled its poor stock in trade in such mountebank fashion, meanwhile gradually lost its pedantic innocence.

The fight of the German, and especially of the Prussian bourgeoisie, against feudal aristocracy and absolute monarchy, in other words, the liberal movement, became more earnest.

By this, the long wished-for opportunity was offered to "True Socialism" of confronting the political movement with the socialist demands, of hurling the traditional anathemas against liberalism, against representative government, against bourgeois competition, bourgeois freedom of the press, bourgeois legislation, bourgeois liberty and equality, and of preaching to the masses that they had nothing to gain and everything to lose by this bourgeois movement. German Socialism forgot, in the nick of time, that the French criticism, whose silly echo it was, presupposed the existence of modern bourgeois society, with its corresponding economic conditions of existence, and the political constitution adapted thereto, the very things whose attainments was the object of the pending struggle in Germany.

To the absolute governments, with their following of parsons, professors, country squires and officials, it served as a wholesome scarecrow against the threatening bourgeoisie.

It was a sweet finish after the bitter pills of floggings and bullets with which these same governments, just at that time, dosed the German working-class risings.

While this "True" Socialism thus served the governments as a weapon for fighting the German bourgeoisie, it, at the same time, directly represented a reactionary interest, the interest of the German philistines. In Germany the petty bourgeois class, a relique of the 16th century and since then constantly cropping up again under various forms, is the real social basis of the existing state of things.

To preserve this class is to preserve the existing state of things in Germany. The industrial and political supremacy of the bourgeoisie threatens it with certain destruction: on the one hand, from the concentration of capital; on the other, from the rise of a revolutionary proletariat. "True" Socialism appeared to kill these two birds with one stone. It spread like an epidemic.

The robe of speculative cobwebs, embroidered with flowers of rhetoric, steeped in the dew of sickly sentiment, this transcendental robe in which the German Socialists wrapped their sorry "eternal truths" all skin and bone, served to wonderfully increase the sale of their goods amongst such a public.

And on its part, German Socialism recognized more and more its own calling as the bombastic representative of the petty bourgeois philistine.

It proclaimed the German nation to be the model nation, and the German petty philistine to be the typical man. To every villainous meanness of this model man it gave a hidden, higher, socialistic interpretation, the exact contrary of its real character. It went to the extreme length of directly opposing the "brutally destructive" tendency of Communism, and of proclaiming its supreme and impartial contempt of all class struggles. With very few exceptions, all the so-called Socialist and Communist publications that now (1847) circulate in Germany belong to the domain of this foul and enervating literature.

2. 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 bourgeois is a bourgeois—for the benefit of the working class.

FROM MOUNT OLIVE, ILLINOIS.

Increase of the Socialist Vote Among the Miners.

Mt. Olive, Ill., April 21, 1903.

Dear Comrade Hoehn—The vote cast for our ticket to-day was 90 straight after the split votes were counted. The vote for our candidates ranged from 96 to 127. For mayor, Theo. Schmithusen, received 119. D. P. Jackson, for clerk 124. For board of trustees, Hy. Buskohl, 100; Fred Schrader, 96; Emile Jubelt, 98.

Votes cast for our party last fall 80. Fraternally yours,

A. F. GERMER.

Total vote cast to-day was 541. Democratic straight vote was 79. Republican, 187.

Omaha, Neb., April 22.—The Business Men's association of Omaha has issued a statement showing that more than 800 business men of the city have banded together to fight the different labor organizations, each pledging himself to assist any member who has trouble with his employes.

The National Manufacturers' association is said to be behind the movement in Omaha, and it is further said that this city has been chosen by that organization to fight the labor organizations to a finish.

Should this prove true, there is no doubt that labor unions throughout the country would support the Omaha unions, and the fight would be a long one.

Under Socialism women will have the right to work and the right to all their labor produces.

Under Socialism matrimonial contracts need not be entered to accommodate the finances of the bride's family.

Under Socialism one woman will not be compelled to hammer a typewriter all day that another may thump a piano.

Woman's Forum.

Edited by KATE EMMET.

IF A TRAMP CAME TO CHICAGO.

By G. A. Hoehn in "New America."

III.

FREEDOM'S VOICE ON NEW CHICAGO PLACE.

"When wealth ceases to be a means of living by the labor of other people, and especially when an honorable and easy living is within her reach, we may suppose that a woman will rarely consent to marry for anything but love, will no longer consent to be bought to be a piece of furniture of any western Turk."—Gronlund.

It was nine o'clock when we returned from our ride through the city. Accepting my invitation to breakfast without any conventional ceremonies, Lily accompanied me back to my family villa, where my father and mother and my younger sisters had already been waiting for us for some time. "Welcome, Lily!" greeted my mother, seemingly very much delighted to meet her future daughter-in-law. "Come right in, children," she added. "Breakfast we'll take at home, but for dinner we shall go to Hotel Bellamy, where we meet all our neighbors and their families." "Yes," smilingly remarked Lily, "and from the perspective of Bellamy hotel we shall be 'looking backward' to the housewife-drudgery on the Graveyard Alley of Capitalism. Just think of it! In old Chicago alone it took over 100,000 stoves, with 100,000 fires, with 100,000 housewives to cook a single dinner—and what a dinner, at that! A soup bone boiled in the polluted fluid from the Democratic and Republican waterworks! And many 'free-born Americans' did not even have that much of a dinner."

The bells were ringing. Many thousand children were gathering at the public squares, accompanied by their teachers and by their parents, sisters and brothers, ready to take part in the grand parade and the demonstration on New Chicago place. The juvenile bands played; soon the processions moved towards Commonwealth boulevard, and thence to New Chicago place. Here, in the midst of the fine boulevards and squares, with the magnificent public buildings, the tens of thousands of people amused themselves with all kinds of exercises and sports of a highly cultivated character. Semi-barbarism, as, for instance, John L. Sullivan-Corbett-Maher prize-boxing, dog-fights, or horse races are things of the past, and our young people would consider it a crime, a means to brutalize and outrage mankind, to revive these savage sports which characterized the capitalist era. As long as the masses of oppressed wage-workers could be interested in dog-fights there was no possibility that they would ever think about ways and means for the amelioration of their miserable condition. Thinking men and women were horrors to the capitalist class. "Rather 1,000,000 admirers of the brute John L. Sullivan than 100 students of social economy." This was the opinion of the average bourgeois.

Of course I can not give you the entire programme of this Fourth of July celebration. The programme would fill a book as big as our New American Civil Law book, which, however, is not as voluminous as might be supposed, for our laws are but few in number, and these few laws are so plain and explicit that any child can understand them.

The large hall of the Museum of Fine Arts, which contained over 20,

000 seats, had been selected as one of the lecture halls for the Fraternalization festivities. Arrangements had also been made so that a number of speakers could address thousands of citizens on Commonwealth boulevard, right in front of the Museum of Fine Arts. This principal thoroughfare of the city presented a fine, impressive appearance. The large plaza was surrounded by numerous statues of great men of various nationalities. Here were the statues of Washington, Paine, Jefferson and other heroes of the American revolution; of Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, John Brown, Lincoln; of Robert Owen, Charles Fourier, Saint-Simon, Marx, Frederick Engels, Kier Hardie, Hyndman, Burns, Bebel, Fafargue, Gronlund, Bellamy, De Felice, Jean Volders, Tchernychewsky, Sophia Perovskaia; of Shakespeare and Goethe; of Haydn, Beethoven and other men and women who, by their genius and sacrifices, contributed to the advancement of true civilization, to the welfare of mankind.

It was here in front of the Museum building, on the central platform, where I was to lecture. I shall give a synopsis of what I said in my closing addresses, hoping that this will be satisfactory to all who are anxious to know how the greatest social revolution of all ages was accomplished without the usual bloody encounters that characterized the American and French revolutions of the eighteenth century.

At the end of the nineteenth century America, Europe, Australia and those parts of Asia and Africa where capitalism held the reins of power were in a state of permanent civil war. The labor question was discussed in all national parliaments, but these parliaments being composed mainly of capitalists and their henchmen, there was very little legislation done for the betterment of the people's condition. Scientific discoveries and inventions of labor-saving machines were more numerous than ever before; within a single year entire trades were almost wiped out of existence, as, for instance, the trade of type-setting. Tens of thousands of men, fathers of families, were forced to the verge of starvation at a single stroke.

The situation reached alarming proportions. The concentration of capital went on more rapidly than ever before, and with the concentration of wealth came new labor-saving appliances. By the millions the small business men and middle-class farmers of the country were thrown into the capitalist furnace of bankruptcy. That the condition of the farmers had become very desperate could best be seen at the presidential election of 1892, when the middle-class Populist Party polled over one million votes—the voice of a million expropriated citizens.

In the industrial centers the fight went on as before. Strikes and boycotts were the natural results of the struggle between capitalism and the labor forces. The forces of capitalism were well organized, and to carry a strike to a successful end had become almost impossible, unless the workmen had an absolute monopoly of the work in their respective trade and could dictate the terms of peace to their employers. These, of course, were exceptional cases. Even such experienced men as Eugene V. Debs, the leader of the great Pullman strike, warned the working people against strikes in the economic field. Of course, he added, sometimes strikes can not be avoided, but at any rate, if strikes there must be, he continued, then strike in the political field, strike on election day.

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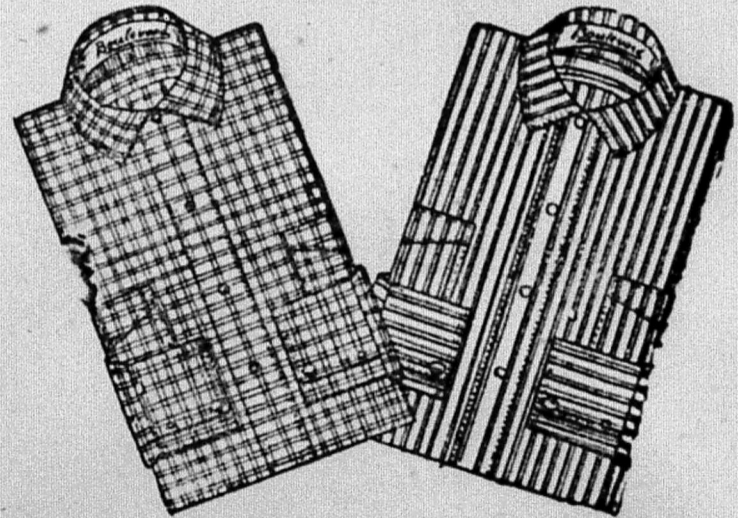
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In the trades union movement of those days were two factions—the Socialist and the anti-Socialist factions. "We must have our own independent labor party, a party with a purely Socialist platform; we must recognize the historical nature of the class struggle; we must organize the wage-workers politically in opposition to the old capitalist parties; we must aim at the control of the political power in national, state and municipal affairs in order to bring about the needed social reorganization, based on the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution." These were the arguments of the Socialists, and any child ought to have come to the conclusion that they were right.

"We are opposed to politics," said the old-time trades unionists. We must continue to use the strike and boycott weapons. We must not meddle with Socialism. Let us use our 'influence' to get reforms. Let us send our lobbying committees to the capitalist legislatures and beg our masters to better the conditions of their law-abiding Democratic and Republican employes. On election day we must vote the tickets of the capitalist parties, and we'll surely get our rewards."

Undoubtedly they voted for capitalism on election day—and they received all the reward they deserved—low wages, long hours of labor, militia, Pinkertons, police, etc. This was the most critical period of the labor movement. To adhere to the methods of old-time unionism was reactionary. This could not be done. Capitalism forced the working classes to fight for their very right of existence. But to carry on this fight new weapons were absolutely necessary. And these new weapons were of no account unless they were cleaned and sharpened on the magnetic grindstone of Socialism.

Slowly, but surely, the process of revolutionizing the minds of the masses went on. Unfortunately the popular ignorance was a great help to those trades unionists who were opposed to Socialism and the Socialist movement, at least for the time being. The old capitalist press song of "foreign ideas" was even repeated by the so-called "pure and simple" unionists. However, new ideas, based on economic facts, can not be repulsed for any length of time. You might just as well try to prevent the rising of the sun.

The question of Socialism was discussed more than ever before. In the meeting rooms, in the public press, in the scientific magazines, everywhere Socialism became the subject of discussion and investigation. One of the good signs of those days was the fact that many highly-educated men and women, outside of the labor movement, made Socialism the special subject of their work. During the industrial crisis in the last decade of the nineteenth century the general ideas of Socialism spread in a marvelous manner. Good Socialist literature sold like hot cakes. And right here I can not help making special mention of three books that have worked wonders in revolutionizing the public opinion in America—"The Co-Operative Commonwealth," by Laurence Gronlund; "Looking Backward," by Edward Bellamy, and "Merrie England," by R. Blatchford. These books were the means that induced millions of people to study true scientific Socialism, because they contained the striking refutation of false prejudice created by the capitalist press against the noble ideas of Socialism.

Meanwhile the social revolution was in full progress all over the civilized world. Italy, the cradle of modern civilization, the capitalist government waged a "war of extermination" against the Socialist Party. Within five months the court martials of Palermo, Trapani and Caltanissetta sentenced 654 Socialists, men and women, to imprisonment for the total number of 2,745 years. A few weeks later 17 Socialists were elected to the

chamber of deputies. In Belgium the working people compelled the government to grant universal suffrage, and a few months later elected 34 Socialists to the chamber of deputies. The growth of the Socialist movement in France can best be illustrated by the following figures: In 1889, eight Socialistic candidates stood for the legislature in eight departments. In 1893, 141 candidates stood in 59 departments. The Socialists received 73,124 votes in 1889, and in 1893 they received 473,241, or six and a half times as many as in 1889, and elected about sixty of their candidates to the national legislature. In Germany the record of Socialism must fill with pride the heart of every true patriot, but with dismay the heart of monarchic rulers and their capitalist class.

Here it is:

Election in	Total Number of Social Democratic Votes.	Members Elected.
1871	124,655	2
1874	351,952	9
1877	493,288	12
1878	497,158	9
1881	371,961	21
1884	549,900	24
1887	763,128	11
1890	1,427,298	35
1893	1,876,738	44
1898	2,250,000	58

In England and other European countries the Socialist movement grew in gigantic proportion. While the governments of America and Europe were desperately fighting for the "world's markets," and while preparations for bloody wars were made by the armies and navies of all the "civilized" and uncivilized nations, the Socialist workers held their international congresses in Paris, Brussels, Zurich and London, and peacefully prepared the way for the great co-operative commonwealth.

RELIGION AND SOCIALISM.

From Iowa Socialist.

To the Socialist there is only one fight. It is not the fight of Socialism versus Religion, but of Socialism versus Capitalism. To the religionist we say: Your religion is your private property. We have nothing to do with it save to protect you in your private enjoyment of your private faith.

There is a fight of Religion versus Socialism proposed, but it springs from the religious, not the Socialist side of the house. Some of our comrades are responding after this fashion: "We will attack the church because the church attacks us." Not so much haste, my comrades. It might be well for us to find out what our enemy expects us to do and then not do it.

Nothing pleases our detractors so much as to have us attack the church. In such a fight bigotry may be successfully appealed to. In the real fight of Socialism versus Capitalism, the apologist for the present system is sorely pressed for fighting material. So a red herring in the form of the church is drawn across the trail in the hope that Socialists may be sidetracked in their pursuit of capitalism and pursue the church instead. Our enemy is partly successful. Some faithful comrades have swallowed the bait, hook and all.

Fellow workers, we have not the church to fight, but capitalism masquerading behind the church. The capitalist wolf is stalking abroad disguised in the sheep's skin of the church. Strip off the protecting cover before you strike the wolf. With this ecclesiastical buffer we have nothing, whatever to do. It is the wolf we are after.

If we debate with priests or preachers, let us debate economics. As Socialists we are of every faith and no faith. And as Socialists we are not Catholics, Protestants, or Agnostics. We are comrades and brothers in a

common fight. There is not a Christian Socialism, a Hebrew Socialism, or an infidel Socialism. There is one Socialism, and he that is not for us is against us.

Comrades, stick to the economic struggle. We are novices and bunglers in the field of theology. If the ecclesiastics will not meet us on the platform of economics, let us not meet them at all.

We do not need to make a special appeal to reach religious people, any more than we need to make a special religious defense. Keep on showing the way of escape from the present economic bondage and oppression, and all the people will come at last into the fold of economic safety.

F. G. S.

The "Snake" Kinney-Wells cartoon in our this week's "ST. LOUIS LABOR" appeared in the St. Louis Chronicle during the last municipal campaign. We take pleasure in reminding our readers of this, because the cartoon is very appropriate and timely just now, after last Tuesday's reorganization of the house of delegates.

PEOPLE'S FUND AND WELFARE ASSOCIATION.

There will be a meeting of the People's Fund and Welfare association, at Welfare hall, Eleventh and Locust streets, Tuesday, April 28, at 8 p. m. Very important business will be transacted.

Economic class at Welfare hall, Sunday, 10:30 to 12 a. m. Topic, "The Rise of Money." All welcome.

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The new state committee of Kentucky is composed as follows: F. E. Leeds, chairman; Chas. Dobbs, vice-chairman; J. M. Dial, secretary-treasurer, 1019 Vine street, Newport, Ky.; assistant secretary-treasurer, F. H. Strieve; organizer, Charles Turner.

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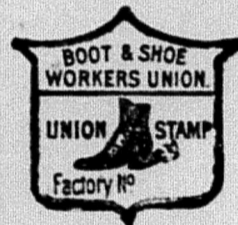
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DEBS ON STEADY PROGRESS OF SOCIALISM.

The Vast Army of Labor Forced Into Solidarity by the Economic Development of Capitalism.

The returns of the national election, last fall, revealed an unexpected factor, a new force, as it were, in American politics. The large and rapid increase in the Socialist vote was a surprise to the nation. In the short space of two years the vote leaped from about 130,000 to almost 400,000, and this at a time when "prosperity" was the dominant issue and "let well enough alone" the slogan of the campaign. The significance of this vote lies not so much in its size as in its character, since the Socialist movement is essentially revolutionary, and the Socialist Party, unlike the Greenback, Populist and other parties, to which it has been likened and which sought simply to "reform" the present economic system, is unequivocally committed to the abolition of capitalist production and the substitution of the co-operative commonwealth.

ASTUTE POLITICIANS LIKE MARK HANNA SEE IT.

There are many who look upon the rapid rise of Socialism as the ebullition of a passing hour, an ephemeral growth not at all calculated to menace the well-established political and economic regime of the time. They have not been critical students of the past, nor are they more than superficial observers of the present transition period in which industrial evolution is transmuting competitive small capital into centralized co-operative capital and recruiting isolated workers into industrial armies, the forerunner of a new economic system and of a higher order of civilization than this earth has ever known. Such astute politicians as Mark Hanna see it. Said he: "The great political struggle of the future will be between the Republican Party and the Socialists." He is right.

Rev. Lyman J. Abbott, the Brooklyn divine, can see it. Just after the late election he said: "Socialism is inevitable."

J. Pierpont Morgan can see it. According to a late issue of the Springfield (Mass.) Republican, he said: "We are simply organizing industry for the people, and sooner or later they are bound to take possession."

This is the trend, and Socialism, the political expression of it, can no more be restrained than the evolution that brought it into existence. **KARL MARX SAW IT FIFTY-FIVE YEARS AGO.**

Where modern industry develops Socialism is bound to generate. This is as true of Indiana as of Massachusetts. Production on a large scale is the life-preserver of the capitalist. This means centralization of capital, and this means the trust. It also means destruction to the small capitalist, and hence the vain cry against the combine—the protest of the past against the future.

Listen to what Karl Marx, the great economic philosopher and prophet, said 55 years ago: "The essential condition for the existence, and for the sway of the bourgeois (capitalist) class, is the formation and augmentation of capital; the condition of capital is wage labor. Wage labor rests exclusively on competition between the laborers. The advance of industry, whose involuntary promotor is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the laborers, due to competition, by the revolutionary combination, due to association. The development of modern industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own grave diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat (working class) are equally inevitable."

What we observe to-day upon every hand are simply signs of economic transformation, and Socialists interpret them to mean that the present competitive system has about fulfilled its mission, and that, like the feudal system from which it sprang, it must soon give way to another, more compatible with the onward march of civilization.

VAST ARMY OF WORKING MEN FORCED INTO SOLIDARITY.

A little over a century and a quarter ago the colonists were compelled by the pressure of events to declare their political independence. The day is near when the people will be compelled to declare their industrial independence.

The combines and trusts are doing their work in converting competition into co-operation and laying the foundation for the industrial republic.

The vast army of working men are being forced into political and industrial solidarity, and every clash between them and their exploiters hastens the end of wage-slavery.

The recent strike of the miners brought the class struggle into bolder prominence than it had yet been revealed to the country.

What the commission may or may not do is of little consequence to the miners, for if the wage is increased, the amount will be added to the cost of production, and the living expense will absorb the wage as before; but in the struggle the eyes of hundreds of miners and other workmen were opened to the fact that they have identical interests as a class, just as the coal barons have identical class interests, and with this fresh-born conviction they went to the polls on election day and voted for working class candidates, standing on a working class platform, and it is this that accounts, in large measure, for the rapid increase in the Socialist vote in Pennsylvania and nearly all the other states of the Union.

ANDREW CARNEGIE'S "PRIVATE PROPERTY."

Every combine increases the momentum and hastens the end. Every injunction is a lubricant to the machinery.

Industrial and commercial competition have had their day. The small tools used by individuals have become mammoth machines operated by armies. Production has been socialized; the means of production will have to be. Fifty thousand steel workers will not forever permit Andrew Carnegie to take their product upon the pretext that the tool they use is his "private property," and the product, therefore, belongs to him.

The coal mines of Pennsylvania are as necessary to modern life as the sunlight and atmosphere. So the railroads and telegraph and telephone. So the oil and sugar refineries, steel mills, tanneries, and all the rest of these agencies as soon as they have destroyed competition and monopolized the field.

Private ownership of the centralized means of production and distribution—an industrial despotism, or collective ownership and an industrial republic! It must be one or the other. Which? History leaves no room for doubt.

What "the people" want they take. The trouble is that they have been too patient and too modest, but they do finally act, and one of these days they are going to realize that this earth is theirs, and then they will take possession of it in the name of the human race.

TWENTIETH CENTURY TO ABOLISH POVERTY.

If the triumphant and defiant capitalist insists upon precise and detailed

information as to how the people are to come to their own, he may, with profit, consult the late feudal baron of Europe and the recent slave owner of the United States.

Socialism is the scientific and historic fulfillment of the law of social and economic progress. It is indeed inevitable, and the only danger, as Sprague has said, is in obstructing it.

Victor Hugo uttered the noble prophecy that the twentieth century would abolish poverty. Socialism will fulfill that prophecy. Whatever may

be said, of the past, the present with all its marvelous wealth-producing agencies can plead no excuse for the poverty and misery that scourge the multiplied millions of the earth.

Industrial democracy will wrest the earth from its exploiters and its vast and inexhaustible storehouses will yield abundance for all.

The growth of Socialism is the promise of freedom and brotherhood—the radiant herald of the dawn. With best wishes, yours fraternally,
E. V. DEBS.

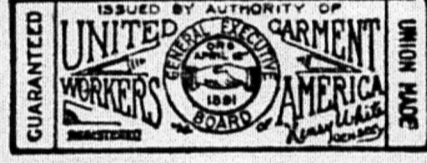


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