

THE ST. LOUIS MUNICIPAL CAMPAIGN.

Let Every Socialist and True Union Man Rally to the Support of the Socialist Party---A Working Class Ticket.

SOCIALIST PARTY TICKET.

For City Council:

ALBERT E. SANDERSON.

L. E. HILDEBRAND.

WILLIAM M. BRANDT.

W. T. SMITH.

PHILIP H. MUELLER.

T. J. SAVAGE.

For House of Delegates:

2. Ward: H. J. STEIGERWALT.

9. Ward: LEONARD STOLL.

10. Ward: G. A. HOEHN.

11. Ward: E. M. PEABODY.

18. Ward: WM. E. KINDORF.

The most important municipal election in the history of St. Louis will take place Tuesday, April 7, 1903.

Six city councilmen and 28 members of the house of delegates are to be elected.

The capitalist press is advertising for "good men" on the republican and democratic tickets.

The Republican and Democratic Parties are in a state of rottenness.

Our city hall is the cesspool of corruption and political crime.

Thirteen republican and democratic politicians have been convicted and sentenced to a total of 43 years in the penitentiary.

A dozen or more of the boodlers are awaiting the same fate.

However, not one of the convicted boodlers is behind prison walls. They are still at large and we doubt whether a single one of them will serve his full term in Jefferson City. Instead of going to the penitentiary they may, perhaps, soon be re-nominated on the old party tickets and enter the state legislature as lawmakers and pillars of "law and order."

The political situation in St. Louis is deplorable and hopeless. Our city fathers are the tools of capitalist corporations. Our prominent western business men, board of trade members and World's fair speculators who are denouncing the boodlers, are at the very source of political corruption and boodle.

The Ellis Wainwrights, Chas. Turners, Nicolaus, Phil. Stock, etc., were paying the boodle money used in buying up the political gang in the city hall. They are the men that should be sentenced to life-long imprisonment in our state penitentiary.

SOCIALISTS, TO THE FRONT!

The time has come when the Socialist Party of St. Louis must act.

Fine talk and loud howling and denunciations will be of no avail.

We must act like earnest, determined, self-sacrificing men and women.

We must do hard, quiet work amongst our fellow workers in factory and workshop, in the unions and lodge meetings, in our wards and precincts.

Hundreds of thousands of copies of Socialist papers, such as ST. LOUIS LABOR, should be circulated. Socialist literature of all kind must be put into the hands of every intelligent wage worker.

The Socialist Party is the only political party in St. Louis that deserves any respect, and honor, and recognition.

The Socialist Party is the party of to-day, the party of the future, the party of the working class, the party of the common people.

Remember this! Let us put up a noble fight for our noble cause.

Workingmen of St. Louis, you have the power to elect every member of the city council and the house of delegates. Will you do it?

Up with the banner of labor and Socialism!

Get into line! Work for and vote for the Socialist Party, because it is the party that leads in the great, glorious struggle for the emancipation of the working class—which means the emancipation of the human race from wage slavery.

Let us have a general strike on election day, April 7, 1903—a strike against capitalist corruption and boodle, a strike for the cause of Labor, Socialism and the Socialist Party.

SETTLE THE STRIKE.

The Old Story of the Capitalist Law and Order.

There is a veritable state of war at Waterbury, Conn.

The street railway employes, patient and long-suffering, grew weary at last and determined to resist a system of espionage, browbeating and insult, aggravating their permanent conditions of excessive work and miserable pay.

They have struck, and all their townsmen, except a few who live in comfort without doing any useful work, and count that a badge of respectability, are in sympathy with them. The strike is as effective as strikes can be.

On the one side are a few dozen poor workingmen. On the other side is the Philadelphia Trolley syndicate. No work for the men means no profits for the syndicate.

So the state has stepped in to "settle" the strike. That is, to break the strike. A state government composed of Republicans and Democrats always does that. They know who puts up the Republican and Democratic campaign funds. The state has sent sixteen companies of militia, under the command of a colonel who is also an officer of the company, to "keep the peace."—The Worker.

THE CAPITALIST CIRCUS.

The Working Class Must Take Possession of the Powers of Government Under the Banner of Socialism.

Olympia, Wash., Feb. 9, 1903.

The regular capitalist circus is now in session at Olympia. The chief performers in this biennial show are the would-be United States senators and the railroad lobbyists, while the two wings of the capitalist party, consisting of the Republican and Democratic representatives, occupy the reserve seats at the show and witness the tricks from the nearest possible point of vantage. They also take part in the performance, generally the part of clowns.

This sort of biennial show at Olympia is of the regular capitalistic type. Such capitalistic shows are of the same regular, uniform and unvarying order in all the states, and in fact the national congress partakes of the same general character. Of course, the people who pay the fiddler can call the tune. As Socialists, however, and as citizens, we have the right to criticise these shows. And the first thing we have to say about them is that they are very coarse, even to the extent of being brutalizing. They are coarser and more brutalizing than the gladiatorial shows of ancient Rome. There was a heroic element in these ancient shows, but there is nothing heroic in these modern farces and travesties. There is no comparison to be drawn between the nobility and sense of civic duty which filled the mind of the pagan Roman legislator and that which fills the mind of our modern Christian legislator.

Epictetus relates the complete failure of the Emperor Vespasian to induce Helvidius Priscus not to go to the senate. "While I am a senator," said Helvidius, "I must go." "Well, then, at least, be silent there." "Ask me no questions and I will be silent." "But I must ask your opinion." "And I must say what is right." "But I will put you to death." "Did I ever tell you I was immortal? Do your part and I will do mine. It is yours to kill me, mine to die untrembling; yours to banish me, mine to go into banishment without brief."

How do our modern Christian legislators compare with this noble pagan?

The exhibitions which we see in these legislatures convinces every intelligent and self-respecting citizen of the fact that all sense of public good and noble civic principle, which ought to be the first and prime consideration in all law making bodies, has completely vanished from both of the old parties. The necessity is shown for a new class to take possession of the powers of government. The capitalist class, with its paid attorneys, and the representatives of the capitalist class, are showing themselves absolutely incapable of rising to a sense of true government of the people. Whatever statesmanship the Republican Party once possessed has gone forever, and in its stead we see its alliance with the base and self-seeking principles of capitalism. To look to the Democratic Party is equally hopeless; whatever good principles this party once possessed are now no longer in evidence; in their stead we find the most groveling and sordid ambitions of their leaders for offices of political influence taking their place. But the Socialist maintains that nothing else can be expected so long as the capitalist party holds political power.

The time has come when a new

class will have to take possession of the powers of government, the great class of labor, if we would preserve the principles of this republic. Capitalism in its headlong career of unblushing bribery, and its sordid principles of profit-seeking at whatever cost, is rushing to its destruction. Such a system can not hope to be perpetuated in a republic like ours, which would assure for every citizen the pursuit of life, liberty and happiness. Let every self-respecting citizen of this great state consider seriously whether the time has not come to put an end once and for all to these disgraceful exhibitions of the old parties at our state capitol, and whether it would not be better to send there representatives from the new and vigorous young party of Socialism, the party of the working class.—The New Time.

Socialism and Honest Men.

OMAHA WORKERS' GAZETTE.

J. B. Kitchen, a democrat, in an address delivered in this city last Sunday, said that Socialism or any other ism can not make honest men.

Is there no moral virtue in the teachings of democracy? Is the Kansas City platform constructed upon fraud or brute force?

If it be true that Socialism can not make honest men, it can not be denied that honest men can make Socialism.

But Socialism or any other ism can make honest men if it convinces men that it pays to be just—that each will have more protection and happiness when all are equally protected in the opportunity to enjoy their equal rights. This is true because men's characters are molded by the laws of reason (called faith by those who do not see) as well as by the laws of environment and the laws of heredity. These three influences are at work for good or ill continually upon the character of every person. If environment or heredity is bad, the harder it is for good reason to rule. Hence Socialism says that if the environment of monopoly and oppression, which begets dishonesty, were removed, the people could make more progress along the line of good morals. Gladstone said that "it is the duty of government to make it easy for the people to do right and difficult to do wrong." But Socialism, realizing that the environment of monopoly and oppression can not be removed by the people now living until a majority of them are led to reason properly, or to know the truth that shall make them free, it (Socialism) is now engaged in what is called propaganda work, which is agitation and education. And it is making progress, regardless of the fact that some men are so blinded by their bigoted love for the old order of things that in their efforts to combat the new order they hoist themselves with their own petard.

MEN'S SOCIALIST CLASS.

Meets Sunday 11 a. m., Welfare hall, Eleventh and Locust streets. Subject next Sunday, "What Is Socialism?" Free to all.

J. W. CALDWELL, Teacher.

Under Socialism the ladies of creation will be on a par with the lords of creation.

THE UNCONSTITUTIONABILITY.

Municipal Coal Yards Ruled Out of Order by the Massachusetts Supreme Court.

Boston, Jan. 31, 1903.

The supreme court of Massachusetts, on Thursday last, sent its opinion to the legislature as to the establishment of municipal coal and wood yards, as asked for in the resolutions presented by Representative MacCartney. The court is unanimous as to the "unconstitutionability" of municipal ownership, but six of the seven judges say that in some emergencies cities and towns could act as an agent to supply people with fuel.

The court takes the ground that under the constitution private property can not be taken from its owner, except for a public use, that the establishment of a business like the buying or selling of fuel requires the expenditure of money, that the only way to obtain such money is by taxation and that money cannot be raised by taxation except for a public use.

In the course of the opinion the court really attempts to present an argument against Socialism by stating that a system of conducting business by the people collectively is not possible under the constitution.

MacCartney, in an interview upon the subject, said that "the decision cleared the atmosphere and the fight would go on for a constitutional amendment."

The decision is hailed by the Boston Herald as a knock-out blow for Socialism, which, it says, is now "outlawed as a practical policy in Massachusetts, until the constitution is changed," and that this result can hardly be brought about within a generation. The Herald continues: "Probably Socialism itself will undergo a radical metamorphosis first."

It is more probable that the next generation will not wait for the constitution to be changed to make Socialism a practical policy in the Bay state.

The past week has been the last for

introducing bills, and the three Socialist members have presented their full quota, all of these being similar to those of former years. MacCartney go ahead of the Republican leaders on Thursday, when he filed a set of resolutions indorsing the employers' liability act, introduced by Senator Lodge in the United States senate. The Republicans will now have the pleasure of adopting a Socialist resolution or of declaring against their boss bill.

That the campaign against Socialism in Massachusetts has already begun was shown by a four-column article published in the Boston Herald of Monday last. The article was a hodge podge of distorted facts and culpable misrepresentations, the evident intent being to save the trades unions from being captured by the horrid Socialists.

The article could well have been written by one of several prominent trade union leaders, whose past records are a disgrace to the labor movement, and who can see their finish in the growing tendency of trades unionists to embrace Socialism. In view of the American Federation of Labor convention meeting in Boston next November, it is just likely that the Herald's opposition to Socialism is being used as a medium to strengthen the anti-Socialist element in the unions.

As a last resort this will prove a failure. Those who are identified with the Socialist Party in Massachusetts are better trades unionists than their opponents could ever be, and the time is past when the actions of a De Leon and similar characters can be cited to keep the workers of Massachusetts away from the political party they belong to, even though men whose reputations now smell to heaven suffer deservedly by it.

WILLIAM MAILLY.

money. Thus, a pound sterling is the form the value of any commodity from out the complex of commodities is embodied, not in any other commodity from out this complex, but in a tertium quid. This tertium quid is sign and symbol of a definite amount of concrete labor—it matters not in what commodity it may be embodied—whether in a coat, in ten ells of linen, in five pounds of tea, in ten pounds of coffee, in a quarter of wheat, or in a quarter of a ton of iron. The sole primary function of money is, to act as a medium of exchange, on the primitive system of barter becoming impracticable or inconvenient. Instead, therefore, of the simple and direct barter of one commodity for another, we have now a third term interposed, the process of exchange becomes indirect. One commodity is sold, i. e., is parted with for money, and the other commodity purchased with that money. But the appearance upon the scene of a standard of value, a commodity having no other than an exchange value, i. e., possessing no utility value in itself, carries with it remarkable and unforeseen consequences.

CATHOLICS MUST REMAIN AWAY.

Orders Issued by New Castle Priests for Boycott on Socialist-Prohibitionist Debate.

The Newcastle Tribune, in Newcastle, Pa., reports the following:

Rev. Father Gallagher, of St. Mary's church, and Rev. Father Eger, of St. Joseph's church, have placed the ban of the church on the Socialist-Prohibition debate which is to be held in the Second United Presbyterian church on Thursday, Friday and Saturday nights of this week. At all masses last Sunday the reverend gentlemen declared the hostility of the Roman Catholic church to the teachings of Socialism and ordered their parishioners to remain away from the debate.

Father Gallagher was particularly bitter. He pronounced Rev. Father McGrady, who will take the Socialists' end of the debate, a poor misguided, weak-minded man, and spoke of him as a silenced priest. Father Eger simply contented himself with delivering the order to remain away from the Second United Presbyterian church and have nothing to do with the debate or those who participate in it.

As a large proportion of the adherents of both St. Joseph's and St. Mary's churches are Socialists it is doubtful if the orders of their priests will have much effect. Father Gallagher declared that the same persons have brought Father McGrady here who brought Margaret Shepherd to Newcastle a few years ago. This has created a stir among his people and several of the Socialists members of his congregation have decided to challenge him to prove his assertion. Inasmuch as members of his own church were largely instrumental in arranging the debate and securing the services of Father McGrady, they declare that Father Gallagher will have difficulty in proving that the Bellevue priest is in the same class with Margaret Shepherd.

The Catholic members of the Socialist Party also claim that Father Gallagher is wrong in calling Father McGrady a silenced priest. The bishop of the diocese tried to silence Father McGrady, ordered him to cease talking and writing on Socialism. The priest resigned his pastorate, but the Catholics claim, he still has all the rights and privileges of a priest, and, instead of being silenced, he has as much right to perform the services of the church as Father Gallagher himself.

The matter has raised a big stir among the Catholics of the city and the debate is almost the sole topic of conversation among them. The debate promises to be the greatest

thing of its kind that has ever taken place in Newcastle and immense houses are promised.

The Socialist Party His Only Hope.

"I have been and am still in favor of a union of all reform parties. I was in hopes that the last conference held at Louisville, Ky., would unite the different reform parties, but it seems that it did not. I consider the party dead in this state. There is no interest, no enthusiasm. Inactivity will kill any party. The fusion deal of 1896 ruined the People's Party. Now, what must be done? Let's see. The Socialists will not come to us—we are certain of that. The Socialists have a live, working organization, while we have a disorganized, discouraged organization. Now, I believe the best thing for Populists to do is to join the Socialist Party. According to Brother Gibson, of Denison, Tex., the Populists are stronger than the Socialists. If this be true, then the Populists should, by all means, join the Socialists and capture their organization. Would this not be far better than trying to reorganize the scattered and discouraged forces of the once great People's Party? I think so.

"Now, brethren, let's all join the Socialists, capture their organization, and thus present a solid phalanx to the enemy. The two elements (Socialists and Populists) united under one organization can accomplish more than the two elements under separate organizations. I shall work for the upbuilding of the Socialist Party from this on."—A. M. Morton, Homosassa, Fla., in the Southern Mercury, Populist organ, Dallas, Tex.

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Lessons in Scientific Socialism.

FOR SOCIALIST STUDENTS.

II.

Commercialism in the shape of money, capital, competition, success in life, has, in the mock vesture of an ideal, summoned the human Leonora to a reckless ride to an unknown bourne. The summons has been accepted with unquestioning faith—a faith so unquestioning that the cry of the frogs and the ravens; the gibbet, crime; the ever-increasing phantom crew—starvation, misery, disease, and pauperism—go for nothing as they scour along in mad career in the track, mocking the rider. It remains to tear asunder the vesture of our hypothetical Wilhelm and to discover whether he be real or spectral. We shall, I think, in this disclose another line of parallel to the legend; we shall find, namely, that he is indeed a hideous skeleton, heartless, eyeless, the issue of a blasphemy, not against any god, perhaps, but against what are higher than any god—the principles of justice and truth.

In doing this I shall have first of all to call your attention to the following dry statement of figures. The annual production of the United Kingdom amounts roughly to thirteen hundred millions. Of this, ten hundred millions are absorbed by the minority (as regards population) of capitalists, landowners, and the middle classes generally, leaving three hundred millions only for the working classes, i. e., at once for the bulk of the community and those classes that make the wealth. The land owners

of the country take out of the thirteen hundred millions, directly, only one hundred and thirty-five millions, while at least half of this income is mortgaged back to the capitalist class for loans. So that the amount absorbed by land ownership, as such, is by no means so important an item as some would have us believe.

Such, then, are the facts. The major part of the wealth of the community is absorbed in the form of interest or profit; or, in other words, in the circulation of money as capital. It remains to investigate the true meaning of this circulation of money as capital. It is, I imagine, unnecessary to enter at length into the well-known economic distinction of utility-value—the value which the commodity possesses in its consumption,—and exchange-value, the value which it possesses in the market; it will suffice to say that—commodities simply representing the result of labor—value in a strictly economical sense means nothing more than the differential amount of labor that they severally embody. Hence value per se has but one quality, that of being the embodiment of labor; its differences being in point of quantity alone. For this reason the value of one commodity can be expressed in the substance of another; the value of a particular quantity of linen can be expressed in a coat, for example.

The ultimate issue of the various forms in which value may be represented is the money form. In his

Trade Unionism.

EDITED BY A SOCIALIST.

BEN TILLETT COMING.

The British Labor Leader Will Lecture in America.

To the City Central and Local Trade Unions of the United States and Canada—I am in a position to announce that Mr. Ben Tillett, general secretary of the Transport Workers and Dockers' Union of Great Britain, has consented to make a brief lecture tour in America next autumn. Mr. Tillett was fraternal delegate to the Scranton convention of the A. F. of L., and those who attended any of the meetings at which he spoke during a lecture tour immediately following that convention will doubtless agree that he is one of the most pleasing and eloquent orators that has ever discussed labor questions from any platform. Central bodies and local unions that desire to arrange for a lecture, dates, terms, etc., should notify the undersigned as early as possible in order that a satisfactory route may be mapped out on an economical basis.

MAX S. HAYES,

193 Champlain St., Cleveland, O.

Exchanges will confer a favor by making a note of the foregoing.

Eight Hours for Printers.

The employing job printers of San Francisco and Typographical Union No. 21 have agreed to recommend to their respective organizations the adoption of a new book and job scale, the principal feature of which is the establishment of an eight-hour day for book and job printers, and at the same time an increase of wages is provided for, which will ultimately amount to \$2 a week. The plan agreed upon provides that the present scale—\$18 a week of 54 hours—shall remain in effect until July 1, 1903, when an increase of 50 cents a week in wages and a reduction of 15 minutes in the working day shall become effective, a like increase of wages and decrease in the working hours to occur every six months thereafter until the minimum wage shall be \$20 on the basis of an eight-hour day.—San Francisco Clarion.

TO ORGANIZED LABOR AND THE PUBLIC IN GENERAL!

The Condon Bread Co. has for the last few months discharged one union man after the other. When the manager, Mr. Gamage, was seen by a committee of the bakers' unions he could give no good reasons. The men left seen fit to go on strike, rather than be let out one by one. On January 28 the men went on strike, and are still out. The manager filled their places with scabs, which were hauled to the shop with police protection.

We therefore appeal to Organized Labor and sympathizers not to buy or handle any bakery products of the A. A. Condon Bread Co. until such a time as when they will recognize Organized Labor and sign our just demand.

Buy only bread bearing the label.
Fraternally,
BAKERS' COUNCIL OF ST. LOUIS.

Corruption and Philanthropy.

MADE RICH BY CORRUPTION.

"Carnegie, Rockefeller, Rhodes! Made rich by corrupt bargains with officeholders, monopoly of oil wells and pipe lines, control of law courts

and politicians, avoidance of taxes, ruthless crushing of independent dealers, control of markets by trusts, tariff protection purchased—is it safe and good to take charity from such men as these?"

This question was asked recently by John A. Hobson, the English economist, in an address to the Society for Ethical Culture, in Philadelphia.

John D. Rockefeller has given away the following:

To Chicago university.....\$11,250,000
To Columbia university.... 500,000
To negro institutions..... 1,000,000

Grand total.....\$12,750,000

Andrew Carnegie's gifts for libraries, etc., are as below:

United States\$52,145,173
Scotland 13,078,750
Canada 876,500
England 420,000
Cuba 252,000
Ireland 65,000

Miscellaneous gifts:

Great Britain 250,000
United States 250,000

Grand total\$67,337,423

WHAT IS TRUE PHILANTHROPY?

In last Sunday's Philadelphia North American is a picture of John A. Montgomery, of that city, who announces that he has perfected a device by means of which water can be used as fuel in any stove. Don't laugh! The proposition is not an unreasonable one. Any chemist will tell you that water is composed of one part of oxygen and two parts of hydrogen, and will show you how to separate them. To bring these component parts together again, and, by means of a compound blow-pipe, to create fire and heat has been the study of this 78-year-old man for a quarter of a century; and he has been at last successful.

But that is not what we want chiefly to say, interesting as it may be to every reader. John A. Montgomery refuses to patent his device until he has assurances from the government that his invention will not be stolen by means of other inventors making some trivial change and using practically the same thing for the aggrandizement of individuals, who seek to exploit the people by extorting from them the millions of profits that may thus be secured. He wants the people to get the benefit of his life's work after a reasonable allowance has been made for him and his family.

That is true philanthropy. Compare it with the Carnegie brand, and note the difference. Carnegie does not give away a dollar of his capital, but a portion of his income of about \$15,000,000 a year. He is as rich at the end of the year as at the beginning, and he is a non-producer all the time. Who makes the Carnegie gifts but those who create his millions? Do the people of Toronto want to accept a gift from Andrew Carnegie under such conditions? We hope not.—Canadian Socialist.

Labor Press Council Notes.

THE LABOR PRESS.

Important A. F. of L. Resolution.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted at the late convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Whereas, the labor press has been largely instrumental in building up the labor movement in all sections of this country where a labor paper has been established, oftentimes at the cost of much sacrifice, but which sac-

rifices has not been appreciated by many members of organized labor; therefore be it

Resolved, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that we extend to the labor press our hearty sympathy and acknowledgments of the good work it has done, and is doing, and we call the attention of all members of labor unions that it is their plain duty to render all the support possible, both financially and morally, to the labor papers.

THE BREWERY WORKERS' CONVENTION.

A Cincinnati paper writes:

The spirit manifested by the delegates in the gatherings of the special convention of the United Brewery Workmen can not be misinterpreted. They are absolutely sure they are right. They have been mainly occupied with a few problems of internal friction. These will be shortly disposed of and then, unless all signs fail, the action of the convention will be straight ahead.

The reason why the scientists think Mars is inhabited is because the waterways appear to be straight lines and not in the "rhythmic curve" of nature. The onward progress of the United Brewery Workmen will be straight to the mark of economic justice and opportunity.

One year and five months have elapsed since the last convention held in Philadelphia, during which time 35 new local unions and 39 new branches have been added. This is not the spirit of indirection, and they are marching on.

Cropping Out Everywhere.

IDAHO SOCIALIST.

Socialism is cropping out all over the country, sometimes in the most unexpected quarters. The trusts have been first-class propagandists of Socialism. Let the trusts keep on, until there is but one big one—then we, the people, will take it. The magnates are just getting things ready to our hands. The American people will stand almost anything, but the situation is fast becoming almost unendurable. Legalized robbery and political jobbery are a little too barefaced nowadays. A purchased senate and a corporation-controlled house will not be able to hoodwink the people much longer. Trust legislation at their hands is simply a farce—a continuous vaudeville. The day of com-

promise is past. Let the trust monopoly have fair warning. Liberty is getting ready for another struggle and nothing but the abolition of the millionaire task-master (alias captain of industry) will be accepted.

MEN'S SOCIALIST STUDY CLASS.

The Welfare association has appointed a committee to arrange for home class study in Socialism. The work is divided into three classes, for juveniles, men and women.

I shall be glad to meet all comrades who are interested, and any others, Sundays, at 10 a. m., Welfare hall, Eleventh and Locust streets. The class will be free to all students.

J. W. CALDWELL,
Teacher Men's Class.

Excursions to Millstadt, Ill.

LABOR UNIONS, ATTENTION!

Will you give an excursion during the coming season? If so, select the excursion town of the future—Millstadt, Ill. The Millstadt Brewery Co. is the only brewery in the vicinity of St. Louis using the Brewery Workers' union label. Millstadt has the Liederkrantz park, which excursionists will find a splendid place of enjoyment. Make your arrangements now. All further information concerning railroad rates, conditions, etc., will be gladly given by Mr. GEO. DISTLER, Manager Millstadt Brewery Co., Millstadt, Ill. MR. DISTLER is an old member of St. Louis Brewers and Maltsters' Union No. 6, and will do all in his power to advance the cause of organized labor.

Millstadt is situated on the M. & O. railroad, about 27 miles from St. Louis.

People's Fund and Welfare Association.

The board of directors of the People's Fund and Welfare association meets the second Tuesday of each month. General meeting of the association on the 4th Tuesday of each month. All members are requested to attend.

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LOCAL ST. LOUIS.

General Monthly Meeting Sunday After-
noon.

The regular general monthly meet-
ing of Local St. Louis, Socialist Party,
will be held Sunday, February 15, at
2 p. m., at Delabar's hall, Broadway
and Elm street. All comrades are re-
quested to attend. Nominations for
state secretary (successor to Comrade
Rathbun, who resigned) will have to
be made. Also continuation of dis-
cussion on resolution committee's re-
port, and other business will come up
at this meeting.

ALBERT E. SANDERSON,
City Secretary.

National Headquarters.

Speaking of the removal of national
headquarters of the Socialist Party
to Omaha, Neb., the Appeal to Reason
says:

"The referendum on the question
of opposing the selection of Omaha as
national headquarters is a clear waste
of time and means. For it is certain
to result in an indorsement of the ac-
tion of the national committee. We
need our means and time, in the cities
for the municipal campaigns, in the
country for the perfection of our or-
ganization. And it would cause a use-
less delay in getting the headquarters
in working order for the organization
of a thorough opposition against all
capitalist parties, from the Hearst
tiger in lamb's clothes, to the G. O. P.
elephant. Let us get to work at once,
and drop all useless maneuvering. If
the present secretary and quorum do
not fulfill our expectations, the next
national convention can settle the
question satisfactorily, and without
extra cost and delay."

To this kind of procedure we cer-
tainly object. Neither the Appeal to
Reason nor the majority of the na-
tional committee can prevent the gen-
eral vote on the question of national
headquarters. For years the Appeal
to Reason has been working the di-
rect legislation racket, and right now,
when a most vital question is to be
decided—the question of national
headquarters of the Socialist Party—
we are politely informed that a refer-
endum vote on this question "is a
clear waste of time and means."

The very fact that the Appeal to
Reason changes its tactics every other
month furnishes only another argu-
ment in favor of direct legislation
in our own Socialist Party. Because
a dozen national committeemen saw
fit to interpret our national constitu-
tion arbitrarily, and because the
Appeal has no objection to such queer
procedure, is no reason why a gen-
eral vote on the question of national

headquarters should not be taken.

It is useless to argue the question
as to where the Socialist battles of
the near future will have to be
fought. Not in rural Kansas—no mat-
ter how strong the Populist and ideal
Socialist sentiment may be there;
not in the Dakotas or any other thin-
ly-populated western state, but in the
great industrial centers east of the
Mississippi valley, there, where the
great trades union movement of to-
day is engaged in the most desperate
struggle against capitalism.

There is the main battle field of the
Socialist movement of the near fu-
ture, not because the trades union
movement is strongest there, but be-
cause the reign of capitalism is more
general, more powerful, and the more
general and more intense capitalist
exploitation of labor naturally and
unavoidably leads to a more severe,
more intense and more general class
struggle.

And where the class struggle is
most severe, right there, into the
center of Socialist activity, belongs
the national headquarters of our par-
ty.

The Appeal to Reason further says:
"The great cities like New York,
Chicago, St. Louis and San Francisco,
are precisely the places where the ele-
ments of compromise and fusion have
their strongholds. It is there, where
middle-class Socialism is raising its
sinister head, in the Hearst democra-
cy, the politically-immature inde-
pendent labor parties, and the polit-
ically short-sighted Socialist friends
who are ready to fuse with anything
in sight, for the sake of doubtful and
passing advantages. It is there where
the middle-class politician is bred
whose desire for political jobs is
stronger than his love for the revolu-
tionary principles of our movement."

Up to last national elections the
elements of compromise and fusion
came from the rural west. Neither in
New York, Chicago nor St. Louis has
the Socialist Party compromised or
fused with any other party, nor is
there any probability or possibility
of compromise or fusion in the fu-
ture. The Socialist movement in St.
Louis, Chicago and New York will
take care of itself, and can not be
dragged into any fusion or other en-
tangling alliances. Our Socialist
movement in the industrial centers
has weathered all the storms of capi-
talist and fake labor politics, and long
years of experience has taught us the
fact that we can rely on the same in
any crisis that may arise in the near
future.

In our opinion Chicago would be
the place for national headquarters.

SOCIAL PARASITES.

The American Shoddy Aristocracy Entertained by European Royalty.

From the Associated Press we learn
the important news that Queen Hel-
ena of Italy graciously received and
gave an audience to Miss Carew, the
sister-in-law of President Roosevelt,
in which she expressed a great liking
for America; that the pope gave a
private audience to Chas. M. Schwab's
father, mother and sister, and gave
them his apostolic blessing; that Al-
lison Armour, of Chicago, lunched
with Emperor William, and that Gen.
Miles was the guest of the king and
queen at Windsor castle, and that
King Edward is in good health. It
is important that the industrial serfs
of this country should hear of the
favours that royalty and priesthood is
bestowing on the parasites which
they make. It shows that the ambi-
tion of the leisure class which lives
off the earnings of labor rises no
higher than a servile fawning or
toadying to European royalty. But
this is a free country and so long as
the workers choose to support such
parasites from the sweat of their
brow they are at liberty to do so.—
The New Time.

OPEN LETTER

To the Members of the Socialist Party
of Ohio.

COMRADES—In his report "To the
locals and branches of Ohio" concern-
ing the proceedings of the national
committee of our party Comrade W.
G. Critchlow, national committee-
man, says:

"The committee decided to remove
the headquarters immediately and the
St. Louis comrades so persistently
had forced their voice in the sessions
as well as made an apparent attempt
to elect themselves on the new quor-
um that I heartily supported the im-
mediate removal."

Who were the St. Louis comrades
that attempted to elect themselves on
the new quorum? I beg leave to in-
form you that even if the members
of the old quorum would have been
renominated before they had been
removed from office they could not
have voted for themselves, and I
might add, would not have done so,
even if they had been entitled to such
vote on their own election. Com-
rade Critchlow, undoubtedly, had the
constitutional right to vote for him-
self as national secretary, but the old
quorum members had no such right
to vote on the election of quorum
membership. Comrade Critchlow
knows this and therefore I object to
his insinuation.

The comrades know that I had been
most active in opposing Comrades
Greenbaum, Putnam, Dunn and Roche
on the question of labor party fu-
sion; but I fought the unsocialistic
way of not giving the above named
comrades a chance to defend their po-
sition before the national committee.
For this reason I was only too glad
to be removed with the rest of the
old quorum.

On all other questions except on re-
election of quorum the old quorum
members were entitled to a vote, and
Comrade Critchlow's assertion that
they annulled the votes of five states
is childish, to say the least.

Comrade Critchlow, in his report,
further says:

"I was reliably informed while in
St. Louis that the comrades there
were responsible for the changing of
the name of the Missouri Socialist to
The St. Louis Labor; that they were
responsible for the changing of the
name of the party in Missouri to the
Working Class Party and then laid
the blame on the S. L. P. when they
had nothing to do with it, and then
later came out openly for fusion with
the so-called Labor Parties. While
this was repudiated by the local in
regular session yet it was very ap-
parent that this sentiment still was
in existence, and the attempt to hold
the headquarters and quorum there
made me take a definite stand for the
removal of the quorum and immedi-
ate removal of headquarters."

For the information of our Ohio
comrades I will say: Comrade Critch-
low is misinformed, and he should not
rush into print with assertions that
are untrue. "Missouri Socialist" went
out of existence because most of the
papers were sent out to party mem-
bers in the state free of charge for
over a year, to party members or ex-
party members, for which not one
cent was ever received. St. Louis
Labor was reorganized 13 weeks ago.

Comrade Critchlow does not speak
the truth when he claims that the St.
Louis comrades had changed the par-
ty name intentionally to Working
Class Party before last election. The
facts are as follows:

The democratic boodlers made a
law that deprived us of our name
"Social-Democratic Party." We adopt-
ed the name Socialist Party. The S.
L. P. appealed to the democratic sec-
retary of state, Mr. Cook, and this
corrupt gentleman decided that we
were not entitled to the name Social-
ist Party.

Meanwhile Comrade Turner of Kan-

sas City appealed to the Missouri su-
preme court. This was only a few
weeks before election, and the possi-
bilities were that we could not get a
ticket in the field. In order to be on
the safe side and have a ticket in the
field under all circumstances, prompt
action was necessary, and the St.
Louis comrades acted by adopting a
name that no election commissioner,
no secretary of state and no supreme
court could rule out. The democratic
machine in St. Louis, managed by
shrewd politicians like Harry Hawes
and others, were doing all in their
power to keep the Socialist Party off
the ticket. We could not risk to rely
on the democratic state supreme
court for a final decision to be given
at any time it pleased, perhaps too
late to get our ticket on the ballot.
It is safe to say that without the
prompt action of the St. Louis com-
rades in selecting the name, WORK-
ING CLASS PARTY, to counteract
the democratic schemes, the supreme
court would not have given the deci-
sion in favor of the name SOCIALIST
PARTY, because considerable agita-
tion had been done to explain the
crooked work of Secretary of State
Cook and the St. Louis democratic
boodle gang.

In the name of Local St. Louis I
protest against Critchlow's assertions
and insinuations, which, in my opin-
ion, are contemptible.

It was Local St. Louis that first de-
manded the removal of the old local
quorum from office.

It was Local St. Louis that took a
most decided stand against fusion, by
almost unanimous vote. Comrade
Critchlow is acquainted with these
facts, and this makes his misrepresen-
tations the more contemptible in
the eyes of every right and justice
loving man and woman.

G. A. HOEHN.

St. Louis, Feb. 12, 1903.

Socialism and Family Life.

Socialism charges capitalism with
tempting every woman to marry for
the sake of being provided for.

Socialism charges capitalism with
making it impossible for poor men to
maintain homes and driving them also
to prostitution.

Socialism charges capitalism with
forcing the daughters of the poor to
sell their virtue for a living, and
hence the perpetuation of the "social
evil."

Socialism points out that the eco-
nomic slavery of woman is the chief
cause of prostitution, married and
unmarried.

Socialism will furnish woman for
the first time in the world's history
with economic independence and con-
sequent liberty and virtue.

Capitalist Hunters.

The hunting down of the people by
the capitalists is more relentless than
the hunting down of inclosed game in
some royal park. When the people
could not get coal because of the
greed of the coal barons, they began
to experiment with burning oil, by
means of saturated porous tile. No
sooner did this practice become com-
mon than up jumped the oil capital-
ists with a big raise in the price of
oil. Three cents a gallon was added
to the price, but the people pay it
with scarcely a murmur—they have
to. It's that, or let it alone. And by
that little three-cent raise the Stand-
ard Oil Co. has increased its profits by
\$24,000,000 for the year. Oh, no! the
people won't do a thing, some of these
days!—Social Democratic Herald.

UNDER SOCIALISM the interest of
capital and labor will be identical; be-
cause labor will be properly recog-
nized as the creator and owner of all
capital, and the capitalist who is to-
day the mischief maker will be abol-
ished.

UNDER SOCIALISM the wealth a
man makes by his labor will be his to
have and to enjoy, but not to use as
now in taking from his fellows
through profit, interest and rent.

IS IT WELL WITH THE CHILDREN.

By MOTHER JONES.

One of the saddest cases in my experience was that of a little girl in one of the southern mills. I met her in the early morning on her way to work. I asked her how old she was.

"Ten years old," she answered. "And how much do you get for working?"

"Oh, I don't know how much I'll get this week, but I hope to get a dollar and a half. Mamma is sick and I want to get her some medicine."

The evening of the next day I saw the child carried from the mill with one hand gone—severed by the mill machinery. The shock killed the mother, and the child was left alone to battle with the world. There was no recompense for injury.

Accidents like these happen every day and never get into the papers.

In the mills the toil of the children is ceaseless. The machinery needs constant watching, and their undivided attention. Oftentimes the children's hair gets caught in the machinery and they are left completely bald. Their haggard faces and emaciated forms appeal to every human heart for redress.

These children must bear their wrongs in silence. Their masters' ears are deaf to pity. There is no one for the children to complain to. They rise in the dark, go to work in the dark, and come home to hovels called "home" in the dark, for five months of the year.

In the mills the children in the mule spinning room walk twenty miles a day and those in the spindle room from twelve to fifteen miles.

I remember a band of little tots going out to the woods one Sunday to get some fresh air denied them during the week. In one home they left behind the oldest of four children, a little girl who lay sick upon a pallet of straw. Her mother pleaded with her to go also.

"Maggie, dear, do try and go, it will do you good."

"Oh, mamma, please let me stay here and rest so that I can go to the mill to-morrow," the girl pleaded.

On Tuesday her little form was stretched out in a pine board coffin, never again to go down the dirty road to the capitalistic hell.

As I looked at the calm, sweet face with a smile of peace hovering about the lips, I seemed to hear her say, "Thank God, the robbers can not crucify me any more on the altar of their greed for the yellow gold."

To my last hour on earth I shall see the innocent faces of the dead girl's companions as they stood outside of the door and talked in whispers of the dead. One of them said at last:

"If that old woman who makes the bosses be good to us knew Maggie was dead she would surely come to the funeral."

"You mean old Mother Jones, Alice?" said another.

"Yes, I think she doesn't know how mean the boss is to us. He pulled my hair yesterday because I spoke to Jennie."

Then they turned to me and asked if I had ever seen Mother Jones, the old woman that makes the bosses give more pay.

"If she was here," one said, "she would make them let us go home before dark."

If there were a Socialist president his first message to the law-makers would be an injunction to wipe out child labor.

Alice Roosevelt never worked in one of the capitalist slave pens. She had a joyous childhood, while thousands of proletarian children had to expend their youthful energy to create profits for capitalists.

I believe if Christ were here again and denounced the child murder our federal judges would send him to jail. When Christ said in the long ago,

"Suffer little children to come unto me and forbid them not," He showed that society must take loving care of the babies if we can ever hope for a better civilization.

And it is because the children of the workers are neglected and ill-treated that we have cannibals around us today. While poodle dogs are being caressed upon pillows of down, human bodies are being wrecked and distorted and human souls are being destroyed in mills and mines and slums throughout Christendom.

So long as strikes are necessary to liberate these children and guarantee a better manhood and womanhood for the future I propose to be in and encourage strikes even though the capitalists who live in luxury from the lifeblood of babies should take my life, as they have many times tried to.

But, my brothers, workingman with the ballot, you are a party to the murder of your own children so long as you vote blindly for the ticket of your masters. Wake up, boys of the mill and factory and workshops, and vote the Socialist ticket. Then I will live to see the workers' children in the schools and fields and playgrounds instead of being sacrificed to the god of profit.

11th WARD CAMPAIGN.

Comrade Peabody Nominated for House of Delegates.

The Socialists of the Eleventh ward held an enthusiastic convention on the 6th inst. Addresses were delivered by Comrades Dilno, Hildebrand and David Allan.

Comrade Edward M. Peabody was nominated as candidate for house of delegates, and the following address to the voters of the Eleventh ward:

We indorse the national platform and the world-wide principles of the Socialist Party.

We sympathize with every effort of earnest and honest men to improve the economic and social conditions of their fellows, but regret the misdirected energy and waste of strength which leads to the formation of various reform parties, whose efforts, if successful, could only temporarily improve conditions, which are the result of the competitive system of production and distribution.

We call attention to the fact that the Socialist is now the third party in nation, state and city. At the late November election there were 210 Socialist votes polled in the Eleventh ward, and only 111 Public Ownership and 46 Allied Party votes.

We realize that no great and permanent benefit to humanity in general, and the working class in particular, can be expected so long as the present capitalist, or competitive, system exists. For that reason we are opposed to any compromise of principle, or fusion with any political party which supports the present system. But we pledge ourselves to do all that may be done to relieve the evils from which the people suffer, and stand, as the Socialist Party has always stood, for the collective ownership of street railways, electric light and gas plants, telephone, garbage reduction plants and all public utilities.

As quickly as these various industries are secured by this city we demand an increase of employes' wages and a reduction of working time, the improvement in quality of public service and reduction in its cost.

When the profits from public-owned utilities shall have paid off whatever bonded indebtedness it may have been necessary to incur, we favor their operation at cost of maintenance under best trade union conditions.

Our candidate for the house of delegates, Edward M. Peabody, pledges himself, if elected, to live up to the spirit and the letter of this platform.

He promises to do all in his power to secure for Carondelet a system of sidewalks, streets and street-crossings, which shall be a vast improvement upon those which are now a disgrace to our ward, and a source of danger to the health of every resident.

Until such time as the street railways become the property of the city, he pledges himself to exert every honorable effort to improve the street car service of Carondelet, and to that end will introduce and support the following measures:

1. To increase the number of street cars and shorten the intervals between them.

2. To secure a seat for every passenger. No seat, no fare.

3. To compel the adoption of serviceable, automatic fenders and power brakes.

4. To secure a one-fare, continuous trip between Carondelet and the west end, by way of the Grand avenue division.

5. To demand the most exact compliance with the terms of every street railway franchise, and to insist upon its forfeiture when such terms are violated.

The Eleventh is the only strong Socialist ward that at the last election showed a material increase over the Debs vote in 1900.

People's Fund and Welfare Association.

Meetings of the association take place every fourth Tuesday, at 8 p. m.

The board of directors meets every second Tuesday at 8 p. m.

TWENTY-FOURTH WARD, ATTENTION.

All comrades of the Twenty-fourth ward who are willing to assist in arranging for a convention to nominate a house of delegates member and who will assist further in getting up a social demonstration will please send in their names at once to

COMRADE J. H. POWELL,
3208 Commonwealth Avenue.

UNDER SOCIALISM all the conditions will be favorable to the development of the individual, for the daily grind for the bare necessities of existence will be changed to a few hours of work with such facilities as will make it a recreation.

Hiltenbrand

CAFE

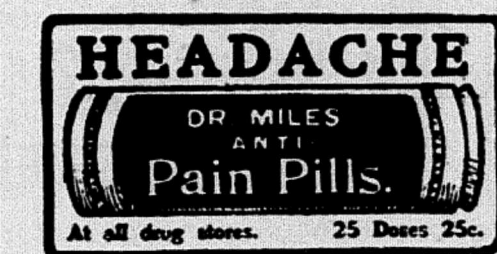
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Woman's Forum.

Edited by KATE EMMET.

WOMAN AND SOCIALISM.

[By August Bebel, Member German Reichstag.]

Millions of women are engaged in a hundred different branches of industry. All these women have an interest in the nature of the social legislation relating to their respective callings. They are as much concerned as the men in all questions touching the length of the working day, Sunday and night work, the employment of children, the form of payment, the length of notice, the introduction of character books for the working classes, protective measures in factories, the character of the workshops, and similar important legislative subjects. Workmen know little or nothing about the condition of many branches of industry in which women are exclusively or almost exclusively engaged. It is in the interest of the employers to conceal evils for which they are responsible; the inspection of factories does not extend to many forms of labor almost entirely carried on by women; it is, in any case, notoriously insufficient in every way, and yet those branches are probably more in need of protective interference than any others. We need only remind our readers of the work rooms in which seamstresses, dressmakers, milliners, etc., are crowded together in our great cities. No complaint reaches us from thence, and an investigation rarely finds its way thither. The miserable result of the imperial enquete relating to the occupation of women undertaken in the year 1874 is the best proof how little organization has yet accomplished on this ground and how much remains to be done. Finally women who are engaged in trade are concerned in the legislation for the regulation of commerce and duties. There can therefore be no doubt whatever, that women are justified in claiming to exercise their influence on the direction of affairs by legislation. Moreover, taking part in public life would prove a powerful stimulant and open a number of new vistas to women.

Such claims are met by the short and repellent answer: "Women understand nothing of politics, and as a rule prefer not to trouble themselves about them; they would not know how to make use of a vote if they had one." This is true and yet not true. It can not be denied that a very small number of women, at any rate in Germany, have ventured to claim political equality for their sex. One authoress only has, to the best of my knowledge, as yet entered the list, Frau Hedwig Dohm, but she has done so with energy enough to make up for many laggards.

Nothing is settled by the argument that women have hitherto taken but little interest in politics. The fact that women have not yet troubled themselves to follow the course of public events is no proof that they ought not to do so. Did not the same thing once apply to men? The same reasons that are advanced against women's suffrage were made to do service against extension of the suffrage to all male adults in Germany. After its introduction in 1867 all objections disappeared at one blow. I myself was in 1863 one of those who protested against universal suffrage; four years later I was indebted to it for my election to the imperial parliament. The same thing has happened to thousands. Saul becomes Paul. Although there are still a great many men, who either neglect to make use of their most important political right, or who do so without comprehending its meaning, no one would suggest that they should be dis-

franchised on that account. At the elections for the German reichstag 40 per cent. generally abstain from voting, and these non-voters are recruited from all classes; they include the man of science and the mechanic. And the majority of the 60 per cent. that takes part in the election votes, in my opinion, as it ought not to vote, if it understood its own true interests. The fact that it does not understand them is to be explained by the want of political education, of which the 60 per cent. nevertheless possess more than the 40 per cent. who abstain altogether. Of course we must except those who, because they can not vote according to their convictions without danger, prefer to remain away from the polling booth.

But political education can not be provided by shutting out the masses from public affairs, but only by admitting them to the exercise of political rights. Practice alone makes perfect. Hitherto the ruling classes have endeavored to serve their own ends by retaining the majority of the people in a state of political childhood; and they have as a rule been successful in their attempt. It has, therefore, up to this hour been left to a minority favored by circumstances or character to storm the fortress, to struggle with energy and enthusiasm for the cause of all, in order gradually to rouse the great inert mass and carry it along in the same direction. This has been the history of all great movements, and it is neither surprising nor discouraging that those of the proletarians and women form no exception. Previous results prove that trouble, exertions and sacrifice have been repaid and the future promises victory.

As soon as women are in possession of political rights they will awake to the consciousness of their political duties. When they are called upon to give their votes, they will ask, "Why, and to whom?" This will be the starting point of a number of common interests between husband and wife, which, far from being detrimental to their mutual relationship, will, on the contrary, materially improve it. The uninitiated wife will naturally turn to her better informed husband for advice. The result will be an exchange of ideas, and mutual instruction, a state of things which has hitherto existed only in the rarest cases between man and wife. The change will more and more bridge over the unhappy difference in culture and powers of perception which we have already described, which is such a fruitful source of quarrels and disputes, which brings the husband into collision with his various duties and is injurious to the welfare of the community. Instead of a drag, the husband will find a helpmate in the wife who shares his opinions, and she will not complain at his fulfilling his public duties, even when other occupations prevent her taking part in them. She will gladly agree to spend a small fraction of his wages in taking in a paper, or for purposes of agitation, for the paper interests and instructs her, too, and she comprehends the necessity of the sacrifices made to attain what neither she nor her husband nor her children yet enjoy—a human existence and equal human rights.

Thus the influence of mutual activity for the common good, which is so intimately connected with that of the individual, is in the highest degree an ennobling and moral influence, and its results are the contrary of those foreseen by short-sighted people or by the opponents of a community based on the equality of all. And this relationship of the two sexes will continue to improve in proportion to the

improvement in social conditions, and the liberation of men and woman from the burden of pecuniary care and undue labor.

Practice and education will accomplish in this case what they accomplish in all other cases. Without going into the water I shall never learn to swim; without study and practice I can not master a foreign language. Every one will agree to these propositions, but few people understand that the same argument applies to the affairs of the state and society. Are our women more incapable than the negroes, who occupy so much lower a position, and on whom nevertheless full political equality has been bestowed? And must we assume that thousands of cultivated women have a worse claim than the rudest, most ignorant man, than an unlettered day laborer from the back of Pomerania, or an ultramontane Polish navy, simply because the latter happened to come into the world as men? The

son has more rights than the mother, from whom perchance he has inherited his best qualities, the mother that has made him what he is! Strange!

English Socialist Literature.

Will be sold at cost by the People's Fund and Welfare association, Eleventh and Locust streets. Here is a chance to do good propaganda work! All kinds of papers, magazines, pamphlets and books. Mr. Louis Kober will be found at the place every Monday and Thursday, from 5 to 6:30 p. m.; Sundays from 10 to 11 a. m. Ward branches and clubs should not fail to avail themselves of this chance to secure good and cheap literature.

LOUIS KOBER.

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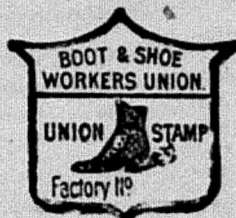
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THE MODERN REVOLUTION.

By BELFORT BAX.

"With the possibility of obtaining commodities in the form of pure exchange value, or vice versa," says Karl Marx, the founder of the new Socialist economy, "the greed for gold awakens. With the extension of the circulation of commodities, the power of gold grows; the ever-ready, unconditionally social form of riches. Through gold, said Christopher Columbus, one could even get souls into paradise." Circulation—in other words, the indirect process of exchange—is the great social retort into which everything flows, to come out crystallized into money in some that the original money-formula, which we may represent thus:—first term, Commodity; second term, Money; third term, Commodity again—becomes supplemented by another and far more recondite process. This second process is that of buying in order to sell again, changing money for money; and may be expressed by another formula, of which the first term is Money; the second Commodity; and the third Money again. The entry of this second money process upon the arena denotes the transition of money, or exchange value pure and simple, into capital. For, since money has no utility value but only an exchange value, which is, of course, uniform as to quality, there can be nothing gained by the process except it be in point of quantity. And in fact, money circulating in this way does gain in quantity. In short, the movement or circulation of money as capital has for its end the return of the money, plus an increment. This increment is termed by Karl Marx surplus value.

But now arises the question: "By what process of economical magic is this result obtained? Where does the increment or surplus value, which is the source of profit, come from?" It can not come out of exchange value or money itself. Every capitalist can not have the advantage of every other capitalist. The mere circulation can not effect this marvelous change. It must therefore be looked for outside the circulating medium, or the capital. But the complimentary factor to capital in all production is labor. Hence it is from labor—or, to put it concretely, from the laborer—that the surplus value must be derived; but, to this end, the laborer's capacity for labor, his labor force, must come into the market as any other commodity. Now, the value of labor force or working power is determined, like that of every other commodity, by the average time necessary to its production. Again, this labor force exists only as a quality of a living individual; but to the existence and maintenance of a living individual a certain supply of the means of living is necessary. Hence, the value of labor force resolves itself into the value of a determinate supply of the means of living, and changes with the value of these means of living, i. e., with the length of time necessary for their production. This fact furnishes the magic thread to the unravelment of the woof of the whole modern capitalistic system.

"That half a day's work," says Marx, "is necessary to maintain the workman in life during the 24 hours, does not in any way prevent him from working a whole day. The value of labor force, and its exploitation in the process of labor, are two distinct quantities. The first determines its exchange value, the second its utility value. This difference the capitalist has in his eye in purchasing labor force. Its useful characteristic, that of making thread or boots, was merely a sine qua non, because labor must be expended in a useful form to make value. The decisive element was the specific utility value of the commodity, labor, that of being the source of value and of more value than it has itself. This is the specific service the capitalist requires of it. And he acts

thereby in accordance with the eternal laws regulating the exchange of commodities. The capitalist has foreseen this situation 'das ihn lachen macht.' Hence the workman finds in the work room the necessary means of production, not for a six, but a twelve hours' process of labor.

"The second period of the process of work, beyond the boundaries of this necessary work, though it costs him work, expenditure of labor force, yet realizes no value for him. It realizes a surplus value, that smiles on the capitalist with all the charm of a creation out of nothing. I call this portion of the working day surplus working time, and the work expended thereon surplus labor. It is as important for the knowledge of surplus value to understand it as a mere flux of surplus working time, as merely embodied surplus work, as it is for a knowledge of value generally to understand it as mere flux of working time, as mere embodied work. Only the form, in which this surplus work is extracted from the immediate producer, the laborer, distinguishes the various economical formations of society, for instance, a society founded on slavery from one based on wage labor.

"John Stuart Mill observes, in his 'Principles of Political Economy,' that it is questionable if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the day's toil of any human being. Such is, however, by no means the object of machinery as applied under the capitalist system. Like every other development of the productive power of labor, its object is to cheapen commodities, and to shorten that portion of the working day which the workman has for himself in order to lengthen the other part of the working day which he gives to the capitalist for nothing. It is a means to the production of surplus value.

"The capitalist has purchased labor force at its current rate. Hence its utility value belongs to him during a working day. He has acquired the right to make the workman labor for him during the day. But what is the working day? At all events less than the actual day. By how much? The capitalist has his eye on this ultimate thule, the necessary limits of the working day. As capitalist he is only personified capital. His soul is the soul of capital. But capital has but a single impulse in life, that of realizing itself as surplus value, creating surplus value, and with its constant factor the means of production, of sucking in the greatest possible amount of surplus value. Capital is dead labor, which lives vampire-like by sucking in living labor, and lives the better the more it sucks in. The time during which the Workman labors is the time during which the capitalist consumes the labor force purchased from him. If the workman consumes his available time for himself, he robs the capitalist. The capitalist falls back upon the law regulating the exchange of commodities. He, like every other purchaser, seeks to wring the greatest possible use out of the utility value of his commodity.

"But suddenly the voice of the workman, drowned in the storm and stress of the process of production, makes itself heard: The commodity which I have sold to you is distinguished from all other commodities by its creating a utility value greater than it costs itself. This was the reason why you bought it. What appears on your side as realization of capital, appears on my side as superfluous expenditure of my labor force. You and I recognize on the arena of the market but one law, that of the exchange of commodities (supply and demand). And the consumption of the commodity does not belong to the seller, who delivers it, but to the buyer who acquires it. To you belongs, therefore, the use of my daily labor force. But by means of its daily sale price I must daily reproduce it, and hence can sell it anew. Apart from natural decay through old age, etc., I must be able to work again to-morrow in the same

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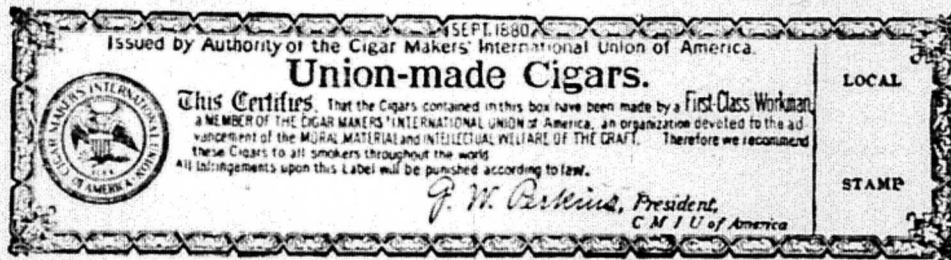
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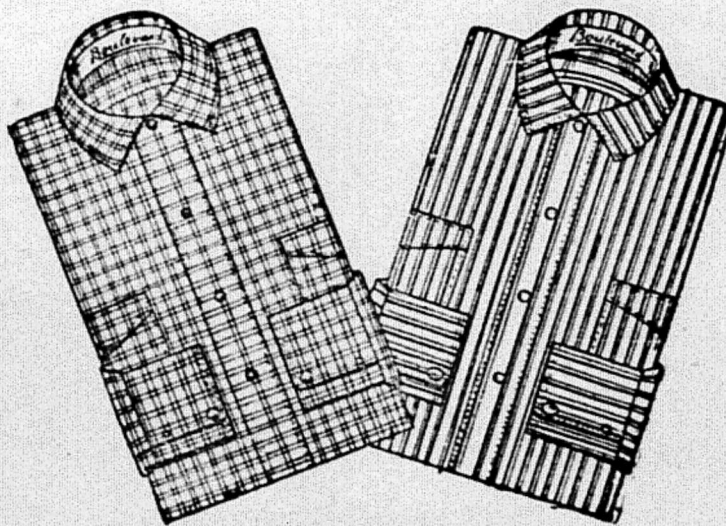
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normal condition of power, health and freshness as to-day. You are continually preaching to me the gospel of 'saving' and 'abstinence.' Good! I will, like a sensible, saving, business man, preserve my only faculty, my labor force, and abstain from any foolish expenditure of it. I will only spend as much of it—daily convert as much of it into work—as is consistent with its normal continuance and healthy development. By a measureless lengthening of the working day, you use up more of my labor force than I can replace in three days. What you thus gain in work I lose in the substance of work. Using my labor force and robbing me of it are quite different things. I demand, therefore, a working day of normal length, and I demand it without any appeal to your heart, for in money matters compassion has no place. You may be a model citizen, perhaps, a member of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and stand in the odor of sanctity in addition, but the thing that you represent to me carries no heart in its breast. What seems to beat therein is my own heart's pulse. I demand a normal working day, because I demand the value of my commodity like every other vendor."

Hence the modern economic regime must be a perpetual strife. The capitalist maintains his rights as a buyer to make the working day as long as possible, and the workman maintains his right as seller to limit the working day.

And now, before concluding this portion of our subject, I have a word to say on the argument employed to account for the existence and action of capital by the current economist. Interest, it is said, is the reward of abstinence. Now, the conception of capital, as we have seen, has its root in the conception of money. Money—which is nothing more than the abstract expression for all possible commodities, i. e., products of labor—has become hypostasized, and acquired a special, material value and function of its own, apart from its merely formal value as a medium of exchange. This hypostasis found its crudest theoretical expression in the infancy of economic science as the mercantile theory (so-called); but the same fallacy, in a practical and far more insidious form, underlies the orthodox economic idea of capital, which, as we have shown, consists in the ascription to money of a faculty of quantitative increase in the mere course of circulation, a faculty which

it does not and can not legitimately possess.

A Husband to a Wife.

[By Mary Sinton Lewis.]

Tell me, my dearest, that thy love for me
Is dead, then turn and look into my eyes:
Thou still shalt find a share of Paradise
Has lingered there—my boundless love for thee.
So thou shalt hear nor pleadings, nor sighs,
But I shall coldly stand and quietly,
Nor touch thy hand, nor smooth thy hair, nor be
Thy lover, for my love will make me wise
And strong to be thy helper, that we bid
Together—though apart. Not hand in hand
Into the morning, as true lovers might,
But still together, ever side by side—
Because we share one grief and understand—
Let us walk bravely forth into the night.
—In January Harper's Magazine.

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