

MISSOURI SOCIALIST.

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

Volume I.

St. Louis, Mo., Saturday, March 9, 1901.

Number 10.

STRONG WORDS.

Class-Conscious Resolutions Adopted by the Central Trades and Labor Union.

Considers the Nomination of Its President by the Democratic Party an Insult to Organized Labor.

Mr. McArthur Johnston, President of the Central Trades and Labor Union, made the following statement to the daily press:

The Social Democrats succeeded in passing the resolution calling for my resignation, and I propose to tender it. I do not believe, however, that it will be accepted, as I don't think the Social Democrats are in the majority in the organization. It certainly seems strange to me that men would vote to have me resign because I happen to be a candidate on one ticket, while the mover of the resolution is a candidate on another. It is much to be regretted that this political question has been injected into our organization, and for the good of the cause of labor, I hope that no harm will come of it, but I know that it is a grave departure from the organic law of the body and in opposition to the rule that has always obtained.

The rich are growing richer and fewer in number; the poor are rapidly getting poorer and more numerous. The middle-class merchants and manufacturers are driven to bankruptcy and suicide into the wage-working class, thereby increasing the army of the unemployed. The concentration of wealth in the hands of the few is beginning to attract general attention.

The capitalist system of production for the benefit of the few to the detriment and ruin of the many has become a danger to our social institutions. Today the "rights of property" have become the supreme laws of the nation, while the rights to life, liberty and happiness, for which the fathers of this republic fought and suffered and sacrificed, have become a farce and a lie. Human life has become valueless in the eyes of the rulers of this American nation.

We are confronted by a most serious crisis in the economic, political and social development of our country. We have become a nation of a few millionaires and millions of helpless slaves.

Who will help the wage-working class? Who will prevent the ruin of the American people? Who will save the American political republic and transform it into an industrial republic?

It is for you, for the working class, to answer. The present capitalist system of enriching the few and impoverishing the masses of wealth produces is upheld by two powerful political organizations known as the Republican and Democratic parties.

These political machines may rightly be called the general business management of the American capitalist class, for both parties are run exclusively for the interests of said class.

Will either of these parties free the working class? Never!

The emancipation of the working class must be achieved by the working class themselves. The wage-workers must strike at the ballot box for freedom. It is childish and stupid for the working people to expect any help from any man, be his name McKinley or Bryan, Ziegelnhofer or Meriwether-Wells or Parker. Whatever we have gained in the way of reducing the hours of labor, increasing our wages and bettering our conditions in general, is due to our organization, to our trades unions, to our united efforts. Without our trades unions we should be at the mercy of the employing class.

This being the case in the economic field or trades union lines it naturally follows that it will also be true in the political field. If the working class would be free, you yourselves must strike the blow at the ballot box.

In view of the economic, political and social conditions as pictured in the foregoing statement, and in view of the fact that in this present municipal campaign the capitalist political party machines and professional ward heelers are doing their utmost to oppose more effectively the rank and file of Organized Labor in order to catch the Labor vote, and

Whereas strenuous attempts are being made by the capitalist political parties to disrupt the labor movement by offering political sandwiches to so-called labor leaders and officers of the trades unions and to remunerate said leaders and officers for their political real work by either appositive or electorate political jobs;

Whereas The Democratic Party has failed to select the President of this Central Trades and Labor Union, Mr. McArthur Johnston, as one of the victims to misrepresent the class interests of the working people of his city by attempting to lead them back into the dark halls of corruption and crime of basile politics and capitalist class legislation;

Whereas This Central Trades and Labor Union, known as one of the most progressive Central Labor bodies of this country, by its platform is pledged to the abolition of the wage system, which says: "The organization aims to secure the emancipation of the laborer from the bonds of wage-slavery."

Whereas, Section 2, Article 6, of our Constitution reads as follows: "This C. T. & L. U. shall not indorse or support in any manner either the Re-

publican or Democratic party or any candidate or either, as there is, and can, be, no issue between them which concerns labor's interest. And we caution all friends of labor, that any party which has outlined the original principle on which it was founded, necessarily takes sides on new issues only as far as compelled to do so, and then only on policy and to secure votes."

And furthermore: At its regular meeting held September 22, 1900, after the great Street Car Strike, the C. T. & L. U. adopted the following:

"It is a crime for Organized Labor to follow the banner of the old capitalist parties. There is little difference whether the workingmen are shot down by Democratic state militia or Republican federal troops by means of Democratic Winchester rifles or by means of Republican riot guns; whether trades unions are enjoined by Republican courts in St. Louis or in Democratic courts in New York! For ten years we have witnessed a most desperate civil war. Remember Homestead! Buffalo! Brooklyn! Tennessee! Cripple Creek! Coeur d'Alene! Pullman! The unemployed movement to Washington! Cleveland! St. Louis! The cooperation of the Democratic state government, the Republican city administration, and the St. Louis Transit Co. Remember the bloody work in Washington avenue! We can no longer be union men 365 days in the year and 365 on the three hundred and sixty-fifth day—the day of election. This is no longer a fight between Democrats and Republicans, but a gory struggle between labor and capitalism.

Whereas, McArthur Johnston, acting as President of this body at the time of the adoption of the above resolution and being well acquainted with the contents of our platform and constitution, failed to live up to the spirit of the fundamental laws of his body that elevated him into the responsible position he now holds as President; and being aware of the fact, so strongly expressed in our constitution, that there cannot be any friendly relation between either of the capitalist parties and this C. T. & L. U. and that the interests of said parties and this Central body are not identical, but diametrically opposed to each other; therefore he is:

Resolved That this Central Trades and Labor Union most emphatically declares that we do not endorse or sanction the nomination of the President of this body on the Democratic ticket.

Resolved That we emphatically protest against the use or misuse of the name of this C. T. & L. U. by any officer or member for capitalist political and boudoir purposes.

Resolved That we consider the nomination by the Democratic Party of the President of this body an insult to Organized Labor.

Resolved That it is for the interest of Organized Labor of St. Louis that the President of this Central body shall not be a candidate on the ticket of any political party whose principles are not in accordance with the principles on which this Central T. and L. U. is organized.

Resolved That in order to protect the honor of this body and the interests of the working class we hereby demand the resignation of McArthur Johnston as president of this C. T. and L. U.

EVOLUTION
of THE RACE.

There have been three great periods in the growth of our race—savagery, barbarism and civilization. There were three distinctly marked conditions, one succeeding another, in savagery, three in barbarism, and there have been two in civilization. There is yet a third. We stand in the day of its dawning. We are the heirs of all the countless centuries of the past. We are the builders of the future.

In the infancy of our race our ancestors fed themselves with roots and fruits and nuts gathered from the wilds which no man called his own. From a meaningless babel of unformed words, aided by gesture and grimace. In associated effort they produced a language by associated effort they fought off the beasts of prey and, standing together, they preserved the race of man from utter annihilation. To nuts and fruit they added fish and built and kept a common fire from which each could carry his load, and no one said "This fire is mine." They contrived and used the bow and arrow and no one claimed returns from another's toil.

Woman's ingenuity and skill and toil made and used pottery and the simple tools of the garden and the field, but no man said "This field is mine."

In the early youth of this race of ours, a man, with no tasks in his mouth, no claws on his hands, no hoots on his heels, no horns on his head, and no wings on his back, acting by tribes; tamed and made helpers and companions of the industrial tasks and claws and hoots and horns and wings, and made these stronger creatures do his bidding, to bring him food and drink, but no one said "This herd is mine."

They learned the nature and the use of iron. They gathered it from the hills and smelted it in the rude furnace of the hillside, and from it made the tools and weapons which made these ironworkers the masters of the world, but around the doorway of that

primeval furnace the cry of the striker was never heard and the outrage of the lockout was never known, for the private owner was never there.

Rice and barley, wheat and corn, rye and oats, peas, beans and onions, gold and silver, iron, tin, brass and bronze, the sickle and the pruning knife, the distaff, spindle, shuttle and the loom, the harp and shepherd's pipe, the dike, bridge and irrigation ditch, garments of cloth, shoes of leather and houses of stone; the dog, goat, hog, cow and horse, the wagon of four wheels, the basket, mill and bakery—and the white-winged ships, such as come down from the sea—these were among the things man had contrived and learned to use during the years which modern scholarship calls years of savagery and barbarism. In all this the private ownership of the means of life was never known.

After that the Phoenicians gave the world an alphabet. It was civilization's birthday and it looked up and smiled with a written record in its hand.

But civilization brought us more than that. Lewis H. Morgan, and there is no better authority on the primitive life of man—Mr. Morgan says that the idea of property, or its dominance as a passion over every other passion, marks the commencement of civilization. With the passion for property came war, with war, slavery, and the thirst for dominion and power, and for five thousand years it has been written in letters of blood and fire over the smoking centuries—the love of gain is the root of all evil."

But the dominion of property is nearing its end. The passion for gain is to be replaced by the passion for the perfection of our race. Humanity shall no longer be subject to property. Property must become the servant of humanity.

—Walter Thomas Mills.

BOOMERANGS.

You pray for the poor, but you vote for the rich.

You favor the brotherhood of man, but you want to be the big brother.

You object to Socialism because it prevents a man from working for whomsoever he pleases; so you make him work for whoever pleases to engage him.

You fear men will have no incentive under Socialism, so you vote in favor of threatening them with starvation if they fail to get a job now.

You want to know who will do the dirty work under Socialism; but you are quite willing that it be left to the poor (and the politicians) under the present system.

You wonder what we would do with the man who wouldn't work under Socialism; but you are not very much worried about the man we won't let work under the present system.

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

The fact that a certain article is published
does not exempt MISSOURI SOCIALIST from
all opinions expressed therein.

Contributions and items of news concerning
the labor movement are requested from
our readers. Every contribution must be ac-
companied by the name of the writer, but need
not be signed for publication, but as an evidence of good
will.

Entered at the Postoffice at St. Louis, Mo., as
second-class matter, December 1890.



Notice to the Gang.

Something's going to happen. We
are going to let the people of St. Louis
know that there is such a thing as a
Socialist movement in St. Louis, and
we are going to make it rather im-
pressive, too. There are different ways
of attracting a man's attention. You
can stand across the street and whistle
between your fingers, or you can slip
up behind him and rap him gently on
the shoulder with a club, or you can
slip away within his range of vision
a cold piece of printed logic that will
set the rusty old wheels in his brain
to turning and whirring like an alarm
clock on its busy hour. We intend to
use the latter method and we need
your assistance.

You will have to do the dirty work;
that is, you will have to furnish the
coin No. 12 of Missouri Socialist
dated March 23, will be used as our
campaign issue, and it will be a
scratcher. It will show up Meriwether,
Wells and Parker in fine style. It will
be especially prepared for local use
and it will be just the think to make
converts with. More particulars will
be given as to its contents in next
week's issue.

But what we want now is your orders.
The paper will be mailed direct
to the persons designated by you (pro-
vided you address the wrappers) for
sixty cents per hundred, six dollars
per thousand. If you wish to call at
this office for your papers you can have
them at fifty cents a hundred. One
comrade has volunteered to pay for
four thousand to be sent into his ward,
and many other smaller orders have
been placed. Now make up your mind
whether you want the voters in your
precinct to know about Socialism or
not. If you do, get the list of voters
in your precinct from this office and a
bundle of blank wrappers, write the
name of every voter upon one of the
wrappers and return them with sixty
cents for each hundred. In this way
you will reach every voter in your
precinct at a cost of only two or three
dollars. You can appreciate this op-
portunity and will take advantage of it.
Make the campaign edition a big
one.

On with the campaign.

Display the red bow knot.

Socialism is coming to the front in
St. Louis.

"Two cent car fares" is something
like the "full dinner pail" humbug.

Attend the Commune Festival at
Druids Hall on March 16, and help
your paper.

Tickets for the Commune Festival
can be secured at this office. Ten cents
each. Take a bun with you to sell
to our friends.

If elected, I expect to draw around
me an official family of Republican
BUSINESS men," said Mr. Parker.
He is such a friend of labor.

An eastern scientific journal wants
to know whether "We think with one-
half of the brain." Well, hardly. Most
people use only about one-tenth of it
when voting.

The American Rolling King is the
capitalist who makes the working
men vote his way. There has been
a mistaken impression about this
heretofore, but it is quite clear now.

Bryan's paper, The Commoner, does
not bear the printers union label. He
loves organized labor so, but his mem-
ory is bad. Then the label might
frighten the respectable, you know.

Roll up your sleeves and work for
Socialism. Organize your word, scatter
literature, attend the commune festival,
push the campaign edition, attend the Sunday meetings—hooray!

Seventy-five hundred men in the
State of Maine are minus a job because
an ice trust has been formed that
proposes to cut some ice and
not to dig post holes and fill them up
again.

When Edward VII is coroneted it is
said that the ancient custom will be
revived of having a king's champion
ride out before the assembled multitude
and invite all comers to dispute
with physical force the right of the

king to rule. If some burly British
Socialist doesn't take the gentleman
at his word it will be because his ma-
jesty's royal guards intervene.

The official organ of the Public
Ownership Party says "thirty thou-
sand and rank and file Democrats will vote
for Lee Meriwether simply because he
is the only Mayoralty candidate who
in national politics is a Democrat."
Now, if you want to know why So-
cialists oppose Meriwether, here is one
reason: in national politics he is a
Democrat and the Democratic party
upholds the present system of wage
slavery under which the workers are
robbed of the products of their labor.

The Democratic Populist govern-
ment of Idaho was responsible for the burn-
ing at Coeur d'Alene; a Democratic
Governor of this State did all he
could to defeat the street railway
strikers; Democratic judges issue in-
junctions against organized labor; the
Democratic party, national, state, local,
and independent, is an enemy of
organized labor; so you'll have to ex-
cuse us.

Easup's Fables.

There was a certain land called
"Merky" in which all mules had a right
to vote, and every mule was told that
he was free and the equal of every other
mule and every man in the country
because his vote counted for as much
as theirs. And the majority of mules
thought so, too, for their vanity was
exceedingly tickled. But, strange to
say, every mule in "Merky" carried a
man on his back. However, the mules
had always been ridden and thought
this was as it should be, for the scrip-
tures really seemed to approve of it.
So they murmured not, but sang praises
of their glorious liberty and equal-
ity.

But in that land was a certain mule
called "Agitatus," driven by a man
called "Capital," and this mule was
given to much thinking, for his ears
were unusually long. One day before
election "Capital" was riding "Agita-
tus" along the great highway, when
they fell to discussing the issues. "My
dearly beloved Agi," said Capital,
"this is a glorious country, in which
we all meet at the polls as equals, and
my bosom fills with pride when I con-
template the fact that in this country
there are no classes, that we are no
mules and men, but all citizens of
grand old Merky. Now, Agi, our inter-
ests are the same; as the interests of
mules and men are always identical. It
is to your interest that these roads be
smooth and well paved in order that
you may not stumble and fall while
carrying me along and that you may
drive the cart along more swiftly and
with greater ease. Therefore it is my
opinion that you and I should march
to the polls together and vote for the
good roads party and thus obtain a
business administration that will make
the roads smooth for you and I."

Then Agi pricked up his ears and,
after a rebellious bray as a signal to
an acquaintance in the distance, he
unconsciously himself thusly: "My dear
old Cap, your phrases are fine indeed
and methinks they would inflate the
vanity of a jackass to the size of a
balloon, but I cannot ignore the fact
that although we vote as equals we do
not work as equals. We may all be
citizens of Merky, but I cannot forget
that you are a man and I am a mule,
and to me men and mules are two dif-
ferent classes. Furthermore, I observe
that your class always ride on the
backs of my class. I have no doubt
that you would like to see good roads
so that your riding might be more
swiftest and your hauling done more
rapidly, but for me who am being rid-
den these things have little charm. It
might be that if I am to be ridden all
my life good roads would be a blessing
to me, as tending to make my slavery
more endurable; but I do not propose
to be ridden much longer. I fear that
were you and I to march to the polls
together as you suggest, you would

want to ride to the ballot box on my
back. Therefore the issue appears to
me to be, not 'good roads and a busi-
ness administration,' but whether you
and your kind will get off the backs of
myself and other mules. I shall do
what I can to impress this view upon
other mules and shall vote for the So-
cial Democratic Party." Having un-
burdened himself of this little speech
Agi relapsed into silence and Capital
murmured "I'll get the Pope to issue
another encyclical against these con-
nounced Socialists."

Two cent car fares" is something
like the "full dinner pail" humbug.

Attend the Commune Festival at
Druids Hall on March 16, and help
your paper.

Tickets for the Commune Festival
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each. Take a bun with you to sell
to our friends.

If elected, I expect to draw around
me an official family of Republican
BUSINESS men," said Mr. Parker.
He is such a friend of labor.

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State of Maine are minus a job because
an ice trust has been formed that
proposes to cut some ice and
not to dig post holes and fill them up
again.

When Edward VII is coroneted it is
said that the ancient custom will be
revived of having a king's champion
ride out before the assembled multitude
and invite all comers to dispute
with physical force the right of the

WHY WE AGITATE.

Motive That Inspires the Agitation.

Daily Problem of Capitalism is to Reduce Cost of the Laborer to the Minimum.

By PETER E. BURROWS.

A man who becomes a reformer or
an agitator without having a sharp-
ened angry sense of something wrong
is not a verbal critic and his agitation
will probably last no longer than the
shocks.

Why are we agitators? I answer for
myself, that it is because I see an un-
natural system of production in the
world to-day which is based upon the
unnatural process of reducing to the
minimum sum of money the cost of
producing a laborer. It strikes me
that way, that the whole capitalistic
system has this for its daily problem
as a law maker, and its daily achieve-
ment as a profit maker.

Under these circumstances, what
shall I agitate for? To raise the cost
of every human being that belongs to
the species called "laborer," to demand
more and more for him out of the fund
called profits, until at last that fund is
exhausted and capitalism perishes.

The life of the proletarian can only
be enlarged, cultured and dignified to
what it ought to be in the twentieth
century out of the profit fund of capi-
talism. And the life of any nation
where capitalism rules can only reach
its developed condition when the profit
fund diminishes to a cipher.

One of the hindrances to a thorough-
going effective Socialist agitation has been,
I think, this, the notion that Social-
ism has a certain specific formula, and
must be always uttered thus, and so
in order to be clear-cut, stalwart and pure.

Now, while it has its great truth, it
has no prescribed greater way of utter-
ing it. The greatest way you or I can
utter it is the way it strikes ourselves
most convincingly.

What has happened in the world
against which as a Socialist and re-
former, as impelled by my intelligence
and manhood to protest? The human
race has been divided into two classes
by capitalism. One class separated
from the great resources of the earth
by the means of self-support, depased
from the right and regulating its own
industry for its own support and its
own civilization, deprived of the rights
of the right that laborers enjoyed in few
and earlier times, everywhere, the right
to have a business, a duty, a work of your
own in your own generation and country,
and the right to be protected by the go-
vernment. The other class separated
from the great resources of the earth
by the means of self-support, depased
from the right and regulating its own
industry for its own support and its
own civilization, deprived of the rights
of the right that laborers enjoyed in few
and earlier times, everywhere, the right
to have a business, a duty, a work of your
own in your own generation and country,
and the right to be protected by the go-
vernment.

Instead of this, the individual laborer
has now been effaced. Through the
mechanism of money all values, and
almost all uses and nearly all things
good and desirable, have become meas-
urable for possession or exchange in
money, and money itself, having be-
come perfected as to be now a defi-
nitely internationally recognized object,
easily conveyed and almost imperish-
able, the world is becoming the floor of
the stock exchange where it has behind
him, while the same world is arrayed
as a world market, the millennium of
the profit-monger, is the slaughter-
house of the laborer.

To meet the requirements of the
world market the great mechanical
genius of the slaves themselves is ever in
the stretch, to meet its requirements,
the division of labor is intensified until
the laborer himself is, industrially speak-
ing, no man at all. The world
market of capitalism has stripped the
laborer of local, national, and legal
rights and recognition of his person
and place in society; the world market
has divided him down to utmost min-
utiae and left him in a world where a
man's sole right to live consists in his
having something to sell or something
with which to buy, practically without
either, to sell, he has only his own
vital force, his labor power; to buy
he has only the pittance allowed him
out of his product by capitalism, that
pittance being fixed by the iron
law of wages which gives back to labor
no more than the cost of feeding and
reproducing himself.

This is how it strikes me hardest
and this is the basis of my agitation.
Then comes the question, "What am I
to agitate for?" I agitate to make
the working people aware of what has
befallen them, and to make them so
aware as to make them class conscious.

This is a very different matter from
creating two hostile classes in this
happy, peaceful paradise, the United
States. It is the difference between
calling the night day, and obstinately
scraping about, therefore, in the dark
and calling the day night and lighting
the lamps to see the way through it.

To be sure, some people are greatly
exercised as to the dangers of revealing
to the people the fact of the class
schism, the great capitalist gulf that
separates the slaves of Wall street from
the Lazarus of labor, and on the other
hand, some worn out Socialists are
saying, "There is no use agitating to
install class consciousness into the
toilers—they are too degraded and
demented to perceive their calamity."

Both of these are not true at the
same time, because if you cannot make
them class conscious there is no danger
to be apprehended from their class con-
sciousness, nor is either true at any
time.

It is not true that labor is too ignor-
ant and degraded to be made class con-
scious; because class consciousness is
not entirely brought about by a pro-
cess of reasoning. Though greatly aid-
ed thereby, class consciousness will be
brought about very much through the
skin and stomach, and the capitalists
are themselves very diligently teaching
it that way.

Class consciousness is, as the term
implies, a class process, and the individ-
ual mind is not doing it all. For
that reason we may comfortably preach

it, trusting to our auxiliary, the capi-
talist process of disinheritance, to "rab-
bit" it. "Or, to put it in another way,
class consciousness will prove to be a
psychologic process, which capitalism
is creating and which the Socialist agita-
tion is only directing to a wise issue.
But it might as well be no conscious-
ness at all if it lead us not out to logical
action.

It is a good thing while a man has
life in him, to make him conscious of a
great terrible peril. We believe that
labor yet has life in it, and we, therefore,
preach that class consciousness to it which leads to the ballot boxes
with the Socialist ticket.

PETER E. BURROWS.

ONLY MINERS.

Sixty Miners Entombed Disastrous
Explosion in British Columbian Mine
Little Hope of Saving the Men.
Such are the headlines over a dispatch
from Seattle, Wash., in a daily paper.
The details show that the explosion
was caused by gas and almost completely
wrecked the mine. The sixty men are lost.
But who cares? Not the people who go into hysterics
of grief when a Rockefeller has the stomach
ache or a Vanderbilt stubs his toe,
or who drops a flag at half mast and
wears crepe when a parastatal monarch
reminds us they are mortal by
dying like ordinary folks. Not at all.
Probably these sniffling sycophants
hardly gave the horrible fate of sixty
coal miners a passing thought. Such
incidents as mine explosions are common,
and the miners are used to them.

Said I: "You speak sorely
Of the living death in view.
These are human creatures dying—
Are you not human, too?"

And he grunted on with ardor
Of the moving scene below:
Of the "values" of the smoke-wreaths.
And the "splendid rush and go."

Of the headlong desperate charges
Where a thousand lives were spent:
Of the "massing" in the foreground
With the "middle distance" silent.

Said I: "You speak sorely
Of the living death in view.
These are human creatures dying—
Are you not human, too?"

This is a present battle
Where all men strive today:
How does it chance you sit apart?
Which is your banner say?"

His fresh cheek blanched a little.
And he answered with a smile:
That he fought not on either side;
He was watching a little while.

"Watching," said I, "and neutral!"

Natural! In times like these!

THE TRUST QUESTION.

Socialism in the Line of Progress and Certain of Attainment.

Cry of "Down With Machinery" Now Supplanted by "Down With the Trusts."

By REV. CHAS. VAIL.

The question is this: Is the modern tendency toward greater and more organization and centralization in industry economic, efficient, in accord with industrial progress, and is the outcome destined to prove beneficial to society as a whole? It must be evident that the principle of combination, the concentration of capital is economic and efficient, else it would be discarded. In fact, the principle was adopted as the result of a series of experiments which taught the capitalists the efficiency of capital in large masses. They found out that large capital could be used more advantageously than small capital—it could produce more economically and efficiently. As such experiments proved successful they were extended. Every million added to the plant increased the efficiency of both the old capital and the new, and so gradually industry was transformed. That this tendency of concentration is in accord with industrial progress is evident from the fact that the whole history of industrial progress is the history of economic evolution—the organization and centralization of industry. Without this centralization productive efficiency could not have progressed beyond the status of small individual concerns. The difference between the economic status of the individual capitalist, the corporation, and the so-called trusts, is not one of principle, but of size and complexity of industrial organization. The corporation, with its greater concentration of capital, is able to organize industry on a more complex basis and on a larger scale than the individual capitalist, and for the same reason the trust is able to more completely organize industry than the corporation. While the corporation consists in the association of a number of capitalists, the best power is the association of corporations, the only difference being that one represents a greater aggregation and centralization of capital than the other. The organization of industry has proceeded just in proportion as capital has been concentrated, and economy in production depends upon organization, the more perfect the organization, the greater the economy. The individual capitalist is not able to organize industry on a very complex basis, but the corporation with its large capital can more completely organize industry and specialize labor, while the trust with its still larger capital can effect a more perfect organization and better utilization of productive energy.

Here note that each step in the industrial evolution has been taken because conditions demanded it. The growth in mechanical invention, the large amount of capital necessitated to utilize profitably the new methods, made it impossible for the individual capitalist to furnish the requisite means, so the corporation arose. Still further progress in mechanical improvements and the evolution in industrial methods made a greater aggregation of capital necessary, so the trusts came into existence—a step far along the line of industrial progress.

The history of economic progress has been the history of the concentration of productive capital. This concentration is necessary to the utilization of the best methods in modern industry is evident. To reverse this tendency and decentralize capital is to barbarize society. The Democratic middle class policy, then, is reactionary—it would destroy economic progress.

The class action of the anti-trust movement is analogous to the anti-machinery movement of a century ago, when the hand loom weavers marched throughout England and destroyed the power looms. Hargreaves, Arkwright, Crompton were driven from their homes by howling mobs, for inventing the new methods that displaced the old. The cry of "Down with machinery" has been supplanted by "Down with trusts." The whole history of industrial progress is the history of resistance to new methods, to new inventions. It is not strange then, that the phenomenal industrial development of the last few years should meet with vigorous opposition. But the movement toward greater organization of industry is natural and consequently inevitable. The aggregation of capital is indispensable to modern progress. In those countries and in those industries where the greatest concentration has taken place, there you will find the greatest progress. The great productive economies are confined to the industries where capital is most employed.

The result of this greater organization of industry, and consequent economy of production, has been to drive the smaller and inferior competitors from the field. It is because the middle class, with its old machinery and methods, are unable to compete with the improved appliances of the larger corporations, that they wish to destroy these large corporations or trusts and force civilization back into the competitive stage of industry out of which we are evolving. But their efforts in this direction will be futile, as were those of their predecessors who endeavored to force a return to the handicraft stage of production. Both movements are in opposition to progress and so foredoomed to failure. The so-called trust is a natural product of the

of competing industries into trusts is destined to realize the ideal for which they labor—the Co-operative Commonwealth. One who understands the causes which have led to the substitution of combination for competition well knows the impossibility of ever returning to the latter. Associated capital and machinery are necessary to effective and economical production. The passing of industry from the hand to the mechanical basis meant the death of the old competitive order. A return to the days of free competition and small things would constitute a reversal of all progress. To restore this era it would be necessary to destroy all modern machinery, all new and improved methods, all large factories and stores, and punish all progressiveness with instant death. We cannot return to the past in economic evolution there is no retrogression. The whole history of industrial development evidences the tendency in progressive society toward a greater centralization of capital and organization of industry, which the most highly developed machinery and improved methods of production make necessarily. Without this concentration industries could have utilized the most improved methods; in fact, very few such industries could now be conducted on less than a million dollars capital, and many require tens and hundreds of millions. Shall we destroy this concentration and thus make impossible the use of the most effective methods in modern industry? Such a proposition is absurd, and yet this is the policy of the Democratic, middle class party. Centralized capital is the most effective tool in production; to decentralize it would be to destroy this effective instrument.

Of course, the concentration of capital into the hands of a few enable these few to reap the benefits of economic progress, but there must be some way by which the improved methods can be retained and the benefits reaped by the people. Socialism solves the problem. It points out that organized capital—the results of economic progress—can be preserved, and the benefits of this organization accrue to society as a whole. If the people wish to enjoy the benefits of these great combinations—the trusts, they must own them. As long as they remain private property, the few will reap the advantage. Public ownership is the key to the solution of the problem—the only rational solution of the vexed trust question. The principle of combination is sound and ought to be extended to the whole social order. As production and distribution on a large scale are more economic they ought to survive, but the only safety to society is in the adoption of the principle by the collectivity. When these large corporations or trusts, which embody the principle of combination, are centralized, then the possibility of the laborers as individuals ever owning the tools necessary to their toil. To destroy these great combinations of capital would only mean the return to inferior methods of production—such methods as could be owned by smaller organizations of capitalists. But the instruments of smaller corporations and even those furnished by the individual capitalist are useless in character, consequently, unless we return to the days of hand labor—the workers would still be absolutely dependent, as to-day, upon the owning class. The only difference would be that under the decentralized program the number of labor exploiters would be larger, but this would be of no benefit to the laboring class. Laborers are not benefited by increasing the number of their masters.

The plan of the middle class for its retention is futile. The laboring class is not interested in its preservation with its absurd principle of industrial competition. That competition is in jursians is evident from the fact that it has been well nigh annihilated by the principle of combination. Surely, no one with economic sense wishes to return to the era of competitive supremacy. A more wasteful and absurd system could not be devised—a system which gives several dozen firms to do the work of one. To be sure we sympathize with those displaced, but the displacement is inevitable—the necessary result of economic evolution. They are sacrificed for the perfecting of society. There awaits them, however, an ample compensation, if they are wise enough to accept it, which we will consider presently.

The Socialist party represents the interests of the proletarian class—the class of wage and salary workers. It represents their interests because their class interests are in accord with social progress. The class interests of both the propertied classes depend upon maintaining present conditions, but not so with the working class. While Socialism represents the class interests of the laborers, it also represents the class interests of every member of society. It does not represent the class interests of either division of the propertied class, for their class interests signify such policies as make for the perpetuity of their class. Socialism would abolish all classes—a step necessary to realize a true civilization. But the class interests of the laborers are in accord with economic progress, we call upon them to unite for their own emancipation, which would also mean, the salvation of society, for they can save themselves without abandoning the cause of all economic servitude and oppression—the private and corporate ownership of the instruments of production and distribution. While Socialism represents the personal interests of all—for it means a higher and truer civilization—the members of the propertied class are so blinded by their prejudice and class interests that they are unable to see what would make for a nobler manhood and a higher order of society. We cannot hope then, that the capitalist class, as a class, will join the forward movement of individual members of the class, will join and are joining by the thousands, especially from the perishing middle class.

Socialism is in the line of progress and certain of attainment. The Socialist party points out that the tendency to concentration is natural and inevitable, and that the gradual development

AMERICAN ITEMS.

Canneries out on Puget Sound are combining.

Comrade Vail, national organizer, speaks in Erie, Pa., March 11th.

The Socialist Party ticket received 233 votes at the municipal election in Erie, Pa., on Feb. 19th.

One column of the Milwaukee Daily News is now devoted to Socialism and is also conducted by Socialists.

The Workers' Call has now completed its second year. It will be enlarged to a seven-column paper.

Locals Clinton, Amesbury, Georgetown, Mifflord, Avon and Whitman, all in Massachusetts, have nominated city tickets for the spring elections.

Social Democrats of Flint, Mich., have a column in the local weekly paper. They will enter the spring election.

The Haverhill Social Democrat is offering free trips to the Buffalo Exposition to the persons turning in the most subscriptions.

The Populist State Committee of Oregon met and officially disbanded. The sentiment was that the Populists would join the Socialists.

A \$30,000,000 lumber deal is underway which will include the leading sawmills of Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina.

A Socialist column, under the direction of Comrade Chas. H. Stockell, is a feature of the Nashville, Tenn., Labor Advocate, a weekly trade union paper.

California State Committee will issue a circular to the public on "Free Speech," bearing directly upon the imprisonment of Comrade O'Brien in San Jose.

Pennsylvania Socialists have nominated their State ticket by a referendum vote. Comrade J. Mahlon Barnes is the candidate for State Treasurer and Comrade Charles Heydrick for Judge of the Supreme Court.

Columbus local has nominated the following ticket: For Mayor, A. Matija; Justices of the Peace, A. Nick and J. S. Lightwater; Constables, Seb. Wemlinger, Frank Swartz, Mat Schmittman and Jos. Krumboltz.

On January 10 Local of the S.D.P. was organized at Vandling, Pa., with twenty-two members. A municipal ticket was put up and on Feb. 19 forty-eight straight Socialist votes were polled.

Four lectures were held in Hudson County, New Jersey. A new branch was organized in the Sixth ward, Jersey City, as a consequence with ten charter members. At Hoboken on the same day ten men joined the party after the lecture. Literature is being sold in large quantities and subscribers for the party papers are secured constantly.

Socialism is in the line of progress and certain of attainment. The Socialist party points out that the tendency to concentration is natural and inevitable, and that the gradual development



LEON GREENBAUM.

Candidate for Mayor of St. Louis. Social Democratic Ticket.

THE COMMUNE.

An Address Delivered at the Commune Celebration in St. Louis, March 1900.

There is probably no event in all history that has been so shamefully misrepresented or that has been so little understood as that grand uprising of the proletariat known as "the Paris commune of 1871." To the average mind the word "commune" signifies lawlessness, rioting, pillaging and murder. It is safe to say that not more than one out of five hundred Americans to-day has any other notion of that important occurrence than that it was an uprising of ignorant and vicious men who slew all who came in their way and pillaged and burned every building within their reach. A parade through the streets of New York of all the founders, highwaymen and other criminals contained in the jails and penitentiaries of America, armed with torches, clubs, knives, pistols and dynamite, would perhaps be a faint approach to the popular conception of the commune.

Number of insurgents arrested from

May 28, 1871, to Jan. 1, 1872, 25,578;

died, 957; acquitted, 3,147; condemned to prison, 10,131; handed over to the civil courts, 212; dismissed, 1,090; shot,

121.

May 28, please note, was the last day of the war. All these 23,000 proletarians were shot after the commune had been completely conquered.

Comrades, it is well that we study the history of the commune. It is well that we know how these thousands of martyrs died, inspired with a glimpse of the future. It is well that we know why they died. How they died is illustrated by these words of Vermorel at the burial of the commune's general, Dombrowski, three days before the end of the struggle:

"I say unto you that this precious martyr's blood holds the seeds of the morning. I tell you that those who shall weep are the poor, the toilers, the slaves. I tell you that, weeping for us, they shall wake to finish what we have begun! What think ye they will find most precious—the gold of capital or the martyr's blood that stains it? Let us not weep, my brethren: we have now naught else to do but die."

Thus they died—10,000 of them—

dead like true martyrs, knowing that they were right, confident that you and I and others of the proletariat would not suffer their sacrifices to be in vain.

Comrades, shall it be said that the cause for which they perished thirty years ago shall fall to-day for lack of martyrs? Circumstances do not demand of us that we die for the cause to-day, but are there not among us enough men who will sacrifice their time, their energies, their ambition, their all to insure its triumph—to complete the emancipation of labor? I believe that there are, and that within the lifetime of nearly all that are present the sun of the co-operative commonwealth will rise grandly, gloriously above the political horizon.

But we must not rest on prophecy or confine ourselves to expectations. In

the history of the past are to be found the guiding stars for the future. We must know how the proletariat has lived and died in order to discover how it may triumph. In the history of the Paris commune we find many lessons.

We learn from it that workingmen are capable of managing the affairs of government in a peaceful and orderly manner.

We learn that when the proletariat is once aroused no death, however terrible, can deter it. We learn from

this bloody page of history that capitalism, when opportunity is offered, will stop at nothing to perpetuate its reign.

We discover in the wage-working class a feeling of humanity and fraternity, a sense of justice and a love of liberty. We perceive in the capitalist class an utter lack of mercy, a spirit of brutality and an unlimited selfishness.

Let us take warning. With the growth of its power the characteristics of the capitalist class have only been intensified. Let the proletarians of

America not give unsatisfactory evidence of their intention to secure control of the powers of government, no matter how peacefully, and you will witness scenes of cruelty on the part of the minions of wealth beside which events of the past will pale into insignificance.

In conclusion permit me to say that the Paris commune meant more to the proletarians of America than did the American Revolution. The commune was a revolution of our class, and we owe more patriotism to our class—the wage-working class of the world—than we do to any institution or government founded on geographical lines.

Let us remember its history. Let us mourn for its martyrs and profit by its lessons. Let us at all times refuse to make war upon our fellow slaves of other countries. Let us pin our faith to international Socialism and never forget that the workingmen of all countries are our friends and the despots of all countries our enemies.

Collected by John Schaefer on list 41.

John Schaefer 1.00

John Otto 25

Joe Braatzetter 25

Joe Brie 10

Jack Hubbard 25

L. Kleinlein 50

Carl Schreiner 1.00

Hy. Weber 25

Wm. Kieser 25

John Bucher 25

Christ. Schmid 10

S. Knauer 25

Jos. Hohler 25

A. Gehn 25

H. Koeniger 50

Fr. Penzi 25

Peter Weitz 25

Collected by Peter Weitz on list 41.

Louis Morack 25

John Hugus 25

Theo. Mathae 25

Collected by Jacob Fries on list 28.

J. Schreiber 50

Gaston Lachmund 25

Nich. Scheibel 25

R. Hahn 50

Anton Dauset 10

G. Baechle 25

Kaleogoski 25

H. Grimm 25

H. Hoeger 25

John Schaele 25

Gus. Eckert 25

Collected on list 26 by Edw. Otterson.

Ed. Otterson 25

I. Markham 50

J. Fries 50

E. Scheumann 50

E. Steger 25

J. Dambacher 50

Collected by C. L. Davis on list 25.

Jas. B. 25

F. B. 25

Collected by Hy. Hoeing on list 23.

Hy. Hoeing 50

Gis. Voigt 50

Wm. Dannecker 25

H. Wolten 25

J. Herre 25

Al. Pankau 50

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THE POPE VS. SOCIALISM

His Misunderstanding of Socialism.

One of the "Crafty Agitators" applies—Under Socialism There Would be Plenty for All.

The Pope seems to have been more anxious to attack the Socialists than to defend the poor. His suggestions for the adjustment of the claims of capital and labor are trite and ineffective. Competitive Individualism is competitive Individualism, tempered by religion. We have had Competitive Individualism tempered by religion for many centuries, and the results are bad.

The Pope admits the magnitude of the evils now existing, but seems to think all would be well if we had more religion. But we are likely to have less religion, for competitive Individualism is too rank a weed to allow religion to thrive in the same field with it. Moreover, the thin and weak religion which the Pope offers in his Encyclical would not sustain life, even if it would grow.

We have just passed the nineteenth century of the Christian era. We have competition, we have individualism, and we have religion. But we have not morality, we have not justice, and we have not peace.

Take an untaught, famished child of the slums, take a drunken wife-beater, take a lost woman of the streets, take a jail-broke criminal, a sweater's slave, an unemployed workman, an overworked laborer, a broken-down pauper, a senseless master, a bowlegged money-lender, a time-serving politician, a fraudulent bankrupt, a Jerry contractor, a swindler, a woman, a vicious lady, a lazy parson, and a lying preachment; and make a bouquet of them. Will the flowers do credit to the garden or the florist? Will the odor thereof be the odor of sanctity?

But you know that you can find all these types of misery and sin, and that you can find them by the hundred, by the thousand, by the score, and by the dozens, in our great and prosperous and "Christian" towns. And while you can find them you may be sure that the system which produces them is rotten, and not pure. It is foolish, and not wise, in villainous, and not just.

Now, the system which has produced and does produce these horrors is the system of competition tempered by religion; the system of psalm-singing and divinity-making and God-always-considering which the Pope has so anxiously hastened to defend against the machinations of crafty agitators.

The Pope is an eminent man. He is the head of a great and powerful Church. He is recognized by millions as the earthly father, and the direct Vicar of Christ. From such a man we might expect the highest principle, the deepest wisdom, the tenderest love, and the most undivided champion-ship of Justice. But in this Encyclical we find nothing but baseness and a desire to shield the rich and pacify the poor.

I am one of those described by the Pope as crafty agitators; but I am a man with a head on my shoulders and eyes in my head, and I am sick and sorry with the sights I see. I look up, I see the solemn heavens and the shining stars; I look down, I see the fertile earth, and the pure rivers, and the radiant flowers of the field. I look around, and I see my fellow-creatures struggling and sweating and toiling; I see them fighting and plundering and oppressing each other the wide world over.

I beseech me that the earth is fruitful and fair; that man is clever and strong; that life is short, and its needs few. I beseech me that with order in the place of chaos; that with wisdom in the place of folly; that with peace in the place of war; that with helpfulness in the place of antagonism; that with love in the place of hate, the earth would yield to all men all things needful, both of the body and the mind.

I see that men might be happier and better, and more free and able to grow in grace than they are now. I see that grace and peace can no more be born of lust and hatred than a dove of a vulture or a lamb of a wolf. I see that lust and hatred prevail in a society which foregoes helpless babes to crime, and young girls to prostitution; which rewards industry with contumely and reaps brave histories with a pauper's grave; which promotes vice and greed to high places, and clothes idleness in robes of pride; which fosters craft and falsehood, and dignifies the whole swinish, hellish system with the name of Christ. I say that such a society is bestial and accursed. I say that such a society now exists; and that it is the inevitable outcome of the theories of sanctified exploitation upon which the Pope relies for the earthly salvation of the people.

The Pope goes out to meet us—the principles of truth and justice—but he dares not meet us with a multitude of words condoning Justice with expedient truth with sophistry, and offering the people a pauper's dole instead of a rightful due. I say that while women are weeping and children starving, while insatiable men and women are herding like beasts in filthy and fever-haunted hovels, to build art galleries and churches, town halls, and colleges, is that putting on a muslin shirt over a filthy skin, a diamond crown upon a leprous head.

I say that religion and the culture which demand riches and luxury while vice and misery are at their side, are like painted harlots hiding their debaucheries with rouge, and their shame with saffron and spice.

I say that the cant and affectation of piety and culture which lie sentiment and chain us in drawing-rooms and chapels while death and blood are perishing in the streets, and while the souls of our sisters creep shuddering to hell. I say that this re-

ligion and this culture, these mandrins, sooty things with their poems and sonatas, their chants and benedictions, are things false and vain, and nothing else but lies.

I do not attack the Pope. I attack his foolish arguments and unwholesome sentiment. I dare say he means well. I have no doubt he is a good deal better than the Encyclical. I do not attack religion, but only the pretense of religion. I do not put one religion against another. I have often met the Catholic priests and sisters and I believe them to be sincere and charitable people. I have met them in the slums engaged in works of mercy. I have met them in Ireland fighting for the people. I am satisfied that they are the most devoted and sincere workers in all religions, but we must have justice, and we must have truth, and the Pope's message is neither true nor just.

The Pope's methods have been tried, and they have failed. We Socialists are honestly desirous of doing good. We submit our proposals frankly. We demand sound argument and fair bearing. We think Socialism would prove practicable, and we are sure that it is just. Socialism would not bring perfect happiness. No political system could do that. But Socialism would reduce the dreadful sum of misery. Socialism would let Labor breathe. Think again what Socialism is, and then you may easily compare it with the state in which we now suffer and struggle for a brief, anxious, and feverish life.

Under Socialism we would not have heaven on earth. But there would be no starvation; there would be no pauperism; there would be no sweatshops; there would be no strikes; there would be no barefooted children in the streets; there would be no fraudulent trustees, no bankrupts; there would be no slums, no animal massacre of innocents by preventable disease; there would be hardly any such a thing known as ignorance; there would be scarcely any drunkenness; and crime would shrink to microscopic dimensions.

Then no man who would work need be old. No man who will work need be afraid. Idleness would be despised; luxury would be despised; the people would have freedom, and hope, and rest, and pleasure, and the congenital diseases, and the great ills, and the vast wealth of this world, famine-stricken, benighted, miserable land would appear to the hapless people like the memory of a happy dream.

ROBERT ISATCHFORD.

International Socialist Review.

The March number of the International Socialist Review is superior both in quantity and quality to any previous numbers. It contains 50 pages instead of 41, having been permanently enlarged to that extent. The opening article is by Herman Whittaker, a California Socialist, who is well known as a writer for the magazines, but who has not hitherto contributed much to Socialist publications. He discusses "Eugenism in its Relation to Socialism," and shows that the triumph of Weismann's ideas in biology, which is now an accepted fact, means that the fundamental principles of a

new epoch in social thought are being established.

Emile Vinck, of Belgium, the secretary of the League of Socialist Municipal Councilors, contributes an especially timely article on "Municipal Socialism." Marxist attempts to justify his former position against the attacks of Fenzl and Untermann and offers some very interesting arguments to sustain his contentions. "Mother Jones," who is just now leading the fight of the Scranton silk workers, has a letter describing conditions in the "New South" that reminds one of the Inquisition or the early English factory system. Another article of interest is "Social Defense vs. Class Defense" by Enrico Ferri, the great Italian Socialist and criminologist. Ernest H. Crosby has a charming little poem on "The Joy of Work" that will please all who read it. The departments also are especially strong. Prof. E. Untermann takes charge of the foreign department, which he will edit hereafter. The story by Caroline H. Pemberton, entitled "A Charity Girl" begins in this issue. This is a remarkable novel of intense interest, not made up of long-winded speeches, but a story that will help make Socialists because it tells the truth about the social classes that are living together in America. The subscription price of the Review is \$1.00 and single copies may be obtained at 10 cents each from news dealers. Send subscriptions to this office.

Breaking New Ground.

Southern Illinois is beginning to seriously study Socialism. Some time ago New Burnside organized a section of 20 members, resulting from the work of one Socialist, Herrin, some time before the election organized a section of seven members. The next night after the election they took in twelve more members. They intend to put up a printed ticket. Carbondale has several Socialists in the city. Marion and Clinton also contain Socialists.

Comrade Leon Greenbaum, of St. Louis, made a tour of Southern Illinois in February and as a result a large number of others are seriously studying it.

So far only two speakers have visited this locality. Comrades Greenbaum and Kienzle, Comrade Kienzle only going so far south as Carterville. So what work that has been done was done by local workers assisted by Socialist papers.

M. A. GURLEY.
Carbondale, Ill., Feb. 28, 1901.

A recent compilation of statistics shows that out of 98 chief national industries in a given year only 24 gave employment to men for 200 days in the year.

Mr. prominent C. T. "The issue of this election is an honest ballot and good government."

William Workman: "Excuse me. I differ with you. The issue is 'will you get off my back?'"

Municipal Platform.

Adopted December 2d, 1900.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We, therefore, call upon the wage-workers of St. Louis, without distinction of color, race or sex, and upon all citizens in sympathy with the historic mission of the working class, to organize under the banner of the Social Democratic party, as a party truly representing the interests of the toiling masses and uncompromisingly waging

war upon the exploiting class, until the system of wage slavery shall be abolished and the co-operative commonwealth shall be established.

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

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

Adoption of the principles of the

initiative and referendum and proportional representation. All officers to be subject to recall by their constituents.

3. Public ownership and operation

of street railways and gas and electric light plants.

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

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

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

7. Substitution of public ownership wherever feasible through the exercise of municipal power.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

15. Establishment of a Municipal Labor Bureau.

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

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

Establishment and maintenance of public bath houses.

Public ownership and operation of laundries.

Social Democratic Party of St. Louis Meets

Every SUNDAY, 3 p. m., at

Metal Trades Hall, 1310 Franklin Ave.

Speaking and Discussion at Each Meeting

Except first in Each Month.

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Published in St. Louis, Mo., by the German Social Democratic Workers' Party.

Arbeiter-Zeitung, 22 West 4th Street, St. Louis, Mo.

BOYCOTT

THE

English Syndicate Breweries

Klausmann's, Green Tree, Grone's, Phoenix, Anthony & Kuhn's, Cherokee, Wainwright's, Stifel's, Lafayette, Hyde Park, Bremen, Burton Ale and Porter Co., and Home Brewery.

The boycott is indorsed by the Central Trades and Labor Union, the Building Trades Council and Metal Trades Council. All efforts to adjust the differences have failed.

ENGINEERS LOCAL UNION NO. 2 of St. Louis.

WILLIAM H. BAIRD,