

WORKINGMEN  
of All Countries,  
UNITE!

# ST. LOUIS LABOR.

You Have NOTHING to Lose but Your Chains, and a World to Gain.

OFFICE: 22 N. 4th St.

Phone: Kinloch, A1283.

VOL. IV.

ST. LOUIS, MO., SATURDAY, MAY 2, 1903.

NO. 117.



## THE AIMS OF SOCIALISM.

By a Correspondent in Typographical Journal.

To intelligently discuss a subject one must have made a study of it, and he must be presumptuous indeed who builds a dummy from hearsay and the figments of his imagination, labels it Socialism, and then proceeds to demolish it to satisfy an unreasoning prejudice.

To get the correct definition of Socialism one must go to the Socialists. That is where the dictionaries and encyclopedias get their information about the subject. Reference to these recognized authorities will not fortify the opponents of Socialism, nor strengthen their position, but will have the opposite effect upon honest investigators. One of these authorities says: "The ethics of Socialism and the ethics of Christianity are identical." The logical conclusion, then, is that when one condemns Socialism he must of necessity condemn Christianity.

Under Socialism only can the perfection of government be realized. The "individuality of the strong would not be curbed," but the robbery of one class by another would remove the incentive to rob, murder, lie and steal, as it would establish a system of co-operation where all would be partners and work for the

welfare of all. The incentive to commit crime is inherent in the present competitive system, which is upheld by the theory of profit, rent and interest. Under competition one can gain only at the expense of some one else. It develops greed and avarice, and furnishes the incentive to grind the lives of the workers into exorbitant profits, and produces millionaires on the one hand and tramps and paupers on the other.

Labor produces all wealth. Labor has invented, created and operates all machinery. Without labor there could be no wealth. Is this true?

Bulletin No. 150 of the last census shows that the workers get only a little more than one-tenth of the val-

ue of their product; the balance is the price they are compelled to pay for the privilege of using the means of production, which are their creatures, but, by reason of private ownership and private profit, enslave them.

The inauguration of Socialism would be revolutionary, as it would mean a complete change of system. The change would not necessarily be accompanied by violence or bloodshed. Revolutions in industry are constantly occurring, and are seldom accompanied by violence. Refer to the definition of revolution and there will be found no mention of violence. I quote from the second paragraph of the declaration of independence.

"We hold these truths to be self-

What is this, the sound and rumor? What is this that all men hear,  
Like the wind in hollow valleys when the storm is drawing near,  
Like the rolling on of ocean in the eventide of fear?

'Tis the people marching on.

Whither go they, and whence cometh they? What are these of whom ye tell?  
In what country are they dwelling 'twixt the gates of Heaven and Hell?  
Are they mine or thine for money? Will they serve a master well?  
Still the rumor's marching on.

Forth they come from grief and torment; on they went toward health  
and mirth,  
All the wide world is their dwelling, every corner of the earth.

Buy them, sell them for thy service! Try the bargain what 'tis worth,  
For the days are marching on.

These are they who build thy houses, weave thy raiment, win thy wheat,  
Smooth the rugged, fill the barren, turn the bitter into sweet,  
All for thee this day—and ever. What reward for them is meet,  
Till the host comes marching on?

Many a hundred years passed over have they labored, deaf and blind;  
Never tidings reached their sorrow, never hope their toil might find.  
Now at last they've heard and hear it, and the cry comes down the wind,  
And their feet are marching on.

O, ye rich men, hear and tremble! for with words the sound is rife:  
"Once for you and death we labored; changed henceforth is the strife.  
We are men, and we shall battle for the world of men and life,  
And our host is marching on."

"On we march, then we the workers, and the rumor that ye hear  
Is the blended sound of battle and deliverance drawing near;  
For the hope of every creature is the banner that we bear,  
And the world is marching on."

Hark the rolling of the thunder!  
Lo the sun! and lo thereunder  
Riseth wrath and hope and wonder,  
And the host comes marching on.

—William Morris.

evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations upon such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

How was our present form of government established? Was it not by revolution, and have we not the same right to change it as our revolutionary forefathers had, but peacefully, through the ballot—our political power.

Our lawmaking bodies to-day are composed largely of corporation and trust agents and the laws they enact are designed to protect these monopolies in their robbery. The trusts have dictated most of the laws relating to property rights. They have broken all the laws they have not made and most of those they have made, and the victims of their extortion are helpless under the present system. The remedy lies in the adoption of the Socialist programme. "Let the nation own the trusts."

The telegraph is practically if not actually under monopoly control. The



rates are uniform, and, it has been conceded, are maintained by agreement. Experts have declared that the equipment of the Western Union could be duplicated for much less than \$50,000,000. They are capitalized at \$120,000,000. In other words, there are \$70,000,000 watered stock involved, and this is a conservative estimate. The wages, if measured in money, may be greater here than in some countries of Europe. But money is not wages. The food, shelter, fuel and clothing is what we are working for, and is about all any of us get. Money is merely a medium of exchange, and is not a stable measure. We can not eat, drink or wear money, but have to exchange it for the necessary commodities. All authorities and statistics prove that the standard of living is higher among the employes of nationally or municipally owned utilities than among the employes of privately owned enterprises.

The loss to the government in the operation of the post office is due to exorbitant charges made by the railroads for the service rendered. This was exposed in congress only a short time ago. It will be found on investigation that the government pays far more for its service than the express companies.

There was a time when there were no public schools. Schools were then privately owned institutions, and beyond the reach of common people. Private tutors were also employed by people of means, as now.

If one really desires to arrive at the truth of any matter, he should study it without prejudice and form his judgment only after weighing and considering honestly the facts as evidence. One can not arrive at a sound judgment unless impartially viewing all sides of a problem. Anything else would be mere guesswork, and worthless as an opinion if put to the test of analysis.

I believe it is the opponents of Socialism "who fail to see." However, the Socialists are willing to be shown and acknowledge any mistakes they may make, and that is the reason they occupy a practically unassailable position. Also, it is the reason of their recent remarkable growth, notwithstanding the attitude of misrepresentation and opposition from the pulpit and the press.

## THE CAMPAIGN IN TOLEDO.

Comrade Martin Discusses the "Golden Rule" Jones Election.

The Socialist Party nominated a full city ticket, also ward tickets, headed by Comrade Thomas A. Bragg for mayor, a working union machinist, of whose ability and character we can all be proud. The Democrats nominated a banker for mayor. "Golden Rule" Jones had his nomination petitions prepared but did not file them until after the results of the Republican primaries were known, and which showed the administration machine to be in control. Their nominee was a man whose connections caused scores of republicans to vote for Jones on election day, not that they believed in what Jones was preaching, but as a rebuke to the machine in their own party. Jones had the solid support of the saloons and sporting fraternity, and all know what that means in a city like this. In filing his nomination petitions a committee was named to fill vacancies on the "ticket"—a move to prevent any other name appearing in the column allotted to the "non-partizan" candidate on the official ballot, for he will have no one on the ticket with him, which is an absurdity considering that the executive without legislative backing is powerless, except to advertise himself.

Jones' appointees on the city board of elections (democrats), at the solicitation of the Jones managers, disregarded the rule and practice and placed Jones' name in the column at

the extreme right of the official ballot (a column for one name), where the ignorant could easiest find it. Over 3,000 ballots were cast for Jones and no other candidate. The result was: Jones, 10,350; Republican, 7,501; Democrat, 4,266; Socialist, 539. The balance of Socialist city ticket received from 1,297 to 1,598 votes. The Republican city ticket, except mayor, was elected by pluralities running from 1,666 to 4,389. These figures show a striking example of hero worship.

The APPEAL "Army" in Toledo were out for Jones, and published a campaign paper from which we extract the following:

"Mayor Jones stands for direct legislation. He is a Jeffersonian Democrat, a Lincoln republican, a Socialist to the core, and an all around Christian gentleman—without a party."

The day before election several thousand copies of Hearst's CHICAGO AMERICAN were circulated in this city with full page illustrated writeup of Jones. A significant incident.

On Sunday, March 29th, before the Business Men's Conference of the First Congregational church, Jones declared point blank that he was not a Socialist, but his sentimental followers insist that he is.

Jones hired the halls and tent, furnished his Golden Rule band, a quartette of colored singers, and the literature. "He's a good fellow!" But would not be in it without his money. His meetings were a cross between a revival meeting and a vaudeville show—songs and sentimental stunts. The day following election he paraded the streets singing songs, followed by his band and some fifty people, part of who carried brooms. Sort of a "Si Perkins" parade.

In 1899 Jones received 16,773 votes for mayor, in 1901 he received 12,461 votes, and in 1903, 10,350 votes, which indicates about when the era of "brotherly love" may be expected to arrive. It required the cloud climbing imagination of an imported word painter to picture this as a world movement.

Local Toledo has carried on a quiet educational campaign knowing that the social problems will never be solved by lavish philanthropy of wealth created by others, any more than by sentimental appeals and songs. Bragg, the Socialist candidate, received votes in nearly every precinct in the city, and this vote backed by class-conscious argument and the logic of events will create a Socialist movement in this city that can be depended on at all times. We know that mere votes may mean nothing. We are not so anxious to make a showing as to build solid for the future. We are not discouraged, on the contrary, proud of our 539 uncompromising votes, and more determined than ever.

A local Sunday paper of April 12, contained copies of congratulatory messages sent to Mayor Jones. Among them we note the following:

"Hilarious congratulations, N. C. Nelson and Stitt Wilson."

C. R. M.,  
CHAS. R. MARTIN, Organizer.

### Strike in Los Angeles.

BUILDING TRADES REFUSE TO WORK WITH NON-UNION MEN.

LOS ANGELES, CAL., April — (Special Correspondence)—The past week has been a notable one in the labor movement of Los Angeles. A decisive victory has been scored by unionism. Every organization affiliated with the Building Trades Council entered into an agreement not to work with non-union men. The result was as it always will be when unionists are true to themselves—complete success.

The victory of the Building Trades Council is a stinging blow to the notorious scab Los Angeles Times, whose proprietor has sent out literature all over the United States urging

non-union mechanics to come to southern California, with the hope of flooding this section with hungry men and thus causing them to work for wages offered, thereby disrupting the unions. But the union men became aroused at the train-loads of dupes arriving daily, and decided to force the issue. The battle was short and sharp, and unionism is now stronger than ever before. The good work will be kept up.

If every reader of the Labor would write letters to the following advertisers in the notorious scab Los Angeles Times, asking that they withdraw, and withhold further patronage until they do so, much good would be accomplished:

"Cuticura"—Potter Drug & Chemical Corporation, Boston, Mass.

"Force"—The Force Food Co., Buffalo, N. Y.

"H. O."—Hornby Oatmeal Co., Buffalo, N. Y.

"Postum"—Postum Cereal Co., Battle Creek, Mich.

"Peruna"—Peruna Medical Co., Columbus, O.

"Wilson Whiskey"—Wilson Distilling Co., 100 Broadway, N. Y.

"Lydia E. Pinkham Medicine Co., Lynn, Mass.

"Tutt's Liver Pills"—Tutts Mfg. Co., New York, N. Y.

"Scott's Emulsion"—Scott & Bowne, 409 Pearl street, New York, N. Y.

"Wright's Indian Vegetable Pill Co., New York, N. Y.

The scab Los Angeles Times will not be permitted to destroy unionism in southern California.

Will YOU write one letter to each of the above ten advertisers?

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Slayton will fill dates in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Virginia during the remainder of this month, and, after returning home for two weeks, will start out again on May 13, speaking in Pennsylvania and Ohio until early in June. He will then enter Indiana. Slayton's meetings are successful and should cost the office nothing.

## RECEPTION and HOP

GIVEN BY THE

Young Ladies' Local Union, 67

U. G. W. of A.

Lemp's Hall,

13th and Utah Sts.

Saturday Evening, May 2, 1903.

TICKETS 25c a Person.

Cabinet Makers and Wood Carvers.

Keep Away From St. Louis.

The Strike is Still on.



New Union Factory on Randolph, near Jefferson.

# HAMILTON, BROWN SHOE COMPANY.

## New Union Factory.

Our Four Thousand employes spend their wages in St. Louis stores. St. Louis stores will increase St. Louis workmen's wages and their own business by selling our Shoes.





# THE ATTITUDE OF EMPLOYERS TOWARDS LABOR UNIONS.

Extracts From an Address by John Kirby, Jr., of Dayton, O.,  
Before the National Association of Manufacturers, New  
Orleans, La., April 16, 1903, Trade Unionists, Please Take  
Notice!

"Employers must face the fact that organized labor has about 50 years the start of them. As a matter of fact, associations of employers are of but recent growth in this country, and they have been forced into existence by the arbitrary and dictatorial attitude of the labor unions; moreover, they would not and could not exist were it not for the conditions imposed upon employers by labor unions, which make such organizations imperative as a matter of protection against unlawful interference by the unions.

"Public sentiment has always leaned toward the working classes, and in so far as legitimate effort to improve their condition, whether through combination or otherwise, is concerned, it is right that it should be so; but public sentiment has gone further than this and has in many instances extended its sympathy contrary to the best interests of those with whom it sympathized, thereby creating responsibility for much of the spirit of anarchy which reigns during labor strikes. Public sentiment is a great factor in human events, but like the individual, it is liable to err, and it often has erred in cases of labor disputes. Its errors are largely responsible for the fact that this country now stands face to face with the proposition, shall lawlessness and anarchy, under the sanction and control of organized labor, or Americanism, prevail and direct its future destiny?"

"Labor leaders will, here and there, mildly disapprove of violence, as did the president of the United Mine Workers in his speech before their recent convention at Indianapolis, when he advised against it, on the ground that it is not approved by public sentiment and it therefore injured rather than helped their cause, and then, in almost the same breath, declared himself in favor of the anti-injunction bill, and appointed a committee to go to Washington and demand its passage. Can any man of ordinary intelligence comprehend by what mode of reasoning he can be sincere in both of these propositions? The president of the American Federation of Labor said, among other similar utterances in connection with the St. Louis street railway strike, "he intended making it a fight to the finish if it took five years to do it; that he would bring all the power of the American Federation of Labor, with its 2,000,000 of members, to bear on the St. Louis Transit Co.; that the boycott to be placed on that company would embrace every person, every business man, every association and every corporation and individual who favored them in any way."

"We all know that recognition of the union means but little else than absolute surrender of all that is guaranteed to us by the constitution and the bill of rights. Not only is this true from the standpoint of the employer, but it is also true with relation to the wage earner, who, upon becoming a member of a labor union, surrenders his individual liberty and is coerced into slavery more damnable than was the black man of the south, in whose behalf the civil war was fought. The revolutionary war was fought by our forefathers that we might enjoy the rights which, as free men and citizens, organized labor, through its tyrannical leaders and walking delegates, says we shall not enjoy. It can not be denied that

the ruling spirit of organized labor is antagonistic to all forms of government other than its own; that its methods and unwritten laws are at war with every principle of peace and justice.

"It is not to be assumed that it is within the range of probabilities that labor unions will, in our time at least, be governed generally by any such conservative policy, because their members must necessarily include men of all classes and temperaments, among whom are the radicals, the swashbucklers, the Socialists and the anarchists, who are certain to come to the front. It is this class of men who are the leaders and controlling valves of organized labor to-day, have been in the past, and will be in the future. They are men to whom if you give an inch they will demand an ell, and having demanded the ell, will advocate and indorse any sort of lawlessness to enforce the demand.

"The history of labor unionism proves clearly that when its leaders become cognizant of the fact that they have power, they also become brazen and devoid of reason in its use.

"The power assumed by the officers, organizers and walking delegates of labor unions in endeavoring to control the business of the country can not and does not meet with the approval of the large number of our intelligent mechanics, who are coerced into their membership, and as organized labor has held the fort for more than a quarter of a century, it is now high time for the employers to capture it, and, assisted by the better element of the workingmen of the country, who are coming to their assistance, they can easily do it.

"It rests with the employers to say how long boycotting and other unlawful methods of intimidation will be permitted. If we desire to protect ourselves against these abuses we must have that one purpose in view, and having once started in opposition, we must not falter or turn backward. No expense should be spared in the matter of protecting ourselves in our right to do business in our own way.

"When labor organizations are permitted to carry out their purpose to ruin the business of one who will not submit to their demands, then personal liberty will become a farce, personal rights be trampled upon, might, not right, will prevail, and we shall have reached a state of anarchy.

"The workingmen of this country, by following the precepts of their irrational leaders, are uprooting the foundation of a great and glorious nation; they are destroying their opportunities and making of their own future a desolate waste.

"An organization which makes perjurers of its constituents and sets the pledge of its order above the oath of the courts is a dangerous institution, and should not be permitted to exist in any civilized community. Its continuance can end only in disaster and confusion. It is, therefore, the sublime duty of every true and loyal workingman and citizen to uphold the arm of the law and to aid in its enforcement; to stand manfully by those principles which should always be our irrevocable guide post, and to see that he does his full duty toward the utter annihilation of any and all attempts on the part of any man or set of men to undermine and destroy

(Continued on Page Eight.)

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It Is Made by **NON-UNION LABOR**

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**Federal Labor Union 6482, A. F. of L.**  
Meets every 2nd and 4th Friday, 8 p. m., at  
22 N. 4th St., room 7.  
**L. E. HILDEBRAND, Secretary.**  
Every wage earner whose craft or calling is not organized should belong to this union.



# St. Louis Labor

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2521 Benton Street.

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

### Our International May Day Celebration.

May the 1st is the International  
holiday of labor.

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

While the capitalist class is in the  
midst of the competitive warfare for  
supremacy on the world's market,  
straining every nerve to increase the  
"fighting strength" of armies and  
navies, the many millions of Social-  
ist workmen the wide world over ce-  
lebrate the first day of May as the  
grand holiday of Labor and Interna-  
tional peace. In San Francisco and  
New York, in Buenos Ayres, London,  
Paris, Berlin and Rome, in the far  
north of Scandinavia—in Stockholm,  
Christiania and Copenhagen, even in  
St. Petersburg, Moscow and Odessa,  
right in the midst of the Muscovite  
despotism and tyranny, the sons and  
daughters of labor will celebrate on  
this glorious day—the May day of a  
new society where there will be  
neither drones now slaves, but free  
men, women and children.

For nearly two thousand years the  
Christian church has repeated the  
words of the Nazarene: "Thou shalt  
love thy neighbor as thou lovest thy-  
self," but the murderous warfare be-  
tween the nations of Christendom  
went on just the same. In fact there  
is no era in the history of mankind  
so full of bloody wars and wholesale  
sacrifice of human life as the last 2-  
000 years.

Our capitalist class of to-day, pre-  
tending to uphold the teachings of  
Christ, is building wonderful churches  
by the hundreds of thousands, while  
in their daily life the same profit-  
grabbers and exploiters of labor are  
practicing the very thing that Christ  
condemned and hated.

The Socialists hate hypocrisy. To  
those who claim that the Socialists  
have no religion we answer: The  
Socialists have the only true religion,  
a religion not based on theory and  
hypocrisy, but on the re-organization  
of our economic and social system.  
You may picture to the poor the pa-  
radise above the clouds and tell him  
to suffer patiently while on this  
earth. Socialists do not believe in  
this kind of religion, neither did the  
Nazarene, because He was trying to  
help the poor on this earth, he fought  
the oppressors of the people and for  
this "crime" He was crucified.

At least 25,000,000 Socialists—men,  
women and children—are to-day ad-  
vocating and defending this new re-  
ligion of mankind and the first day  
of May is their universal day of re-  
joicing.

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

### The Political Bankruptcy of Capitalism.

Lieut.-Gov. John A. Lee resigned.  
As the chief boodler who distributed  
the alum baking powder trust \$1,000  
bills to the state senators he will now  
enjoy the privilege of escaping prose-  
cution by becoming the state's wit-  
ness.

John A. Lee is neither worse nor  
better than the average capitalist  
politician. Every man nominated on  
the old party tickets expects to do  
business of some sort. Politics has  
been commercialized. It has become  
a business like selling whisky, shoe-  
blacking or suspenders. The capital-  
ists are buying the politicians for  
business purposes and—business is  
business.

Capitalism is politically bankrupt.  
The conditions that exist in St. Louis  
and Jefferson City exist in Chicago  
and Springfield, in New York and Al-  
bany and elsewhere.

Socialists of America, the time for  
action has come. Do your duty.

### "Toledo Jones" Socialism and the Class Struggle.

In this week's issue we publish a  
communication from Toledo, O.,  
which is interesting and instructive.

It is high time for the Socialists to  
clearly define their position towards  
the various kinds of sport and fake  
Socialism.

Many people calling themselves So-  
cialists fail to see the danger involved  
by supporting such men as Mayor  
Jones of Toledo.

Personally, we have absolutely noth-  
ing against Mr. Jones. As Socialists  
and members of a world-wide move-  
ment we are his opponents for the  
following reasons:

Marx says: "The emancipation of  
the working class must be achieved  
by the working people themselves. If  
this is true, the working class require  
economic and political organizations  
to fight the powers of capitalism."

Mayor Jones tells us: Don't orga-  
nize a political party; nominate Jones,  
the one man; he is the party."

In other words: Sit down and do  
nothing, and place all your hopes and  
trust and confidence in this one man,  
Jones, Dick, Tom and Harry, or any  
other politician.

The Toledo Jones sort of Socialism  
is demoralizing the working class  
movement, because it has a tendency  
to kill the very incentive of the mod-  
ern labor movement.

The modern struggle between cap-  
italism and labor is a class struggle,  
involving the question of power, and  
consequently, the question of class  
organization.

A trade union well organized is a  
power, and forces capitalism to grant  
concessions. So in politics. The  
working class, politically organized,  
will be a power; unorganized, we are  
straws in the wind.

Get down to the class struggle.

Mr. Jones attended the New Or-  
leans convention of the American  
Manufacturers' association. There  
he had a chance of witnessing the  
preparation for the class struggle.  
"Organization of the capitalist class!"  
was the war cry in New Orleans. The  
organization of the wage workers  
must be our war cry. Harmony and  
taffy will not solve this problem. It  
means fight, hard fight. Let us pre-  
pare for it.

### PEOPLE'S FUND AND WELFARE ASSOCIATION.

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

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

Comrade Jos. Wanhope declined to  
act as organizer for the party,  
through the middle western states, as  
he had accepted the position of ed-  
itor of the "Erie People."

# Tapping Proletarian Veins.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

Nothing good is sacred in the cap-  
italist system. Last of all human  
life. As between a poverty-stricken  
human and a vagabond dog the latter  
fares for the better. He may be dis-  
patched with a bullet while his mas-  
ter has to run the gauntlet of hun-  
ger, cold and shame, suffering him-  
self to be tortured, mangled and  
finally slain by the slow and refined  
process of what is called Christian  
civilization, compared with which the  
cruel practices of cannibals seem as  
ministrations of mercy.

The poet Gray says:  
"Beasts kill for hunger, men for pay.  
But is not man to man a prey?"

Such reflections are suggested by  
two dispatches which I have clipped  
from the daily papers. The first is as  
follows:

"New York, March 11.—In order to  
pursue certain scientific research E.  
E. Smith advertised for men willing  
to sell part of their blood for \$5. He  
has been overwhelmed with responses.  
One application came from the Wal-  
dorf-Astoria, and another came from  
the Morton house. Several were from  
men of education and strained cir-  
cumstances. The great mass of the  
offers to sell came from men out of  
work. Dr. Smith says a healthy man  
might spare a pint of blood, though  
he would not take so large a quan-  
tity. Some of the applicants, how-  
ever, were emaciated, half-starved  
and unable to spare a drop of blood."

And here is the next:  
"Indianapolis, Ind., March 10.—Adjt.-  
Gen. Ward said to-day that the In-  
diana national guard will be equipped  
before the annual camp of instruc-  
tion with the new Krag-Jorgensen  
rifle, as provided for in the militia  
bill enacted at the recent session of  
congress. The requisition has been  
made, and he expects they will be  
shipped within a short time by the  
ordinance branch of the war depart-  
ment.

"The guard will also be supplied  
with the recently-devised riot car-  
tridge, which the war department is  
preparing to give out. This new form  
of ammunition makes the armed-sold-  
ier twice as powerful as before.

"Gen. Ward said the range of the  
Krag-Jorgensen, with the regulation  
cartridge, is three miles, and, there-  
fore, it is not fit for quelling riots,  
inasmuch as people two or three miles  
away might be killed. The limit of  
the range of the old style Springfield  
rifle, with which the guard is now  
equipped, is less than one mile.

"The riot cartridge is like the regu-  
lation Krag-Jorgensen in size. But  
instead of being provided with the or-  
dinary steel jacketed bullet, long  
and far in flight, it has two bullets  
something like buckshot."

There is a world of pathos in these  
two pictures. Also an eternity of  
deep damnation.

Think of a shriveled wretch driven  
to sell the life-blood which has al-  
ready withered in his veins! See him  
as he reels, faint from hunger, to-  
ward the proletarian blood market, to  
offer the last ruddy drops for a crust  
to keep starvation from his child.  
Note the mute appeal, catch the sigh  
of despair, hear the agonizing cry as  
this bloodless soul is pushed aside in  
the scientific shambles to make room  
for his younger brother who still has  
the red current in his veins.

The subject is too grewsome for  
reflection—too abhorrent for com-  
ment. The eye grows dim, the brain  
numb and the heart weary.  
Every decent human must blush for  
his species.

All the sadder that this proleta-  
re supported with vote and musket, and  
otherwise the capitalist system that  
drains the last drop of his life cur-  
rent and then dumps his corpse, via  
the morgue, into the potters field.

The second dispatch is the first

echo of the army reorganization law  
enacted by the last congress under  
the inspiration of President Roose-  
velt of the United States and the  
Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen.  
The law is one of the president's fa-  
vorite measures, and was enacted for  
the special benefit of the working  
class, especially those organized  
unions who will now recognize the  
wisdom of having made the president  
of the United States a union man and  
presenting him with a card of mem-  
bership so large and costly that it  
had to be hauled to the White House  
on a dray under guard.

The ordinary Krag-Jorgensen car-  
tridge will not do for quelling riots.  
It is entirely too slow, as it only kills  
working men one at a time, whereas  
the riot cartridge will wipe them out  
in job lots to the terror and dismay  
of the lawless strikers and the de-  
light and applause of the patriotic  
plutocrats.

Trades unionists are to congrat-  
ulate upon this great achievement  
the fruit of their anti-political policy  
of which they will be the sole bene-  
ficiaries. The state militia, thanks  
to the Republican and Democratic mem-  
bers of the late congress, and Pres-  
ident Roosevelt of the Brotherhood  
of Locomotive Firemen, is now in the  
hip-pocket of the capitalist class  
loaded with riot cartridges with the  
union label on them and ready at the  
word of command to furnish coroners  
and medical colleges with union  
corpses.

Every trade unionist who voted the  
Republican and Democratic ticket is  
entitled to his share of credit for the  
beneficent law. He is getting, or will  
get—perhaps in the neck—what he  
voted for. There will be no disap-  
pointment for the "pure and simple"  
trade unionist. Only the Socialists  
will have the right to object to the  
diet of riot cartridges.

Live trade unionists know that the  
army was "reorganized," that the  
state militia was converted into a  
standing army, and that it has been  
equipped with riot guns and riot car-  
tridges purely to overawe strikers  
and crush organized labor in the in-  
terest of the capitalist class; they  
also know that the Republican and  
Democratic politicians in congress  
who are supposed to represent the  
people, acted as one in constructing  
this military machine to tap the veins  
of union labor and spill proletarian  
blood enough to reduce the working  
class to the level of servile submis-  
sion to their masters.

The most shocking murders were  
committed in West Virginia only a  
few days ago. Miners were killed in  
their homes at the dead hour of night  
by armed assassins in the name of  
law and order.

Every trade unionist who sup-  
ports the Republican and Democratic  
party is morally responsible for these  
and kindred crimes.

These are the parties that support  
the capitalist system, and this is the  
system that thrives in the robbery  
the misery and the murder of work-  
ingmen.

This system must be overthrown  
and workingmen set free—and Social-  
ism will do it.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

A proposition to have Comrade Har-  
ry M. McKee, of California, act as or-  
ganizer for the national party, in  
Iowa, Missouri, and Kansas, with the  
co-operation of the respective state  
committees, is now before the  
quorum.

\* \* \*

The new due cards and applica-  
tion blanks, ordered by the national com-  
mittee, are now ready; the new edi-  
tion of "Why Socialists Pay Dues" is  
ready, and "How to Organize" will  
soon be ready for distribution.



# Lessons in Scientific Socialism.

FOR SOCIALIST STUDENTS.

## The Communist Manifesto.

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

### 5. 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 even 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 science, 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, corre-

spond 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 "phalansteres," 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 working class; but in movement 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 Rad-

icals, 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 squirearchy and the petty bourgeoisie.

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

(c) Phalansteres were Socialist colonies on the plan of Charles Fourier; Icaria was the name given by Cabet to his Utopia.

(a) The party then represented in parliament by Ledru-Rollin, in literature by Louis Blanc, in the daily press by "Reforme." The name of Social Democracy signified, with these its inventors, a section of the Democratic or Republican party more or less tinged with Socialism. It was, later on, to his American Communist colony.

## SOCIALIST PARTY.

### NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS SOCIALIST PARTY.

A referendum upon holding a state convention of locals in Alabama, on May 3, to form a state organization, is now in progress and I shall issue the call for the convention immediately upon receipt of votes of locals.

Comrade John M. Ray, of Nashville, Tenn., will act as organizer in Alabama, and Tennessee, going to the former state first because of requests made for an organizer in the Birmingham district, and where the movement to form a state organization is now on foot.

Upon request of Local Providence, R. I., I have arranged for Comrade Dan A. White, of Massachusetts, to spend a few days there in the interest of organization. I am also ar-

ranging for White to make an organizing tour through New Hampshire, Vermont and Maine.

Charters have been granted since last report as follows: Rock Springs, Wyo., 18 members, organized March 29; Patton, Ala., 7 members, organized March 24; Coats, Ark., 11 members, organized March 26; Safford, Ariz., 10 members, organized April 7; Springdale, Ark., 9 members, organized April 7; Springfield, Ark., 12 members, organized April 11; and Damascus, Ga., 9 members, organized April 13.

Chase has gone from Arkansas into Texas, where he will stay until the first week in May, going from there into Oklahoma; after which he will cross through southern Missouri into Tennessee. He will fill some dates in Alabama, and then go northward.

## LOCAL ST. LOUIS.

### Monthly Meeting of Socialist Party Sunday Evening at Delabar's Hall.

St. Louis, Mo., April 24, 1903.

The regular monthly meeting of "St. Louis Local" Socialist Party will be held at Delabar's hall, southeast corner Broadway and Elm streets, Sunday evening, May 3, at eight o'clock. The special order of business will be final action on the constitution. Official returns of the election will be posted. Comrades are urgently requested to be present.

DAVID ALLAN,  
City Secretary.

## MORE SOCIALIST GAINS.

### Candidates Elected in Massachusetts, Iowa, Montana and New Jersey.

BOSTON.—Once more an election has been held, and the record of Socialist progress maintained. The death of a member of the board of selectmen of Braintree, a conservative old town near this city, necessitated a special election. Out of a total of 451, the Socialist candidate, Comrade Gerry, received 212. The change of 13 votes would have elected him. At the state election in November our candidate for governor had but 193 votes out of a total of 861.

The Socialist Party has elected another councilman, this time in Boone, Ia. The Socialist vote for the whole city was 416, as against 792 for the Republicans and 319 for the Democrats.

In Mystic, Ia., the Socialist Party was beaten by a majority of only 31 votes by the combined "Citizens' Party."

HELENA, MONT.—In addition to the news from Anaconda and Butte, which you have already received, it is to be stated that the Socialist Party elected three out of the five aldermen chosen in Red Lodge, and that good gains were made in Missoula, Flathead, Fergus, Cascade, Yellowstone and Gallatin.

### PUBLIC MEETING.

Welfare hall, Eleventh and Locust streets, every Sunday 10:30 to 12 n.—Subjects for Economic Class:  
May 3—The Origin of Social Economy.

May 10—Practical Economics.  
May 17—The Rise of Industries.  
May 24—Early Communism.

J. E. HOW,  
For the Committee.

## The Bartenders' Protective and Benevolent League,

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KINLOCH B-1990.

Don't patronize Saloons where the Union Bar Sign or Blue Union Button is not displayed.



# Woman's Forum.

Edited by KATE EMMET.

## IF A TRAMP CAME TO CHICAGO.

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

"No war. Proletarians of all countries, unite! Peace on earth and good will to men"—this was the Socialist motto.

In America the Socialists were also active. They went on strengthening their Socialist Party. At every election new gains were made. In 1895 hardly 50,000 votes were cast for the Socialist Party. During the following campaigns the Socialist vote grew with the rapidity of a cyclone. The best sons and daughters of Uncle Sam followed the banner of Socialism. The small business men and the middle-class farmers, seeing the futile attempts to save themselves from bankruptcy by the means prescribed by the various middle-class reform parties, joined the Socialist Party. The strength of the Socialist Party, however, came from the working people. They were the backbone of the party, the very foundation of the movement. The capitalist parties, being afraid of the growing strength of the Socialist-labor movement, granted various reforms. Of course this was done for the purpose of taking the wind out of the sail of the Labor Party. However, the working people were, by that time, too well educated to be caught by such means. The capitalists went even so far as to municipalize the street railways, gas and electric light works, and other branches of transportation and production. Of course the Socialists favored these reforms, but they never lost sight of their main object—the abolition of the profit or wage system, and the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

It was natural that the ruling powers tried all means to check the new movement by a bloody revolution. In some countries, even in America, serious encounters between the workers and the soldiers took place; but the ever-active Socialists succeeded in convincing the very soldiers and policemen that they were simply wage slaves—the sons and brothers of the Socialists, and that the new order of society would make it impossible for any man or any class of men to hire his fellow-men for mercenary, murderous purposes.

The public press, assisted by the fake reformers and would-be labor leaders, tried to convince the working people that there must be harmony between capitalism and labor. "Ridiculous!" the Socialists said. "How can there be harmony between the wolf and the lamb?" The fact of the matter was that this harmony propaganda had the tendency to deceive the wage-workers and to prevent them from seeing the class interests protected by capitalist class legislation. Thanks to the energetic educational campaign of the Socialists the intelligent portion of the working people throughout the civilized world soon realized the fact that their class interests were different from the interests of their masters, and that in order to protect their class interests they must organize independently on economic and political lines.

After the great strikes of 1892-95 and during the industrial crisis the masses recognized the fact that the Democratic and Republican Parties were merely a well-organized horde of political hirelings of capitalism. From year to year, in every national, state, county or municipal election, the party vote decreased in a striking

ratio, clearly demonstrating the fact that the people had lost confidence in the capitalist politicians who were selling their spread-eagle patriotism to the highest bidder. The Fourth of July celebrations had long before that time become a farce and a lie, because there was no such thing as independence for the masses of the Old American people.

During the last decade of the nineteenth century, the capitalist dollar-and-cent patriots were not a little surprised to see their hitherto obedient wage slaves become "unpatriotic," as they pleased to call it. The working people refused to be marched through the streets like cattle. But this was not all. In San Francisco, St. Louis, Chicago, New York and other cities the working people, under the leadership of Socialists, decided to hold separate demonstrations, independent of the circus parades of their masters. On the public squares the enthusiastic wageworkers applauded the truly patriotic speeches of Socialist citizens. "Patriotism is to me an intangible curiosity," said one of the proletarian Fourth of July orators. "The wonders of the earth are denied the sight of the masses. The commonest natural sources of pleasure and education for the people are banned and barred. Social democracy is to be to the socially oppressed what this country was in the early days to seekers for religious and political freedom. And to this fountain must we look for regeneration. So great a work never had more willing hands than Socialists."—G. B. Benham.

And in Boston common—on the same public square where noble Phillips was hissed and hooted—an heroic woman appeared on the platform to deliver a Fourth of July oration. She was introduced to the audience as "a true American and a true international Socialist." "This is a day when true patriotism calls for deep thought," the speaker said; "we see boundless natural resources—marvelous inventions to save labor—children of the masses clamoring for supply of wants, men industrial slaves. What American citizenship is, what citizenship would be—action follows thought. On each successive Fourth of July we shall not look to the achievement of the past only, but to the possible future; with high resolve, say: Up and on, my countrymen! Up into the white light that science has given! Up with the mental powers, and demonstrate once for all that the American people have generated that amount of patriotic endeavor, of moral enthusiasm, of high spiritual consciousness that can project and sustain a co-operative commonwealth.

"The Stars and Stripes which tell of our interdependent political freedom—our union, not of states only, but of citizens, with its broad, bold, red and white bars, giving the symbol of integrity and unity, the spotless white was the aspirations of man towards purity; common humanity is represented in the red, because of the life-blood that flows and interflows by the mingling of the races; that blue field always ready to welcome new stars is typical of the time when the great civilized nations of the world shall mount up and flow together; above them all we will plant our own Socialist banner—we will plant it there and cry: All hail! that which poets have sung from time immemorial, they who catch the highest watchword of the world, and throw it out to filter through the being of all mankind, is now at hand. United at last, a federation of civilized nations—the universal Co-operative Commonwealth."

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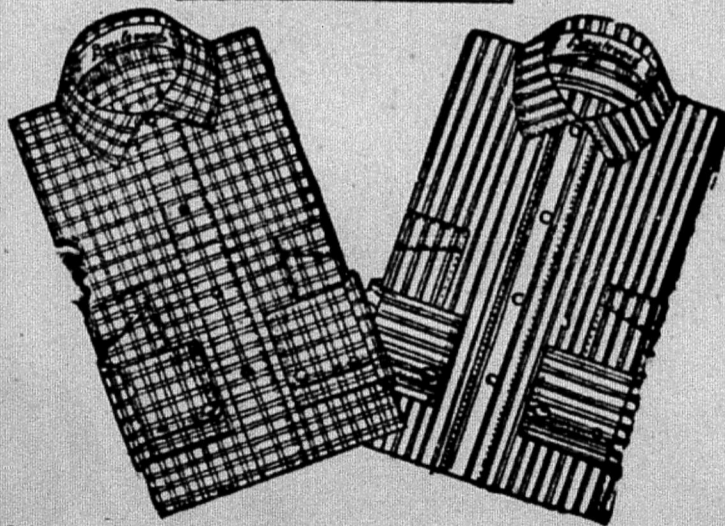
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616 North Seventh Street.



By the way, it may be stated right here, to the disgrace of Old America, that the woman who defended the rights of the American people in such a brave and masterly way was not even allowed to cast a ballot on election day! Because she was a woman. Any ignorant male vagrant or drunkard was endowed with this political right, she being considered the property of man.

The Socialist Party soon became the party of the waging masses and the well-meaning elements of the "better classes." Before the final victory at the ballot-box there were but two parties in the field—the Capitalist Party and the Socialist Party.

And the Socialist Party won the battle. Slowly, by degrees, the system of collective ownership of the means of production was introduced. One by one the private monopolies were made public monopolies, i. e., public property, but before this could be done every measure had to be sanctioned by the general vote of the people.

This was the beginning of the New Era. This was the first general victory of true patriotism, of true law and order. It was the realization of the motto: "Socialism in our time!"

## WHY SOCIALIST PAY DUES.

### Some Sound Arguments.

The Socialist Party, being a party of, by and for the wage-working class, and those in sympathy with it, proceeds upon the theory that the workers, as a class, must emancipate themselves from wage-slavery, and must consequently develop their own capacity for this great purpose.

Hence, while welcoming all assistance from individuals of other classes who are in sympathy with its objects and aims, the Socialist Party relies, first, last and all the time, on the working class for its support politically and otherwise. Not being a paternal organization, the means for the party's maintenance must come almost wholly from the rank and file of the organization.

Experience having demonstrated that the party can not trust to luck in the conduct of its affairs, nor rely upon haphazard donations for its revenues, it has established the dues-paying system, which is in vogue in the party throughout the world.

### OBJECTIONS TO THE DUES-PAYING SYSTEM.

There are those who object to the dues-paying system in our party on the following grounds:

1. It humiliates impoverished members and applicants for membership.
2. "It places the dollar above the man."
3. No other political party has such a system.

### OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

The first reason is strictly Utopian. "Poverty is no disgrace," but is the logical result of the competitive system. This being so, it is foreign to the spirit of our movement for members or applicants to feel "humiliated" because they can not pay dues. Our dues system exacts payments from those who are able to pay, and all others are excused. A false feeling of shame shows a capitalistic state of mind, which must be overcome.

The second reason is also entirely erroneous. Nowhere in the world does our party exclude applicants or expel members because of their inability to pay dues. Hence the party does not "place the dollar above the man."

We emphasize the fact that all are welcome to our ranks, regardless of their financial condition, but very properly insist that all who can do so shall contribute regularly to the necessary and unavoidable expenses of the organization.

The third reason only shows the difference in methods between political parties of capitalism and the Socialist Party as a revolutionary organization of the working class. Cer-

tainly the "old parties" have no dues-paying system; in fact, they need none, as the corruption funds "for value received" are ample to support them at all times, especially during campaigns. The old parties are paternal organizations, and their support comes from above—from the trust magnates, the silver barons, or the "business men" who live on labor's fleece. The Socialist Party, on the contrary, relies upon its membership at all times for support to fight the capitalist class, not only on election day, but every other day in the year; and also to strengthen its propaganda and political organization. This means expense, and, to raise the funds in a systematic way—a dues-paying system.

The enemy can not be expected to furnish our ammunition in this great class conflict. The workers must furnish their own "sinews of war."

Socialists who have evolved through the old parties can not appreciate this position at first, but a little reflection will show its reason and its merits.

### THE PRINCIPLE OF THE DUES-PAYING SYSTEM.

The following propositions will illustrate the reason for a dues-paying system:

1. The Socialist Party may be called the family of the working class.
2. A family, in order to live (under the competitive system), must have financial support.
3. The family necessarily relies upon its members for support.
4. It is the plain duty of all able-bodied members of the family to contribute their share towards its maintenance.
5. As a matter of justice, and not charity, all sick, unemployed or otherwise incapacitated members of the family are excused from this obligation.
6. No "humiliation" should be felt by those of the family so crippled. But it is the duty of all the other members to provide for them, and the rule of the family is that they should do so, or leave the house.

The workingman who can and will not help sustain the working class in its fight against capitalism, is a useless weight dragging his comrades back under the wheels of capitalism.

### OBSERVATIONS.

A narrow view of the Socialist movement and the work of the party is responsible for unwarranted protest against and disregard for the dues-paying system. Many comrades feel that their particular locality should receive entire attention and make this "criminal neglect" a reason for withholding dues.

Inasmuch as our party is national in its scope, and the funds at all times insufficient to cover the full territory, the revenues must be distributed where they will do the most good at a given time.

This might mean New York one day, California the next, and Pennsylvania or Illinois the day following. This local or state feeling should not characterize our party members, and the movement and its needs should be considered, not in part, but as a whole.

### DUES-PAYING ORGANIZATIONS.

It is a noticeable fact that organizations of the wage-workers the world over maintain a dues-paying system, notwithstanding the fact that the employment of the workers is precarious and spasmodic. The coal miners, for instance—whose employment does not average six months of the year—derive the revenue of their union strictly in this manner, and keep a well-filled treasury at all times. This is true of other trade union organizations; in fact, all of them have ever seen the necessity of a dues-paying system.

### THE STAMP SYSTEM.

The Socialist Party adopted the stamp system because it is a systematic, simple and easy way to raise funds to carry on a continuous campaign of agitation and organization. The method of using it is as follows:

In organized states, the state secretary purchases due stamps from the national secretary, sells them to the local secretaries, who in turn sell them to the local secretaries, who in turn sell them to the members for the amount of local dues. In unorganized states the local secretaries buy direct from the national office.

This enables the members to keep a check upon the finances of the local secretaries, who have the same check upon the state secretaries, who in turn have a check upon the money that goes to the national secretary.

### CONCLUSION.

The principal objections to the dues-paying system come from outside the large cities, where there is little, if any, industrial organization, and where the concept of the movement is more "ideal" than practical. The objections are more sentimental than logical, being based on a "mistaken" principle. We must not forget that we are living under the competitive system, and that pending its abolition our movement requires funds for its support from its members; that we must have system for this purpose, and that dependence on "philanthropists" and "voluntary subscriptions" alone tends to demoralize, rather than to strengthen the party. The emancipation of the working class must rest with the working class, who must devise their own ways and means for the purpose. And this is why Socialists pay dues.

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

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UNDER SOCIALISM it will be to the direct advantage of everyone to have every man, woman and child carefully educated.

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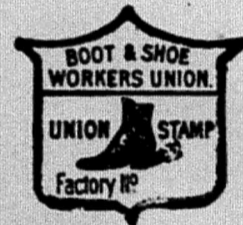
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# GRAND MAY DAY DEMONSTRATION.

Friday, May 1, at Hashagen's Auditorium, Broadway and Lamy Street. Max Hayes, of Cleveland, Ohio, the Speaker of the Day.

The Central Trades and Labor Union will celebrate the International May day demonstration, Friday, May 7, at Hashagen's auditorium, Broadway and Lami street.

The programme will commence at 4 o'clock p. m., consisting of concert, minstrel and vaudeville performances and dance.

Max Hayes, the well-known labor

leader and Socialist of Cleveland, O., fraternal delegate of the American Federation of Labor to the British Trades Union congress, will be the speaker of the day.

The union men and their families are invited. Admission, 10 cents a person. Children, free.

Comrade Hayes will speak in the evening.

## THE ATTITUDE OF EMPLOYERS TOWARDS UNIONS.

(Continued From Page Three.)

our government or to deprive by any means any citizen of the rights and privileges guaranteed under the constitution of the United States, as these men are and have been doing for years past.

"If this government is to stand, it must protect its every citizen in his 'inalienable rights,' at home as well as abroad. Its laws must be for all alike, and all must stand equal before the law, for if the rights of the common people are to be overturned by violence and mobs, then it can not stand. If we are to save to this country the industrial supremacy it has gained among the nations of the world, we must wrest and keep from organized labor the management of our industrial establishments, for it has been weighed in the balance and found wanting.

"But what are we going to do about it? That is the question which most concerns us all. Do we have to submit to its dictation? Must we bow our heads and hold up our hands in recognition of its dignity and might? Must we surrender our citizenship on the order of the business agent or walking delegate of a labor union and conduct our business only in such manner as he may choose to dictate? Would we, as a nation, tolerate such imposition from any other country? No, we would not! We would sacrifice our lives and the lives of our sons, or time and our money in destroying or attempting to destroy an enemy who would dare inflict upon us as a nation the wrongs and oppressions which organized labor everywhere is daily heaping upon us as individual citizens of the United States. Where, then, is the remedy? For remedy must come from some source. MY CONCLUSIONS ARE THAT THE ONLY REMEDY WILL BE FOUND IN THOROUGH ORGANIZATION OF EMPLOYERS, WHOSE CARDINAL PRINCIPLES SHALL BE TO PROTECT AND ENCOURAGE THE WAGE EARNER IN THE EXERCISE OF HIS RIGHT TO SELL HIS LABOR TO WHOM HE PLEASURES AND AT WHAT PRICE HE PLEASURES, AND TO PROTECT THE INDUSTRIAL WORKMAN IN HIS RIGHT TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE OPPORTUNITIES WHICH FALL IN HIS WAY, AND WHICH RIGHT HE MUST NEEDS SURRENDER THE MOMENT HE IS ENROLLED AS A MEMBER OF A LABOR UNION, as he is so often compelled to do in order to 'hold his job' and earn a living for himself and family, because his employer, through intimidation and fear or erroneous ideas of philanthropy, has recognized the union, and he must have a card or seek employment elsewhere. But where shall he find employment when unionism reigns?

"Organize capital is strongly as labor is organized, and the question as to whether employer or employe shall dictate the management will settle itself in short order.

"The employer has slept too long; he is too often neglectful of what is going on; he has been and is now altogether too selfish, too narrow, and too thoughtless of his own interest; he looks upon the other fellow's troubles as none of his, and with the hope that he will escape. The fact is, gentlemen, the time is here when every employer of labor in every line of industry should consider this question as an important factor in his business and should contribute liberally of his time and means toward the suppression of this curse in the disguise of ameliorating the poor downtrodden workingman, but which in reality is nothing more or less than an institution through which a class of men thrive without honest work.

The great majority of wage earners are neither anarchists nor Socialists; they are not willful law breakers nor lovers or advocates of mob rule and disorder; they want peace and true freedom; they want to live in a country where justice will prevail; they want their children to have the protection of just and equitable laws. It is but a small minority and a few reckless and indifferent leaders who seek good jobs that advocate lawlessness and who terrorize whole communities, for it should be remembered that of the wage earners of this country there is but one in every 14 who is a member of a labor union, and it is fair to assume that 75 per cent. of these are there through coercion and not from choice, and the 25 per cent. not only rules the 75 per cent., but seeks to browbeat and control the multitudes, employers included, and which says our boys shall not be permitted to learn trades and thereby make of themselves useful citizens, but shall become tramps and nuisance to society. It is a clear case of the "tail wagging the dog."

Whatever organized labor may be in theory, its resultant product is Socialism, pure and simple. THERE ARE NO MORE DANGEROUS—IN FACT, THERE ARE NO SUCH DANGEROUS—ANARCHISTS IN OUR MIDST AS THESE LEADERS OF ORGANIZED LABOR, WHO INSTITUTE STRIKES, AND THEN AID AND ABET THE THUGS AND BUMS WHO PERPETRATE THE MURDEROUS ASSAULTS UPON MEN WHO SEE FIT TO WORK WHERE THE STRIKE IS ON. Did any of you ever know of any such leader resigning his office on account of the outrages perpetrated by strikers under his leadership, or did you ever hear of a member of a labor union being expelled for using violence against a free man? The history of labor unions shows that they repudiate the brotherhood of man and substitute tyranny therefor; that they defy law and government to the full extent of their power to do so; that they recognize no sense of honor or moral obligations, and that they recklessly and maliciously destroy life and property, and keep everybody and everything in a state of chaos. It puts a premium upon indolence and a barrier against energy. It is entirely needless of the well being and rights of others, and it terrorizes capital

and drives it from industrial pursuits.

"We need local organizations in every community, embracing every employer of labor in whatever capacity, founded upon broad lines. And the cardinal principles of these organizations should be to protect their members in their rights to manage their businesses in such lawful manner as they may deem proper; to endeavor to make it possible for any person to obtain employment without being obliged to join a labor organization, and to encourage all such persons in their efforts to resist the compulsory methods of organized labor; to protect their members in such manner as may be deemed expedient and proper against legislative and political encroachments; to unite in bonds of common interest all employers of labor; to uphold and assist the free American workman in maintaining

his rights as such, and the adoption of thorough and systematic measures whereby the masses may become better educated on lines of true Americanism, through the dissemination of literature tending to counteract the evil influence of much of the vile reading matter which is so freely circulated by the Socialistic and anarchistic element of organized labor.

"Such organizations have already been formed in many localities, and wherever they exist public sentiment has been molded by their moral influences. The newspapers have taken up their cause; the frugal workmen have taken courage, and industrial peace has taken the place of industrial warfare."

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



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