

Workingmen
of all
Countries, Unite

SIXTEEN PAGES:

LABOR

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You Have Nothing to Lose but your chains, and a World to Gain.

Phone: Kinloch, A1283.

VOL. IV.

ST. LOUIS, MO., SATURDAY, AUG., 29 1903.

NO. 134.

WANTED==20,000 Wage Workers to hear EUGENE V. DEBS speak at GROSS' PARK, SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 13th, 1903. Bring your families and friends along, and enjoy yourselves at the Socialist Party Picnic. Let us make it a great demonstration.

Glass Workers Declare for Socialism.

Resolution Adopted by the American Flint Glass Workers' Union at Their National Convention at Cincinnati, O., July, 1903.

A most wonderful revolution has taken place in the minds of the members of this organization. As seen by the resolutions adopted at this convention, the Socialist sentiment expressed and arguments produced by the various members who took part in the discussion, they have plainly shown a thorough knowledge of the philosophy of Socialism, a keen conception of the class struggle and the necessity of the solidarity of the entire working class. The following resolution was presented and ably argued by Wm. Croke, who is a member of the Socialist Party. He is a member of the city council of Marion, Ind., elected on the Socialist ticket, and is now the vice-president of the A. F. G. W. U.

A SOCIALIST RESOLUTION.

"Whereas, In the natural development of capitalism, the class struggle between the privileged few and the disinherited masses, which is the inevitable and irrepressible outcome of the wage system, has reached a point where the old forms, method and spirit of labor organization are absolutely impotent to resist the aggressions of concentrated capital, sustained by all the agencies of government, and to effect any permanent improvement in the condition of the wage earner, or even to arrest for any length of time their steady and general degradation; and

"Whereas, The economic power of the capitalist class, used by that class for the oppression of labor, rests upon institutions essentially political, which in the nature of things can not be radically changed, or even slightly amended for the benefit of the working people themselves, economically and politically united as a class;

"Therefore, It is as a class, conscious of its strength, aware of its rights, determined to resist wrong at every step and sworn to achieve its own emancipation, that the wage workers are hereby called upon to unite in a solid body, held together by an unconquerable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle. As members of the American Flint Glass Workers' union, we shall constantly keep in view its great object, namely: The summary ending of that barbarous struggle, at the earliest possible time by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the co-operative commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free

exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization."

Pertinent Paragraphs.

BY W. W. BAKER.

Labor must control the law.

* * *

The struggle for existence is the universal problem.

* * *

The insecurity of the future is an indisputable fact.

* * *

Law forsakes the worker at the capitalists' command.

* * *

Socialism means construction; capitalism, destruction.

* * *

To-day a man's worth is determined by the value of his possessions.

* * *

If Socialism is impractical, then truth and justice are impractical.

* * *

Some men are so cheap they sell their right to liberay for the promise of a promise.

* * *

The only thing the average married working man has been able to accumulate is a large family.

* * *

Defenders of the present system of robbery and despotism are robbers and despots, or expect to be.

* * *

There is no last resort for the workingman under capitalism, after he has passed his forty-fifth birthday.

* * *

In 1850 the workers received 62½ per cent. of the value of the wealth they created. In 1890 they received only 17 per cent. Under Socialism they would receive it all.

* * *

No man should relinquish his rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, for by so doing he not only injures himself, but waives the rights of all posterity.

* * *

It may be true that any man can get work who wants it, but in most instances he would have to accept a wage below the cost of living in order to secure a job.

* * *

The machine saves labor, but the saving accrues to the owner, and not to the operator of the machine. If machines were collectively owned and managed the operators would not be compelled to give five-sixths of the value of their product to an idle class as profit.

Missouri Union Men Waking Up.

Kansas City Industrial Council in Open Rebellion Against the Political Parties of Capitalism.

Kansas City, Mo., Aug. 25, 1903. Organized labor of Kansas City is waking up. The brutality of the capitalist politicians towards the trades union movement in recent strike troubles has convinced many of the leading members of the unions that the Democratic and Republican parties are rotten to the core. Both of these parties are the tools of capitalism.

In its last Sunday meeting the Industrial Council of Kansas City decided in favor of a political labor conference, whose main object shall be to unite the labor vote on a bonafide labor party.

A local Kansas City capitalist paper publishes the following item, which shows the indignation against the ruling political parties among the union men.

"The fight between the unions and capital, not only in Kansas City, but all over the country has reached a crisis. I believe a final adjustment of all difficulties will come through politics, but I would not be suprised if all the wheels of industry had to be stopped temporarily before things are settled."

This statement was made to-day by Isaac Taylor, president of the Industrial council, which appointed a committee yesterday to launch unionism into local politics.

"Union men are getting their eyes opened," said Mr. Taylor. "They now realize that they must help themselves. The politicians won't do it, either Republican or Democratic. The movement started yesterday by the council is mainly to protect ourselves against the Employers' association. This much is a fact, the unions have the votes and only need political organization to use them.

"Our fight is not a local one; we are going to ask the unions of the entire state to aid us. From the governorship down we are going to use our votes for the purpose of electing unprejudiced men to office. Locally we are going to see that our men are not arrested for quietly walking along the streets, even though there is a strike on. We are going to see that Krag-Jorgensen rifles are no longer kept in readiness at police headquarters to use against our men. But I can not fully outline our policy until I meet the political representatives from all the unions and the Industrial council. Such a meeting will probably be called soon."

In speaking of the situation, J. F. Smith, organizer of the Industrial council, said:

"If the members of the Employers' association thought we would sit quiet-

ly by and hear them threaten to remove the label from city printing and abolish the eight-hour law, they must have thought we were fools. We fought hard to gain these rights and we will fight to retain them."

"The labor leaders claim that a majority of the voters in Kansas City are members of unions."

We feel satisfied that organized labor of Kansas City will profit by past experiences. The time is passed when so-called labor reform parties could play any role; the political movement of to-day must be a Socialist movement, because the Socialist Party is the only party that represents the class interests of labor. The Socialist platform is the platform of the working class, and any attempt to organize a labor party without a clear-cut, straight working-class platform will result in absolute failure.

Don't waste any time in trying to harmonize capitalism and labor; if you do you will try to unite fire and water, and in doing so you either extinguish the fire of enthusiasm or you will produce the steam that will burn the hands of the working people, while the capitalist politicians will smile contently knowing full well that the wage slaves have been deceived and fooled once more.

Let every delegate of the Industrial council carefully read the Socialist Party platform. To-day the Socialist Party is the third party in municipal, state and national politics. Let the Kansas City Industrial council be true to the class interests of labor by joining hands with the Socialist Party.

Remember the 300,000 Socialist votes of 1902. In the state of Missouri over 7,000 votes were cast for labor and Socialism.

In America alone, without the aid of the perfected modern machine, it is estimated that it would require the labor of 196,000,000 men to produce the commodities necessary to satisfy the demands of the people. If the machines were owned and operated by all the people, for use and not for profit, the hours of work could and would be reduced to less than half the time worked at present, and no want would be unsatisfied.

In Brazil the coffee growers have resorted to the plan of destroying 200 out of every 1,000 bags of coffee, because there has been too much grown to permit of its being sold at a profit.

Socialism is the only system yet devised or thought out that can, and will, and dare abolish the infant damnation of child labor.

Errors Which Should Be Avoided.

By COURTENAY LEMON in The Worker.

The lack of study and thought displayed by a number of comrades who have written to The Worker (as well as by some who have dealt with the same matter in the party press) upon the question of labor's real share in the division of product between wage-workers and capitalists, calls to mind the unpleasant fact that this point is only one of several in regard to which errors and inaccuracies of statement by many active Socialist about the teachings of their own movement are surprising, not only in their frequency, but often as to the sources from which they emanate.

Carelessness of statement by speakers, and especially by the Socialist press, must confuse and hamper our work of education; it can only result in intellectual demoralization when the ill-informed Socialist faces a more exactly thinking opponent in argument; and, if it become widespread, is sure to work some measure of discredit to our movement.

In regard to the particular question involving the method of analyzing economic statistics by which labor's real share in its product in any given industry can be discovered, a little thought ought to convince anyone that in calculating the profit of the capitalist the expense of raw materials, for one item, must be deducted, for the reason that the product of one industry becomes the raw material of another. But, say some, the raw material, though it is not the product of the workers in the particular industry we happen to be considering, is the product of some other workers and therefore it must not be deducted from the profit of the capitalist class because it is the product of labor! Surely it ought to be obvious to those who speak so unreasonably with such quick assurance, that in this method of figuring the exploitation of each body of workers is counted twice. The raw material used in any industry embodies the exploitation of the workers in some other industry and not to deduct it in calculating the profit of the capitalists in whatever industry may be under consideration is to count it double—a very simple fact which must always be remembered in dealing with the totaled statistics of wages and products. If this is not clear enough, the obvious fact that economic crises would occur continually, instead of once in a decade, if wage-workers received only 17 per cent. of the value which they produced, ought to convince those who state that the capitalists get 83 per cent. of the product of labor, that there is something the matter with their reasoning; for if the capitalists got 83 per cent. and the consuming power of the workers was restricted to 17 per cent., it would be so impossible for the capitalists to dispose of the surplus products that a crisis from "over-production" would always be on hand. The question of where the enormous wealth of the capitalists comes from if they get only one-half or two-thirds of the product of labor, of course finds its answer in the fact that many workers, that one capitalist exploits thousands of workers.

It has well been said that: "There are three kinds of lies: Lies, damned lies, and statistics." The statement of totaled figures without proper explanation are exceedingly deceptive, and he would explain them must go carefully too, for their investigation is beset with snares and pit-falls. "Figures never lie, but figures"—well, they make mistakes, and this is something that Socialists ought not to do, especially if they happen to be writing or speaking for the instruction of others.

But the other common misstatements to which we are about to call attention are not in the statistical field; they are therefore entirely due to neglect of study and thought and this is something which, in a Socialist who claims to be in earnest, is very near to inexcusable. We do not refer to errors which arise from the opportunist position in Socialist thought. Errors of all kinds thrive rankly in the jungles of opportunism, but we have reference only to those which come, owing to lack of reading, from the lips and pens of those who consider themselves Marxists of the strictest type.

To begin with, one often meets statements like this: "Between capital and labor, there never was and never can be any conflict, for capital is the product of labor. The conflict is between capitalists and laborers." This is one of those slipshod statements which is particularly exasperating because it contains a half-truth. In the first place, considered merely from the standpoint of the language, "capital" and "labor" are correctly used as collective nouns meaning the same as capitalist class and working class. Moreover, this very common statement ignores the Socialist definition of capital and accepts the bourgeois definition that capital is simply synonymous with means of production. Socialist thought draws a distinction between mere means of production, which may be tools owned and used by the same individual, and means of production in the form of capital, which is owned by one man and operated by others for wages, thus having the power of increasing itself in the owner's hands. According to Socialist theory capital is not merely means of production, it is rather, in the last analysis, "a relation between individuals established by means of the material tools of production." Capital itself, therefore, according to our own Socialist definition of it, is antagonistic to the interests of the wealth producers, and implies the existence of the capitalist system. The Socialist definition of capital is important and essential to Socialist thought; it is one of the first things that must be made clear in debating, for instance, with a Single Taxer; and it is lamentable to see any Socialist who attempts, even in a small way, to teach others show ignorance of it.

Another mistaken phrase which still bobs up occasionally in Socialist pamphlets and papers is "the iron law of wages," that wages must go down through competition for jobs to the bare cost of existence and reproduc-

tion. This phrase, in the early history of the German movement, was one of the chief bones of contentions between the followers of La Salle, who originated it, and the Eisenachers or followers of Marx, who repudiated it. The law of wages referred to by this phrase is, of course, one of the cornerstones of truth upon which the Socialist must base his contentions, but it is not an "iron law" for it can be overcome, to some extent, by the organized trade union resistance of the workers, and it is even more often voluntarily annulled by capitalists who realize that a well-paid worker will produce more than an ill-treated one. With Marx this law was the expression of the inevitable tendency of wages, not the statement of an absolute fact without qualifying exceptions. The mistake of stating the theoretical tendencies of the capitalist system, as it would operate if it were an economic machine with the factor of human intelligence left out, as absolute facts is often met with in the discussion of other "laws of Socialist economics."

Another common statement that capitalists are class-conscious, simply because they show the class instinct of associated action as does indeed the pure and simple trade unionist whom the Socialist would not recognize as class-conscious. Those who indulge this fallacy are well taken to task in the current issue of St. Louis "Labor," in the following editorial remarks:

"The capitalists are class-conscious: if the wage-workers were as class-conscious as their masters things would soon look better in our movement." These and similar arguments are often used by Socialist speakers and writers. Such arguments are misleading because they are false and un-Socialistic. The capitalists are not class-conscious, because they do not understand the historical basis and economic, political and social development of their own class or of society at large. * * * The fact that the capitalist will always look out for his pocketbook does not make him class-conscious. He is conscious that the labor of others is a source of profit for himself. The plain figures, black on white, on the pages of his business books will dictate to the capitalist the proper, profitable course to pursue in his dealings with the wage-workers employed by him. In a rude, materialistic way he will figure out the rate of profit or rate of interest on capital invested, to be extracted from his 'hands.' Class-consciousness has absolutely nothing to do with this process of exploitation."

But the most evil and misleading of all wrong statements that can be uttered by a Socialist in fancied support of his own philosophy is that all men follow their own material interests, leaving it to be inferred that the immediate material interests of the individual himself are meant. We have had in type for some time, and may yet publish, an article dealing with this all too common fallacy. In the meantime, Comrade Simons in the course of an editorial upon another subject in the current number of the "International Socialist Review" states briefly and clearly the real Socialist position upon this point:

"Another assertion *** is that everybody follows their immediate interests. [This] is certainly ridiculously untrue and at complete variance with the Socialist philosophy and particularly with the Marxian wing of Socialism and the doctrine of the class struggle. It is just because Socialists see that men can be made to sink their

immediate personal and individual interests in their class interests that class-conscious action of the workers is possible. The momentary individual interest of the wage-worker is the prosperity of his employer and the inner use of the rate of production, since only under such conditions is there a possibility, though to be sure by no means a certainty, of better wages. This is the grain of truth in the 'identity of interest' argument so glibly repeated by the labor fakir. But the interest of the wage-worker as a class lies in the abolition of the employing class and with it the entire wage system. Hence it is that we ask the individual to forego his immediate interest as an individual, which might probably be better furthered by fawning on his employer, working overtime, and, in general, merging himself in the interests of his master, and instead to throw himself, with his class, into an effort to better the condition of all and ultimately abolish wage-slavery."

Bound up with and arising from this idea that the Socialist theory of economic determinism teaches the predominance of the immediate interests of the individual, is the atrocious statement that Socialism has nothing to do with ethics or ideals, that ethics is a thing of the future, and that any attempt to connect Socialism with ethics is sentimentalism. The fact that most attempts to teach the ethics of Socialism have so far been sentimentalisms based on ideas of abstract justice, "natural rights," and abstract conceptions of a future society, furnish some excuse, however, for this latter statement. But the Socialist movement gives to the world a new class ethic, a new morality, the religion of class-consciousness, leading through the class struggle to social solidarity. If ideals and ethics are based on abstractions they are sentimental futilities but if they are based on class interests they are one of the greatest motive-powers of social evolution and human progress; and in consciously giving to the world a class ideal and ethic, Socialist philosophy reveals the scientific basis of morals and source of ideals.

COURTENAY LEMON.

PRESENTS FOR THE RAFFLE.

The Main List Will Be Published Next Week.

The work for the raffle at the Labor Press picnic is progressing splendidly. Next week we shall publish the main list of presents received from prizes from the comrades. For this issue we mention the following:

THEODORE SCHREIBER, one Cox & Gordon ham.

MRS. VARUNA, fine plates and cups.
WM. KINDORF, picture for mantel-piece and fancy plate.

MRS. J. SCHAERPF, one dozen fancy napkins.

C. CHALLY, one dozen suspenders.
A FRIEND, one dozen glasware articles.

A WOMAN SOCIALIST, fancy articles.

MISS H., five knitted table covers.
L. H., five Socialist books of the Chas. H. Kerr library.

R. SCH., one fine N. Y. V. Z. jubilee souvenir.

Comrades will please send their presents to the office of LABOR as soon as possible, in order to enable the committee to finish the preparations for the raffle.

We are convinced that every true Socialist of St. Louis will feel proud of his paper and will contribute his share to make our press a most powerful weapon.

Leslie's Weekly on Socialism.

Labor Troubles and the Campaign of 1904.

The following was the leading editorial in Leslie's Weekly of Aug. 20th:

LABOR TROUBLES AND 1904.

The distinct advance of Socialism in this country—contemporaneous with its advance everywhere else—marked by an increase of the Socialistic vote, not only in the west, but also in New York state, and in some New England cities, may carry with it a grave portent for the approaching presidential election. While we are accustomed to divide the voters into two great corps, political managers find their plans sadly interfered with at irregular intervals by the appearance of new parties. General manhood suffrage has cultivated the spirit of political independence, and the independent voter must be given consideration in election forecasts.

"When the Declaration of Independence was signed in 1776, and President Hancock said 'There must be no pulling different ways; we must all hang together.' Benjamin Franklin indicated the unity of the American people when he replied, 'Yes, we must all hang together or we shall all hang separately.' But only a few years elapsed before political differences led to the most rancorous outbreaks even against Washington himself. There were parties who believed in the new American constitution, and parties who believed only in parts of it, 'strict constructionists' and loose constructionists," Federalists and anti-Federalists." The development of the country fortunately led to a better era in politics, so that in Madison's day leaders of public thought abandoned contentions over constitutional constructions, and sought to elaborate a successful financial and economic system for the new and growing country.

The slavery question revived general interest in the intent and purpose of the constitution, and developed the issue of state rights. We had the two great political parties and also the abolition or anti-slavery parties. We also had the Know-Nothing voter, the Barn Burner and the Hunker. In our time the side issues have involved the "rag money" and the anti-monopoly voters, and, still more recently, the Populists. The Socialist vote, which has gradually been increasing, has not been considered a factor in presidential elections, because of the sweeping majorities of McKinley. This vote will be of greater moment next year, because it has disclosed its strength by the election of labor mayors in several New England cities, and because its vote in New York state last fall was far greater than Gov. O'Dell's plurality. It was greater than the Prohibition vote, and even greater than Roosevelt's plurality when he carried the state in 1898.

"The combined vote of the Social-Labor and Social-Democratic candidates for governor in this state last year was over 39,000. What this means in a close, and perhaps the pivotal, state of the Union in the next presidential election may be imagined. The Socialist vote had something to do with turning Rhode Island over to the Democracy at the last gubernatorial election. In Pennsylvania, where another coal-strike in the anthracite regions is one of the possibilities, the labor vote may become a factor next year, for it is given out by the labor unions that unless the conciliation board settles the differences of the United Mine Worker more promptly and satisfactorily, a general strike will be declared during the presidential year, when a certain victory for the miners' union is anticipated.

Nor can we overlook conditions in some of the western and Pacific states. The Arizona branch of the Western Federation of Miners has changed its by-laws with a view to entering ac-

tively into politics. The Socialistic vote in California is developing great strength. In Colorado an extraordinary situation invites attention. At Idaho Springs a number of labor leaders who were charged with violence, were driven from the community by a citizens' committee, and in Denver the Citizens' Alliance recently held a mass meeting in the Chamber of Commerce to devise a drastic measure of dealing with certain agitators conspicuous in recent labor troubles. The unions of Colorado are resenting these attacks and threatening to carry their differences to the polls.

Labor troubles in New York City, in Chicago and in Pittsburg offer special opportunities for socialistic-political agitators to make converts in the next general election. If amid such conditions we should be obliged to meet business depression next year, with consequent reductions in wages, strikes and shut-downs, the danger of the rising tide of Socialism in 1904 will become serious and alarming. How thoughtless and indifferent to his own interests the voter can be when stirred by passion or prejudice was shown in the last two presidential contests by the enormous vote cast for a candidate who represented a platform distinctly Socialistic in its tendencies, a candidate nominated twice in opposition to one of the most popular men in public life.

There are those who brush away the fears of Socialism in 1904, on the assumption that President Roosevelt, by his attitude toward the striking miners, and by his outspoken expression regarding the evils of oppressive trusts, and has endeared himself to the working masses. It is no reflection on Roosevelt to say that in our days, with the possible exception of Mr. Blaine, no public leader has been held in higher estimation by the working masses than Mr. McKinley. He was the ardent advocate of protection, and labored intelligently, aggressively and finally with success, to impress his views upon the people. The triumph of protection was the triumph of the working masses, who hailed McKinley as their noblest hero. That such a candidate should have been repudiated at the polls by so many millions of workingmen, and repudiated for a political upstart, with no record of achievements in public life and no claim to statesmanship, is a revelation of the thoughtlessness and ingratitude of the average voter.

These are things to think of and the Republican party cannot begin to think of them too soon nor too seriously.

You indorse bribery, corruption and injustice when you vote either the Republican or Democratic ballots, and the politicians of both parties have no reason to believe you are dissatisfied with the conditions for which they are responsible. A vote for the Socialist Party is a protest against all forms of injustice.

Mr. Astor is a highly developed capitalist, and it would be interesting to know in what way labor is dependent upon him and other parasites that suck the life-blood and yield absolutely nothing in return.

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NATIONAL PLATFORM

—OF THE—

Socialist Party of the United States.

The Socialist Party of America, in national convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of International Socialism, and declares its aim to be the organization of the working class and those in sympathy with it, into a political party, with the object of conquering the powers of government and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into collective ownership by the entire people.

Formerly the tools of production were simple and owned by the individual worker. To-day the machine, which is but an improved and more developed tool of production, is owned by the capitalists, and not by the workers. This ownership enables the capitalists to control the product and keep the workers dependent upon them.

Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the ever increasing uncertainty of livelihood and the poverty and misery of the working class, and it divides society into two hostile classes—the capitalists and wage-workers. This once powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing in the mill of competition. The struggle is now between the capitalist class and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists the control of the government, the press, the pulpit and the schools, and enables them to reduce the workingmen to a state of intellectual, physical and social inferiority, political subservience and virtual slavery.

The economic interests of the capitalist class dominate our entire social system; the lives of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit, wars are fomented between nations, indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged, and the destruction of whole races is sanctioned in order that the capitalists may extend their commercial dominion abroad and enhance their supremacy at home.

But the same economic causes which developed capitalism are leading to Socialism, which will abolish both the capitalist class and the class of wage workers. And the active force in bringing about this new and higher order of society is the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts, are alike interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the instruments of wealth production. The Democratic, Republican, the bourgeois public ownership parties, and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are alike political representatives of the capitalist class.

The workers can most effectively act as a class in their struggle against the collective powers of capitalism, by

constituting themselves into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the privileged classes.

IMMEDIATE DEMANDS.

While we declare that the development of economic conditions tends to the overthrow of the capitalist system, we recognize that the time and manner of the transition to Socialism also depend upon the stage of development reached by the proletariat. We, therefore, consider it of the utmost importance for the Socialist Party to support all active efforts of the working class to better its condition and to elect Socialists to political offices, in order to facilitate the attainment of this end.

As such means we advocate:

1. The public ownership of all means of transportation and communication, and all other public utilities, as well as of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines. No part of the revenue of such industries to be applied to the reduction of taxes on property of the capitalist class, but to be applied wholly to the increase of wages and shortening of the hours of labor of the employees, to the improvement of the service and diminishing the rates to the consumers.

2. The progressive reduction of the hours of labor and the increase of wages in order to decrease the share of the capitalist and increase the share of the worker in the product of labor.

3. State or national insurance of working people in case of accidents, lack of employment, sickness and want in old age; the funds for this purpose to be collected from the revenue of the capitalist class, and to be administered under the control of the working class.

4. The inauguration of a system of public industries, public credit to be used for that purpose in order that the workers be secured the full product of their labor.

5. The education of all children up to the age of 18 years, and state and municipal aid for books, clothing and food.

6. Equal civil and political rights for men and women.

7. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall of representatives by their constituents.

But in advocating these measures as steps in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth, we warn the working class against the so-called public ownership movements as an attempt of the capitalist class to secure governmental control of public utilities for the purpose of obtaining greater security in the exploitation of other industries, and not for the amelioration of the conditions of the working class.

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PROGRESS OF OUR NATIONAL ORGANIZATION



National Headquarters,
Socialist Party,
Omaha, Neb., Aug. 17, 1903.

Local charters granted to Pine Grove, W. Va., and Tablequah, I. T.

Goebel is in Virginia, Wilkins in Washington, Bigelow in Kansas, Ray begins North Carolina August 26, Hanford at Philadelphia August 22,

Request from Kentucky, New Hampshire and Maryland for financial assistance for organizing purposes. Massachusetts state committee requests services of Comrade E. V. Debs in campaign at lowest possible cost to them.

The following contributions have been made to the special organizing fund since last report:

Local San Diego, Cal.....	\$ 3 50
A. M. Brooks, purchaser of a share in the Chas. H. Kerr Co-Operative Co., donated by W. E. Walling.....	10 00
D. R. Melton, Avilla, Mo.....	1 00
Wm. H. Cameron, Warrenton, Mo.....	25
Local Washington, D. C.....	2 00
Carl D. Thompson, purchaser of a share in the Chas. H. Kerr Co-Operative Publishing Co., donated by Wm. English Walling.....	10 00
Local Quincy, Mass.....	1 00
Total to noon, August 22.....	\$ 27 75
Previously reported.....	\$910 02
Total.....	\$937 77

The editorial in Leslie's Weekly, of August 20, warning the Republican

Party against Socialism is another sign of the growing importance placed upon the Socialist Party by the watchful guardians of capitalist interests. Many Socialists do not realize how necessary it is that organizing work be done at this time so that the national party organization can enter the campaign next year equipped to do effective work. We can not expect to meet an organized enemy with scattered forces. Now that the organizing work is under good headway every effort should be made to have all the states in fighting shape for 1904. Send all contributions to the fund to the national secretary, Socialist Party, Omaha, Neb., and same will be acknowledged in the Socialist press.
WM. MAILLY, Nat. Sec.

On and after August 24 the national headquarters will be in rooms 303-304, McCague building, Omaha. The new location provides more conveniences for the increasing office work, and provides more room for all purposes.

The national secretary has issued the call for a state convention of the party locals in Louisiana for the purpose of forming a state organization. This was done in accordance with the referendum just taken. The convention will be held in New Orleans, on September 18, at 2 p. m. The place of the convention will be decided by Local New Orleans.

The national lecturers and organizers for the Socialist Party are working as follows: During the week August 24 to 30; Hanford in Pennsylvania and Ohio; Ray in North Carolina; Goebel in Virginia; Bigelow in Kansas, and Williams in Washington. Harry M. McKee will probably begin in Arizona in September. W. L. Dewart, of Local Washington, D. C., will fill dates in Maryland, arranged by Goebel, beginning August 25, at Cumberland.

State Secretary Latham, of Texas, reports increased activity among the Socialists in that state, and growing interest in organization. There is a demand for speakers from several parts of the state. Local Dallas is holding street meetings regularly, and local comrades are developing into good speakers. Goebel will enter Texas about October. The Appeal to Reason and the Coming Nation have sent their lists of Texas workers to the national office to assist in arranging Goebel's tour.

Berlin Vorwaerts of July 25 says that it will be several months before the final, official returns of the parliamentary elections are published. Meanwhile the Socialists smile to see how their vote increases with each new report. According to the latest report of the Reichs-Anzeiger (The Government Messenger), 12,530,989 persons were entitled to vote in the parlia-

mentary election of 1903, and on June 16 3,011,114 of them voted for the Socialist candidates, 81 of whom were elected. According to those statistics in 1893, out of each hundred voters 23 were Socialists, and in 1903 out of each hundred voters 31 were Socialists.

At the annual meeting of the Metropolitan District Council of the Independent Labor Party, July 24, in London, the secretary reported that the London membership had increased from 415 to 580, and that four new branches had been formed. The treasurer reported an income of over \$450 last year, with over \$60 left in the treasury; the receipts for the preceding year were only \$250.

The delegates from the Social Democratic Federation presented a resolution, in the form of an amendment, in favor of Socialism and the "class war," in the conference held by the London Trades Council and the Labor Representation Committee, July 11. The resolution was defeated by 68 against 53 votes.

The Socialist Party of Spain won no parliamentary seat in the recent elections, but it has gained several thousand votes since 1901. The increase of Socialist votes in country districts is encouraging; in 1901 only about 2,000 votes of agricultural laborers were cast for the Socialists, but this time that number was more than doubled. In the parliamentary election the Socialists received 5,000 votes in 1891; 8,000 in 1893; 14,000 in 1896; 20,000 in 1898; 22,000 in 1899; 25,400 in 1901, and 29,600 in 1903.

Thirty thousand textile workers of Oporto, who had to slave 15 hours a day for miserable wages, have struck, because when they asked for a small increase in pay their employers called out the police. Many workers are starving. It is reported that "the government is afraid the troops may help the strikers rather than shoot them. Much sympathy is felt by the students for the workers in all the towns."

The progress of Socialism in Japan is shown by the increasing literature on Socialist subjects. Among the recent publications is a book on "Municipal Socialism," by Comrade Katayama, editor of the Japanese organ, The Socialist, and a book entitled "The Oppression of Wealth," by another editor of the same paper. A series of translations from German Socialist literature has appeared. Prof. Matvuzaki has published a book on "The History of German Socialism." The Socialist reports that all the larger daily journals and scientific reviews are publishing series of articles on Socialism.

The Comrade for August is a fine issue. It is a high praise to say of such a magazine that its latest issue is the best yet published, but this is certainly due to its enterprising editor and publishers. The many illustrations, portraits and cartoons are very beautifully executed, and alone would

establish the reputation of any magazine.

The Socialists know that the trade union movement is not a cause; it is an effect; it is the result of certain economic conditions; it is the outcome of the capitalist system of production; a system that enables the capitalists to appropriate to themselves the entire product of labor, and so long as this system of exploitation lasts will the working class be forced to organize and continue to struggle against this robbery and the intolerable conditions resulting therefrom.

If the interests of employers and employed are mutual, why have the employed worked so hard to get labor legislation?

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

To be consistent, a union man should always ask for union label goods.

Almost all the laws that cumber the statute books were enacted for the only and expressed purpose of protecting a robber class in the possession of their stolen wealth and to give lucrative and perpetual employment to a great number of lawyers.

PUSH LABOR.

Our Duties Towards the Socialist Press.

Every comrade, every advocate of Socialism and every supporter of the general labor movement should at once take hold of the task of introducing our new 16-page LABOR to their fellow workers. Men and women, boys and girls, can all contribute their efforts. The best results will be obtained by personal solicitation. Come to the office, or send for as many copies at two cents per copy as you can afford, and canvas your fellow working men and women for subscriptions. Don't be disappointed if you approach many who will refuse to subscribe the first time you mention LABOR to them. Leave a copy with them anyway, with a promise to return within a week, and if you don't secure their subscription then remember that you have helped the cause by introducing LABOR to a stranger. Don't forget this "stranger" and try him again next month with another copy. Another plan which some comrades have adopted is to pay for sending LABOR to a list of their fellow workers and friends for one month through the mail and have comrades from the office call on them to solicit their subscription. Try either one of these two plans and keep as large a list going as you can afford. Let us make a supreme effort and a united pull to push LABOR up to a position of influence from which it will be of great service and a great power to the working class in its coming critical struggle against organized capitalism, in the trade union battles as well as the political battles of the wage earners against capitalism.

MAKE THE WORLD BETTER.

All wage-workers should be union men. Their progress is limited only by them who hold aloof. Get together, agitate, educate and do.

Don't wait until to-morrow; to-morrow never comes.

Don't wait for someone else to start; start it yourself.

Don't hearken to the indifferent; wake them up.

Don't think it impossible; one million organized workers prove different.

Don't weaken; persistence wins.

Are you in favor of admitting employers to membership in your unions? If not, why not?



EUGENE V. DEBS

WILL SPEAK AT

The Socialist Party Picnic

Under the auspices of "LABOR" and "ARBEITER-ZEITUNG" at

GROSS' PARK, Morganford Road and Juniata St.,

SUNDAY, SEPT. 13, 1903.

Picnic commences at 1 o'clock p. m. Programme—Concert, Songs by Labor Singing Societies, Dancing, Children's Plays, Bowling, Shooting Gallery; also GRAND RAFFLE—1000 PRIZES—EVERY TICKET WINS. Address by DEBS at 6:30 p. m. Admission to the Park 10 Cents a Person. Children Free.

NOTE—Take Tower Grove Car to Morganford Road (4300 Arsenal Street) and walk 2 blocks south to Gross' Park.

Trade Unionism.

EDITED BY A SOCIALIST.

Painters Opposed to Militia.

KANSAS CITY, MO., Aug. 25.—Theophilus F. Davidson, a private in Company K, Third regiment, is a painter by trade. He found he was prevented from working unless he joined the union, and when he applied for membership in the union he was notified he must quit the national guard first. He then sent in the following application for discharge:

The Adjutant General, National Guard of Missouri, Jefferson City, Mo.—Sir: I respectfully apply for an honorable discharge from Company K, Third regiment, N. G. M. Business reasons force me to make this application, much against my desire. I am a painter by trade, and am obliged to join the Painters' union in order to receive employment here. The union refuses to admit me to membership unless I give up the national guard. Therefore, in order to obtain employment and earn a living at my trade, I ask an honorable discharge from the state service. Very respectfully,
[Signed.] T. F. DAVIDSON.

Garment Workers' Election.

The Garment Workers' convention elected the following officers: General president, B. A. Larger; general secretary, Henry White; general auditor, T. C. Crouchley; general treasurer, H. Waxman; trustees, Nathan Wolf, H. Pugatzky, R. Noren; general officers, Lillie Fredericks, L. Simon, C. K. Lipschutz, Ellen Luedstrom; delegates to A. F. of L. convention, T. A. Rickert, E. Kaufman, H. White, V. Altman, W. Chuck, H. Christefeld.

Next year's convention will be held in Buffalo. The convention then adjourned.

Amalgamation of Carpenters.

It is hoped soon to formulate plans for the amalgamation of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters. If the two are united, the new association will control nearly 190,000 men.

Several conferences have already been held, and another is on tap in Chicago.

The amalgamated society, instead of forming one organization, wants a working agreement.

Machinists Endorsing Socialism.

Cincinnati, O., Aug. 25.—Harry Schilling, business agent for the local Machinists' union, has made public the text of the new constitution adopted by the International Machinists' organization. The document puts the machinists on record as the first labor organization to come out flatly for Socialism. In the preamble the so-called "class struggle" is recognized and the principles of Socialism declared the proper remedy. This declaration is part as follows:

We pledge ourselves to labor unitedly in behalf of the principles herein set forth, to stimulate the political education of our members, to understand their political rights and use the ballot intelligently to the end that the government may be a government for, of and by the people, and not be used as a tool to further the ends of combinations of capital for their own aggrandizement; to strongly recommend our members to vote for and support candidates who are in FAVOR OF PUBLIC OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL OF ALL THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION, to the end that it will not be necessary to humiliate

our citizenship in the future with fruitless petitions.

While, for the present, it is not the intention of the organization to take an active part in national campaigns, the adoption of the Socialist plank in a labor union platform makes Socialism, it is stated, an issue as vital as the struggle that is now on between labor and capital.

Girls' Wages Cut.

NEW HAVEN, CONN., Aug. 24.—Nearly all the female operatives employed by the Grilley company in the state received notice of reduction in the price on their work, which will amount to about ten per cent. The young women affected all work under a rather complicated system, receiving pay in accordance with the amount of work accomplished. The reduction was rather a surprise to the young women, as it was said, it was only a short time ago that they suffered a similar reduction in their rates of pay.

Rough Riding on Unionism.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Aug. 25.—The Miller controversy took a fresh start, this week, by the filing of charges against the assistant foreman in the government bookbinding, and his contemptuous declination to answer them. He claims that they are made by irresponsible parties, are based on hearsay, and are absurd.

Some government officials profess to believe that this closes the incident, and that Miller will not be disturbed, but that they are wide of the mark in their guess is certain. While the unions throughout the country have never been enthusiastic over unionism in the government departments here, believing that the position, as a rule, have been given out by favor rather than through merit, the members are not going to sit still and see the positions here filled by the enemies of organized labor. The administration that makes such ruling and sticks to it, is going to have a hard row to hoe in close congressional districts, where organized labor holds the balance of power. It is therefore safe to say that when congress meets any attempt to run "open shops" in government establishments will receive its quietus. A presidency was once lost through a trade union quarrel. Miller is now asking for back pay for the time he was suspended.

Violated the Child Labor Law.

Wilwaukee, Wis., Aug. 25.—Frank Hensler, conductor Hensler's Juvenile band, was found guilty of violating the child labor law by Judge Neelen. Sentence was suspended, after a warning by the court that the offense be not repeated. Hensler was especially warned against allowing any members of the band to play in beer gardens or beer halls. The question of Hensler's guilt hinged principally on the necessity of an actual wage to prove employment. Attorney W. R. Rubin, who appeared for the defense, argued that Hensler did not violate the ordinance, as he paid his employes no wages, but taught them for their services.

It was contended by States Factory Inspector Backus that employment did not necessarily carry with the question of wages. This excuse, he argued, might be given in any instance where the child was learning a trade. Judge Neelen sided with the view of the prosecution.

Unionism In Porto Rico.

SAN JUAN, P. R., Aug. 25.—The central committee of the Federacion Libre, which Amalgamated with the American Federation of Labor, has just passed resolutions to send a petition to the governor stating their displeasure with the result of the investigation made in the Bayamon affair in regard to the meeting held by the Federacion Libre, and which had to be stopped, due to the disorderly conduct of several rowdies; to inform all the labor organizations in the district of San Juan that whenever they wish to hold a meeting to apply for speakers and agitators to the Federacion Libre, which will furnish the same; and to collect funds for the striking miners of the west. Santiago Iglesias, organizer of the Porto Rico branch of the American Federation of Labor, will shortly start on a tour through the Ponce, Guayama, Humacao, Agudilla and Arecibo districts.

The carpenters' union, through its organizing committee, which include Morales, Betancourt, Sanchez, Felipe Santiago and Guerra, has established branch unions at Catana, Santurce and Rio Piedras. Efforts are being continued to become a part of the Great National Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of the United States. The death rate is being investigated, as admission to membership carries sick and death benefits.

Socialist Party of Missouri.

Trades Unions and Socialism.

The Socialist Party, in convention assembled, declares:

"The trade-union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the wage-working class. The trade-union movement is the natural result of capitalistic production, and represents the economic side of the working-class movement. We consider it the duty of Socialists to join the unions of their respective trades, and assist in building up and unifying the trades and labor organizations. We recognize that trades unions are by historical necessity organized on neutral grounds, as far as political affiliation is concerned.

"We call the attention of trades-unionists to the fact that the class struggle so nobly waged by the trades-union forces to-day, while it may result in lessening the exploitation of labor, can never abolish that exploitation. The exploitation of labor will only come to an end when society takes possession of all the means of production for the benefit of all the people. It is the duty of every trades-unionist to realize the necessity of independent political action on Socialist lines, to join the Socialist Party and assist in building up a strong political movement of the wage-working class, whose ultimate aim and object must be the abolition of wage-slavery, and the establishment of a co-operative state of society, based on the collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution."

WE DON'T PATRONIZE

The Following Unfair Firms.

Welle-Boettler Bakery Co.
McKinney Bakery Co.
Wrought Iron Range Co.
Stephans Litho-Engr. Co.
J. Kiburtz Pattern Co.
G. Wolf, barber, 1503 Franklin avenue.
St. Louis Paper Box Co.
Brown & Sharpe Manufacturing Co.
Union Biscuit Co.
Wunderlich Cooperage Co.
Sessinghaus Mills.
Radiant Home Stove Co.
Wellman-Dwire Tobacco Co.
American Tobacco Co.

Ittner Brick Co.
Parker-Russell.
Gast Lithographing Co.
P. J. Carmody, 213 North Eighth street.
Glass-Gram Cap Co.
P. Burns Saddlery Co.
St. Louis Paper Box Co.
Hauck-Hoerr Bakery Co.
Simmons Saddlery and Hardware Co.
Saxony Mills.
Sheifer Livery and Cab Co.
Mermod-Jaccard Jewelry Co.
Southern Bagging Trust.
Frank Lind Grocer Co.

The above boycotts are endorsed by the St. Louis Central Trades and Labor union.

The victims of capitalism suffer longer and more intensely than the victims of cannibalism.

1903. LABOR DAY. 1903.

THE GLOBE SHOE AND CLOTHING CO.,

Seventh and Franklin avenue, has been the leading union establishment in St. Louis even since Labor Day has become a legal holiday. Tens of thousands of union men were "uniformed" in union shoes and clothing for the Labor Day parades by said firm and it is a matter of course that the Globe Shoe and Clothing Co. is also prepared to equip Union Labor for the coming Labor Day of 1903. Union men and their friends will act in their own interest to pay a visit to the Globe Shoe and Clothing Co. before going elsewhere. Remember,
THE GLOBE SHOE AND CLOTHING CO.,
Seventh and Franklin Ave.

HARDWARE.

CHAS. BLASBERG

Cor. Linton and Carter Aves.

Hardware, Glass, Paints,
Oils, Stoves and Ranges.

DR. L. H. DAVIS,

Office and Residence

1025 Park Avenue.

Office Hours From
7:30 to 8:30 a. m. 12:30 to 1:10 p. m.
7 to 8 p. m.
Kinloch Telephone A 1594.

BOYCOTT Welle-Boettler's and
McKinney's Bread.

It Is Made by NON-UNION LABOR

Only Bread bearing
this Label is
Union-Made.
BAKERS AND CONFECTIONERS' UNION
NO. 15.

H. SLIKERMAN,
Attorney at Law,

1015-16 CHEMICAL BUILDING,
N. E. Cor. 8th and Olive Streets.
Telephone, Kinloch, B-69.

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2003 N. BROADWAY

MY UNCLE BENJAMIN.

By CLAUDE TILLIER.

Translated from the French by Benjamin R. Tucker, with a
Sketch of the Author's Life and Works,
By LUDWIG PFAU.

CHAPTER III.

SERGEANT AND A POODLE DOG, WHICH PREVENTS HIM FROM GOING TO M. MINXIT'S.

The next day, at eight o'clock in the morning, my uncle was dressed in clean linen, and needed in order to start only a pair of shoes which were to be brought him by Cicero, the famous town-crier of whom we have already spoken, and who combined the profession of shoemaker with that of drummer.

Cicero was not slow in arriving. In those days of frankness it was the custom, when a workman brought work to a house, not to let him go away without first making him drink several glasses of wine. It was a bad habit, I admit; but these kindly ways tended to offset an admirable devotion of servants to their masters, of farmers to their landlords, of laborers to their employers, which certainly could not be found in the present day of insolent arrogance and ridiculous pride.

Benjamin asked his sister to go and draw a bottle of white wine, that he might drink with Cicero. His sister drew one, then two, then three, and even seven.

"My dear sister, I beg of you, one more bottle."

"But do you know, you wretch, that you are at the eighth?"

"You know very well, dear sister, that we keep no accounts together."

"But you know very well that you have a journey to make."

"Just this last bottle, and I start."

"Yes, you are in a fine condition to start! Suppose anyone should send for you now to visit a patient?"

"How little you appreciate, my good sister, the effects of wine! It is easy to see that you drink only the limpid waters of the Beuvron. Have I to start? My center of gravity is always in the same place. Have I to bleed some one.... But, by the way, my sister, I must bleed you; Machecourt advised it when he went out. You were complaining this morning of a severe headache; a bleeding will do you good."

And Benjamin took out his case of instruments, and my grandmother armed herself with the tongs.

"The devil! You make a very rebellious patient. Well, let us compromise: I will not bleed you, and you shall go to draw us an eighth bottle of wine."

"I will not draw you a single glass."

"Then I will draw it myself," said Benjamin; and, taking the bottle, he started for the cellar.

My grandmother, seeing no better way of stopping him seized his cue; but Benjamin, without paying any attention to this incident, went to the cellar with a step as firm as if there had been only a bunch of onions hanging to his cue, and came back with his bottle full.

"Well, my dear sister, it was well worth while for two of us to go to the cellar for a paltry bottle of white wine; but I must warn you that, if you persist in these bad habits, you will force me to cut off my cue."

Nevertheless Benjamin, who but a short time before had looked upon the journey to Corvol as a disagreeable duty, was now obstinately bent on starting. My grandmother, to make it impossible for him to do so, had locked up his shoes in the closet.

"I tell you that I will go."

"And I tell you that you shall not go."

"Do you wish me to carry you clear to M. Minxit's hanging to the end of my cue?"

Such was the dialogue in progress between brother and sister when my grandfather arrived. He put an end to the discussion by declaring that the next day he must go to La Chapelle, and that he would take Benjamin with him.

My grandfather was up before daylight. When he had scribbled off his writ and written at the foot: "The cost of which is six francs four sous and six deniers," he wiped his pen on the sleeve of his coat, carefully put away his glasses in their case, and went to wake Benjamin. The latter was sleeping like the Prince de Conde (provided the prince was not pretending sleep) on the eve of a battle.

"Hello, there, Benjamin, get up; it is broad daylight."

"You are mistaken," answered Benjamin, with a grunt, and turning over toward the wall, "it is pitch dark."

"Lift up your head and you will see the sunlight on the floor."

"I tell you that it is the light of the street lamp."

"Oh, then, you do not want to go?"

"No, I have dreamed all night of hard bread and sour wine, and if we start some misfortune will happen to us."

"Well, I declare to you that, if in ten minutes you are not up, I will send your dear sister to you. If, on the other hand, you are up, I will open that quarter-cask of old wine you know so well."

"You are sure that it is from Pouilly, are you?" said Benjamin, sitting up in bed; "you give me your word of honor?"

"Yes, upon my word as a summons-server."

"Then go open your quarter-cask; but I warn you that, if we meet with any accident on our way, you will have to answer for it to my dear sister."

"An hour later my uncle and my grandfather were on their way to Moulot. At some distance from the town they met two little peasants, of whom one was carrying a rabbit under his arm and the other had two hens in his basket. The former said to his companion:

"If you will tell M. Cliquet that my rabbit is a warren rabbit, and that you saw him taken in the trap, you shall be my comrade."

"Willingly," answered the latter, "but on condition that you will tell me. Deby that my hens lay twice a day and that their eggs are as big as duck's eggs."

"You are two little thieves," said my grandfather; "I will have your ears pulled one of these days by the commissary of police."

"And I, my friends," said Benjamin, "beg you each to accept this 12-denier piece."

"Well, that's generosity well placed," said my grandfather, shrugging his shoulders; "you will undoubtedly give the flat of your sword to the first poor honest man that you meet, since you prostitute your money on these two scamps."

"Scamps to you, Machecourt, who see only the surface of things; but to me they are two philosophers. They have just invented a machine which, well organized, would make the fortune of ten honest people."

"And what machine is that, pray?" said my grandfather, with an air of incredulity, "which has just been invented by these two philosophers, whom I would thrash soundly if we had the time to stop?"

"It is a simple machine," said my uncle. "This is how it works. We are ten friends who, instead of meeting at breakfast, meet to make our fortunes."

"That is something worth meeting for," interrupted my grandfather.

"All ten of us are intelligent, adroit, and, if need be, shrewd. We have loud voices and are wonderful debaters. We handle words with the same skill with which a juggler handles his balls. As for morality, we are all capable in our professions, and well-meaning persons may say, without seriously compromising themselves, that we are superior to our rivals. We form, with the most honorable intentions, a society to puff each other, to inflate our little merits and make them froth and foam."

"I understand," said my grandfather: "one sells 'Rough on Rats' and has only a big drum, the other Swiss tea and has only a pair of cymbals. You unite your means of making a noise, and—"

"That's it exactly," interrupted Benjamin. "You see that, if the machine works properly, each of the members has about him nine instruments that make a frightful uproar."

"There are nine of us who say: Page, the lawyer, drinks too much; but I believe that this devil of a man steep leaves from the common-law book in his wine, and that he has bottled up logic. All the cases that he wants to win, he wins; and the other day he got a verdict of heavy damages for a gentleman who had beaten a peasant."

"The process-server, Parlanta, is a little crafty; but he is the Hannibal of process-servers. His arrests for debt are inevitable; his debtor could only escape him if he had nobody at all. He would lay his hand on the shoulder of a duke and peer."

"As for Benjamin Rathery, he is a careless fellow who mocks at everything and laughs in the face of fever, a man, if you will, of the plate and bottle; but it is precisely for that reason that I prefer him to his rivals. He has not the air of those sinister doctors whose register is a cemetery. He is too gay and digests too well to have many death certificates to answer for."

"Thus each of the members finds himself multiplied by nine."

"Yes," said my grandfather, "but will that give you nine red coats? Nine times Benjamin Rathery, what does that make?"

"That makes nine hundred times Machecourt," replied Benjamin, quickly. "But let me finish my demonstration; you will joke afterward."

"Here are nine living advertisements, who insinuate themselves everywhere, who repeat to you to-morrow under another form what they have told you to-day; nine placards that talk and take passers-by by the arm; nine signs that promenade through the town, that discuss, that make dilemmas and enthymemes, and mock at you if you are not of their opinion."

"As a result, the reputation of Page, Rapin and Rathery, which was dragging painfully along within the precincts of their little town, like a lawyer in a vicious circle, takes an astonishing flight. Yesterday it had no feet; to-day it has wings. It expands like gas when the bottle in which it was confined has been opened. It spreads throughout the province. Clients come to these people from all parts of the bailiwick; they come from the South and from the North, from the dawn and from the sunset, as in the Apocalypse the elect come to the city of Jerusalem. After five or six years Benjamin Rathery is the owner of a handsome fortune, which he expends, with great noise of glass and bottles, in breakfasts and dinners; you, Machecourt, are no longer a server of writs; I buy you the office of bailiff.

Your wife is covered with silks and laces like a holy queen's, your eldest son, who is already a choir-boy, enters the ecclesiastical seminary; your second son, who is sickly and as yellow as a canary bird, studies medicine; I give him my reputation and my old clients, and I keep him in red coats. Of your youngest son we make a lawyer. Your eldest daughter marries a man of letters. We marry the youngest to a fat bourgeois, and the day after the wedding we put the machine away in the attic."

"Yes, but your machine has one little defect; it is not for the use of honest people."

"Why so?"

"Because."

"Because what?"

"Because the effect is immoral."

"Can you prove me that by now and by then?"

"To the devil with your nows and thens. You are an educated man, and you reason with your mind, but I, who am a poor server of writs, I feel with my conscience. I maintain that any man who acquires his fortune by any other means than his labor and his talents is not a legitimate possessor."

"What you say is very good, Machecourt," cried my uncle; "you are perfectly right. Conscience is the best of all logics, and charlatanism, under whatever form it may disguise itself, is always a swindle. Well, we will break our machine and say no more about it."

While chattering thus, they were approaching the village of Moulot; they saw in front of a vineyard gate a sort of soldier half-buried in brambles, the brown and red tufts of which, touched by the frost, fell in confusion like a disordered head of hair. This man had on his head a piece of cocked hat without a cockade; his dilapidated face had a stony tint, that yellow tint which old monuments have in the sunlight. The two halves of a huge white moustache encircled his mouth like two parentheses. He was dressed in an old uniform. Across one of the sleeves stretched an old and worn strip of gold lace.

The other sleeve, deprived of its design, was nothing but a rectangle distinguished from the rest of the material by a newer wool and a deeper shade. His bare legs, swollen by the cold, were red as beets. He was letting a few drops of brandy drop from a gourd on some old pieces of black bread. A poodle dog of the larger type was sitting in front of him, and following all his movements like a dumb servant, listening with his eyes to the orders given him by his master.

(To be Continued.)

THE KIRKWOOD SOCIALISTS

Invite the Socialists of St. Louis County and City to Their Picnic.

It is the intention of the Kirkwood comrades to make their first annual picnic, which takes place August 30, 1903 (see ad in this paper), an occasion long to be remembered by those who take part in it.

Good music and a dancing platform will be provided for all those who wish to engage in the dancing mazes of the waltz, with games and swings for the children.

Those whose minds are on more serious things intent will find instruction and entertainment in listening to our speakers, who, in short talks, will tell you what Socialism is, what it means and what it promises.

Refreshments will be served by committee from 2 to 6 p. m., consisting of ham and cheese sandwiches, fried chicken, ice cream and cake, all furnished and served by the wives of the members. Lemonade and ice water in abundance. You are cordially invited to come out and spend the day with us, that we may learn to know each other, and thus join hands in building up the greatest, grandest movement the world has ever seen.

J. H. S.

Lieut. Gen. Nelson A. Miles has been ignominiously retired and fired. Chickens come home to roost. In 1894 Miles came to Chicago at the head of the federal troops "to preserve the peace." He was met by the railroad managers and placed his troops at the service of the roads. Governor Altgeld and Mayor Hopkins protested in vain against this outrage. When the strikers were defeated the railroad managers gave Miles a banquet at Kinsley's. He was the hero of the hour. Surrounded and applauded by the plutocrats he had served he swelled to the limit and then had to let a speech for relief. Throwing out his chest and pounding his brass buttons he pompously exclaimed: "I HAVE BROKEN THE BACKBONE OF THIS STRIKE."

The managers cheered to the echo. The great warrior was crowned with glory. And now the scene changes and Miles' own backbone is in splints, his tawdry tinsel is stripped from him and his glory is vanishing as he feels himself propelled by the unseen boot of fate into merited oblivion.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

People's Fund and Welfare Association.

Eleventh and Locust Streets.

The fact that Mr. Kober having sold \$8.35 worth of books to Mr. Sliker-mann, receiving money in presence of secretary, and not mentioned in LABOR, seems to have given offense, so all readers will please write that goods were delivered and paid for.

The secretary's business is to make reports, officially, where items are furnished, and that is just where criticism on library committee should receive consideration. These items are NOT given, USUALLY.

Mr. Kober requests that the following statement be made: Two hundred and forty books have been sold within the past week, 19 of which were the higher priced bound volumes.

The books on sale range in price from five cents to \$2, all of which are sold at actual cost. And every book, too, should bear the mark of People's Fund and Welfare association.

Comrades, do not be like the dog in the manger, which could not eat the hay and would not permit the horse to eat. Let the religious workers have the nights to preach, yes, and teach, if you can not use the hall yourselves.

This is supposed to be a people's place, and a man's belief in any doctrine should not exclude him from this hall.

Monday, Saturday, the first and third Tuesdays, and generally Sundays from 8 p. m., are open for lectures, if there are speakers the comrades would like to hear. The house committee, Mr. Nichols and Mrs. Kelly, are doing their best, and think former house should make no charges not borne out by facts.

Messrs. Allan and Allen, being from Missouri, are wanting to know, and the result is a mild explosion of eloquence from our zealous treasurer.

Mr. Parish conducts Wednesday meetings and gives good talks, too.

The Newsboys' union, 10414, met Wednesday night in regular session.

Mr. Beard claims Mr. Kober is a better merchant than he is, for he CAN'T sell his books for investigating, while Mr. Kober has the money and "trusts" to the investigation.

Class meeting Sunday, 3 p. m., led by Mr. Maschmeyer.

Col. John T. Price will lead the Brotherhood meeting at 7 p. m., Sunday. His subject will be "The Coming of Christ."

The "Colonel" is a practical reformer, and will, no doubt, interest us.

Mr. Beard gave a splendid talk last Sunday on co-operation, and Dr. Caldwell followed with timely comments.

Afterwards we learned that some good people were on the "devil's stamping ground," and the secretary is considering the advisability of putting out a sign, "Keep off the grass," as we do not wish his satanic majesty aroused here.

It was thought Mr. How might have been at the association meeting, the 25th, but, as he is to be at Brotherhood meeting, and will probably attend Unitarian conference, in Massachusetts, it is not likely he will be in St. Louis before the board meeting, when he will express, "verbally," his views as to disposing of certain moneys.

As usual, there was no quorum for association business, but the fact that good comrades like Messrs. Steiger-walt and Kindorf was noted.

E. C. KELLY, Secretary.

NEW SUBSCRIBERS

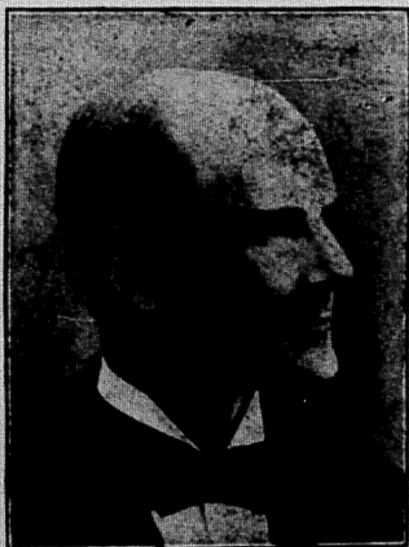
Were secured since our last report by the following comrades and friends as follows:

- H. Kliepper, St. Louis, Mo.....1
- James Shea, St. Louis, Mo.....2
- Eugene Meves, Maplewood, Mo.....1
- Carl Schrick, Wellston, Mo.....1
- L. E. Hildebrand, St. Louis, Mo.....3
- Geo. B. Harrison, Ferguson, Mo.....1
- C. E. Arnold, St. Louis, Mo.....2
- Wm. Crouch, St. Louis, Mo.....2
- Hoehn & Kiendorf, St. Louis, Mo.....2
- Jos. Fuhlrott, St. Louis, Mo.....1
- Felix Lawrence, St. Louis, Mo.....1
- Wm. Joos, St. Louis, Mo.....1
- Chris. Reuther, St. Louis, Mo.....1
- J. H. Powell, St. Louis, Mo.....1

Comrades, every new subscriber to LABOR means a new recruit for our movement. Follow the example of the above-named comrades!

LETTER FROM E. V. DEBS.

Hopes That Our Labor Press Festival Will Be a Grand Success.



Terre Haute, Ind., Aug. 26, 1903.

Mr. David Allan, City Secretary Social Party, St. Louis, Mo.:

Dear Comrade—Your favor of the 15th came in my absence. Thank you warmly for your kindness. I will arrive over the Vandalia line at 1:20 p. m. on the 13th. Hope this will be agreeable to your arrangements. Do not go to the least trouble on my account.

By evening mail I send 100 portraits to help your advertising. You can have a date line printed, giving date, hour and place of speaking, and attach to bottom of portrait before posting.

Wishing the largest success, I remain, yours fraternally,

E. V. DEBS.

The class struggle is the boundary line between man and beast—the glory of the human race and the sure promise of its final redemption.

OUR LABOR PRESS PICNIC.

Presents for Raffle Prizes Asked for by the Committees.

The little band of workers in the Social Democratic Women's club are already working like beavers to make their efforts at this year's fall festival far surpass the results achieved last year. And that is saying a great deal, because at no previous gathering have the Socialists turned up in such numbers as at the fall festival of 1902, when the park in which it was held actually proved too small to hold the crowd. Our women comrades have again taken charge of the raffle feature of the picnic, and hope to see the number of prizes donated this year almost double those of 1902. Every ticket wins a prize. Each ticket will cost 10 cents. Donations of trinkets, fancy work, etc., etc., for this raffle are to be sent to the club's secretary, Mrs. Mary Stutke or care of ST. LOUIS LABOR, Room 7, International Bank building, Fourth and Chestnut.

LABOR DAY IN ST. LOUIS.

The Central Trades and Labor Union Prepares for a Monster Parade.

The Central Trades and Labor Union will celebrate Labor Day with an estimated turnout of fully 30,000 workingmen. John Hoppenjon, who was grand marshal last year, will head the big parade. His aides have not yet been named. The marchers will form in line along streets in the vicinity of Twelfth and Market streets, the line of march being almost the same as that of last year. The annual picnic will be held at Lemp's Concordia park. Marshals of the various unions connected with the C. T. L. U. have already been named, and hold meetings every Sunday morning at Walahalla hall, perfecting details of the turnout.

BUILDING TRADES TURNOUT.

The Building Trades Council, with an estimated strength of 10,000, will turn out in full strength in honor of Labor Day. Louis Tepfer, of the Carpenters' District Council, will be the grand marshal. The labor committee consists of Mr. Tepfer, W. S. Paris, Joseph P. Dwyer, J. W. Gilreath and John Duffy.

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AT

BLACK'S GROVE, SUNDAY, August 30, 1903.

Cor. Harrison and Bartmer ayes. North Kirkwood.

Good Music and Able Speakers.

Tickets, 50 cts; admits gentleman and ladies or wife and children.

DANCING AND REFRESHMENTS FREE.

Take Suburban car to Kirkwood. Get off corner Washington and Clay avenues, where committee will be waiting. Everybody invited. Come and see how a country Socialist looks and acts.

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Place your FIRE AND TORNADO INSURANCE with the

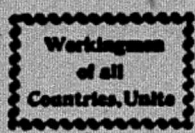
F. Tombridge Insurance Agency

FOURTH AND CHESTNUT STREETS. BOTH PHONES.

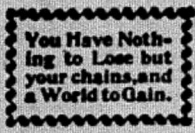
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SUN RISE - 5c

CIGARS.

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LABOR



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2521 Benton Street.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS.

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

Hearst and the Building Trades Council.

In a letter to the Social Democratic Herald Comrade Eugene V. Debs comments on the N. B. T. Council's Hearst boom resolution as follows:

"The National Building Trades Council in convention at Denver has endorsed Hearst and declared in favor of 'reform in municipal affairs, the public ownership and operation of public utilities, election of United States senator by direct vote; an income tax; the abolition of government by injunction; the prosecution of all persons engaged in illegal combinations and the impartial enforcement of all laws concerning the trusts.'—"

"As this is Hearst's platform word for word, it is quite probable that the 'entente cordiale' exists between Hearst and the 'leader' of the building trades and that the trades will be traded for official recognition in the fertilizing department of the reform administration.

"The convention should have added one more plank to the resolution to make it complete, viz.: The Democratic ownership and Hearstocratic control of the National Building Trades Council."

Favoring Hell on Earth.

An Associated Press cablegram, dated Berlin, August 24, reads as follows:

"The annual convention of the Catholics at Cologne has telegraphed its congratulations to Pius X., proclaiming him the 'pope of the poor.' Stress was placed in the convention on the necessity of organizing Catholic workmen against the Socialists." Proclaiming Mr. Sarto, the Italian priest, the 'pope of the poor,' and ordering the constituency to fight Socialism by organizing the Catholic workmen against the Socialists! A fine Christian program, indeed! Jesus Christ would be the first to condemn such action. He would not organize poor workmen against the Socialists, because the Socialists are the very people who are determined to bring about a state of society where every man, woman and child would be enabled to live the truly Christian life. The Catholic convention in Cologne must have been controlled and managed by an element who think much more of 'God Mammon' than of Christ's teachings, and whose hearts are as much used up by their love for gold as the time-worn pocketbook of an old miser. Especially in the Cologne district the Socialist movement is making splendid progress, and the attempt to make the Catholic workmen organize for the purpose of fighting their Socialist brothers will react on these anti-Christian politicians and priests of the Clerical party. What the Cologne congress really wants the Catholic workmen to do is to organize dual trade unions against the existing labor movement. Too late, gentlemen! Your schemes will not work. The Catholic workmen are coming our way. Socialism recognizes no religious differences. Protestant and Catholic, Baptist and Methodist, Hebrew and Buddhist, etc.—they all unite under the banner of Socialism. The struggle of labor is not for an imaginary heaven nor against an imaginary hell after death, but a hard struggle of the millions of poor, suffering wage slaves to get out of the present hell into which they have been thrown by the capitalist industrial system. By advocating organization against the Socialists, the Cologne congress has put itself on record as being in favor of perpetuating a hell on earth that is more horrible than Satan's old biblical frying-pan establishment with all its alleged tortures and sufferings.

What fools these mortals be! You can gather all the black cassocks and spread them out over the eastern horizon, it will not prevent the appearance of the purple aurora and the golden rays of the rising sun of Socialism.

The class struggle is on. Our forces, many millions strong, are concentrating and strengthening their positions. May the hirelings of capitalism operate under the cloak of politics, religion or justice, we shall tear the masks from their faces and put an end to their work of deceiving, robbing and oppressing the proletariat everywhere.

Father McGrady in Self-Defense.

The following lines from Comrade Thomas McGrady are self-explanatory:

Dear Comrade: Many Catholics have written to me in condemnation of my letter to the Appeal calling it an attack on the Catholic church. If they would exercise ordinary intelligence they would see that they have committed an error of judgment, for I distinctly stated that "Catholicism stands for love and mercy." I merely defended Socialism from the foul aspersions of Roman clergy inspired by political ambition of the Roman court, and no Catholic can support the claims of the papacy to condemn any political party. I said that "Romanism is the ecclesiastical policy of designing statesmen, who have ever used the church for the aggrandizement of their families and the accomplishment of their nefarious intrigues." This statement contains no antagonism to the Catholic church as a church, or to the doctrines of that church. My critics have expressed their surprise that I did not see the corruption and denounce it from my pulpit and in the press, and among other proofs of my attitude I refer the reader to "The Two Kingdoms," written in

1898, and condemned by the ecclesiastical authorities three days after its appearance. I was not forced out of the church, but resigned voluntarily, and every one who read my communications to the Cincinnati dailies, the Enquirer and Commercial-Tribune, in their issue of the 8th and 9th, Dec. 1902, knows the truth of this statement. Had I been willing to submit to ecclesiastical despotism, like other priests, I could have held my position. I am economically independent of any church or political party, and can afford to express my opinions without fear, and I absolutely refuse to yield to the arbitrary measures of any society or organization.

T. M'GRADY.

The Philadelphia Textile Workers' Strike.

The daily press published the following telegram concerning the end of the recent starvation revolt of the Philadelphia textile workers:

"Philadelphia, Aug. 19.—Starvation has weakened and demoralized the textile workers. A majority of those who have been forced to yield returned to work again against their will. Well meaning individuals who endeavored to bring about arbitration also played their part in keeping the manufacturers together in resisting the demand of 55 hours. Talk of arbitration always encourages the employers to hold out. They take it that the striker must be near the end of their tether or else they would not be willing to accept the half loaf. A record of labor troubles will show that employers never agree to arbitration unless they are losing, or they are sure the arbitrators are favorable to them.

"There is a feeling of apprehension among the textile workers that the manufacturers will make good the losses they have suffered by reducing the wages of the operatives. After losing what little they might have received if they had been working the past ten weeks, indebted for rent and food, and with the winter coming on, they feel that they are at the mercy of men who have shown that they are cruel and heartless, without feeling for the suffering of children or the misery of adults.

"The manufacturers have determined to crush out the trades union movement among the textile workers, and the latter appeal to all organized workers and the public at large to assist them in their struggle to maintain their manhood as against the boast of their employers to force them to accept terms that will reduce them to a condition of slavery.

"The issues involved are a 55-hour as against a 60-hour week, and a battle to stamp out child slavery. Surely these are not exorbitant demands, when we consider that labor-saving machinery has been introduced in the textile industry which has increased the productivity of labor without a corresponding reduction in hours. But these improved methods have been invariably accompanied by reductions in wages.

"After a few years of effort in attempting to organize the textile workers, and after endless effort to reduce the hours of labor for women and children, the textile operatives were forced to resort to the last course open to them—the strike. The textile manufacturers feeling safe in saying they would starve their employes into submission, have arrogantly refused to consider the demand for better conditions, and as a necessary course the factory slaves of Philadelphia appeal to all organized workers to help them in their hour of need. It seems strange that in the City of Brotherly Love, where the immortal Declaration of Independence was read, and within the shadow of Independence hall 125,000 people are denied the right to sell their services because of the supposed power of their employers to starve them into submission.

"There are indications that after the demoralization that now exists disappears, the textile workers will be knit closer together for both aggressive and defensive action than ever before. Already there can be seen the tendency to go beneath the surface of things to look for the cause of long hours and low wages."

The foregoing item tells a most pitiful story of heroism and suffering. About 100,000 men, women and children fighting for a pittance of an improvement of their condition against a handful of capitalist employers who own the means of production, thereby owning the daily bread, nay, the very lives of this army of wage workers.

The Philadelphia textile workers' strike was one of the most heroic struggles in the history of the American labor movement. Organized labor made a splendid fight, but 500,000 empty stomachs could no longer resist the power of the hard steel safes of the handful of mill-owners whose wives and children were living in plenty and luxury during the strike, as well as they did before and will after the strike.

One hundred men can starve 500,000 people into submission. One hundred capitalists have the power to force 100,000 men, women and children back to work under the most tyrannical conditions. Will the conservative trade unionists forever shut their eyes to this state of affairs? Is it not cowardice or ignorance to claim that pure and simple unionism can remedy these evils?

We recognize and appreciate as much as any one the good work accomplished by trades unions. We know the historical necessity of the movement; we know its strength, but we also know its weakness. And it is for the good of the trade union movement that we are propagating Socialism and assisting in the organization of the Socialist party.

The Philadelphia strike is another striking picture of the brutish nature of capitalist society. Human life is looked upon as valueless. Property rights are declared as sacred. The right of the few to exploit, rob and kill the many has become the supreme law of capitalist society.

Conservative unionism would uphold and support this capitalist system. The unionist who has studied the labor movement, its causes and its historical mission, will declare for Socialism, because nothing short of Socialism will end the legalized robbery and child murder as practiced in the textile industry of Philadelphia.

Socialist vs. Capitalist Production.

With the seizure of the means of production by society, the production of "commodities" is done away with, and along with them the domination exercised by the product over its own producers. Anarchy within social production would be supplanted by planful and deliberate organization. The struggle for individual existence would be at an end. Thereby for the first time man would in a certain sense, step finally out of the animal kingdom, out of the brute conditions of existence, into those that are truly human. The conditions of life, which had previously dominated him, would then be placed under his dominion; and only then would man become consciously the lord of nature; he would become master of his own social organization. The

laws of his social acts, which until then appeared to him as strange and overpowering laws of nature, would then be used by man with a full understanding of their qualities, and accordingly, would be ruled by himself. Even the social organization of mankind, which until then appeared to man as an act of compulsion, superimposed upon him by nature and history, would then become the act of his own free will. The objective, strange powers which until then swayed history, would come under the control of man himself. Only thenceforward would man make his own history, fully conscious of his own actions; only thenceforward would the social causes, set in motion by himself, produce mainly and in an ever increasing measure, intended results. It is the leap of mankind out of the reign of necessity into that of freedom.

FREDERICK ENGELS.

Three Cheers for "The Craftsman."

The Craftsman, of Canton, O., official organ of the Canton Central Labor Union, of Massillon Trades and Labor Assembly, of Alliance Central Labor Union, of Canton Building Trades council, has come out straight for Socialism, and it has done so in a manner that deserves general credit and recognition. The editorial announcing the decided position taken by The Craftsman is interesting enough to be read by all the readers and friends of Labor, and we therefore reproduce the same in full.

The article reads as follows:

"With this issue of the Craftsman the department heretofore devoted to the interests of Socialism will be discontinued.

"Being a thorough believer in the principles of Socialism as the true method by which and through which the problems of capital and labor, employer and employe, production and distribution can be settled for all time, I feel it my duty as editor of this publication to give to our readers the causes for maintaining this department and those which led up to and brought about the discontinuation of it. And if possible to secure expressions from any who have reasons for or against the continuation of a department devoted to the interests of Socialism.

If Socialism is wrong, we want to know it. If Socialism does not offer the most speedy and the only perfect solution to the labor problem we want to know it. If Socialism is not the next and only rational step in the growth of trade unionism, all trade unionists should know it. Past history proves without question that the exchange of ideas, the free, unbiased discussion of all problems, has been the world's great school of civilization, the greatest factors in the development and elevation of national and international mind.

"Why not live in this spirit in relation to Socialism and prove its truth or falsity. If Socialism is false to the best interest of humanity, it will disappear before the searching mind as the dew is swallowed up by the morning sun. If it is truth, all the oppressing and smothering influences of the whole world will not destroy or ever hide it.

The truth cannot be hidden, and any effort to do so will make it the brighter.

"My whole effort as the editor of this publication has been devoted to what is considered the best interest of labor, and my experiences in this office and in that of business agent of the Central labor union has made me a Socialist with the thorough conviction that I can only serve the best interests of the man who labors by working for the establishment of a co-operative commonwealth. By becoming a Socialist I have had no axe to grind; Socialism does not grind axes for anybody, but it will dull the ax with which capital robs the laborer of a just portion of the laborer's product.

"The experience of all Socialists has proven that to become a Socialist is a true sacrifice to labor's cause.

"In looking back over the slow painful march of civilization we can see that all truths and philosophies have been compelled to run the gauntlet of oppression and persecution. Gallileo was put to death for learning and speaking the truth. Socrates was put to death for learning and speaking the truth. Christ was crucified for teaching the philosophy of truth.

"Truth has ever been subjected to the fiery furnace, but has come out of the test in its true state of nondestructible purity. We say let Socialism be so subjected, if it is truth the world's sorrow and pain will have reached an end.

"A feeling has grown up among a number of our readers that a Socialist department is an imposition upon a paper published as a labor paper, and supported by the labor movement. For these we have an abundance of charity and simply feel that as yet they have not found the light, however, we regret that they refuse even to take a look.

"This tendency seems to have been forced upon the management to such an extent that the department will be discontinued, we now invite contributions from those who were active in such objection. If they are sincere in their stand they must be so as a principle, and all men at all times should be ready to fight for their principles. Let us hear from you, brothers. The columns of this paper are yours.

"Let us have the light. For what else of life is worth the while? By our light so we live. Let us live great."

We congratulate the Craftsman for this brave action, and sincerely hope that the progressive labor movement of Canton and vicinity will do its duty toward its labor press. Canton produced one of capitalism's best and most obedient political servants, William McKinley. Now, let the workingmen show by their action that Canton can produce one of labor's most powerful servants—a fearless labor paper published in the spirit of Socialism and labor's emancipation from wage slavery. The Craftsman cannot serve two masters. The paper serves the class interests of labor. Now let organized labor put the shoulder to the wheel and push the Craftsman and the labor movement to victory and success.

Sweet talk and wise arguments alone will not do. Action is necessary, because labor papers cannot be published on wind. It costs money to publish a paper, and it is for you—the working people—to furnish it.

Editorial Notes and Comments.

"A trade union that is satisfactory to capitalists will be useless to workingmen."—Ben Hanford.

Who should own? The worker needs not only things to work on but things to work with. Who should own the land, raw materials and tools? A few, the capitalists, or the many, society?—Cleveland Citizen.

We might incidentally remark that Mark Hanna will be an easy mark for the workingmen when they know enough to mark their ballots for Socialism.—Erie People.

Marshall Field, of Hogtown by the Lake, who has during the past quarter of a century imbibed so much of your money, will with it start a department store in London. Some more international capitalism.

The wages that the workers receive are just enough to keep them from day to day in grub, clothing, etc. If the worker loses his job, it is a question of begging, stealing or starving to death. How much longer are the producers of wealth going to submit to the terrible and cruel heartlessness of the ruling and tool-owning class—the capitalists?—Socialist Standard.

No capitalist congress can pass a law that a Socialist congress cannot repeal; no legislature can pass a statute that a Socialist legislature cannot change; no capitalist judge can make a "decision" that a Socialist judge cannot reverse. And what are you going to do when the rising Socialist sentiment gets a majority on its side, which it is as sure to do here as it is in Germany—and before Germany?—Appeal to Reason.

The Socialist party is made up of the working class, stands for the interest of the working class, is controlled by the working class and its candidates are members of the working class. No one pretends to believe that the old parties are controlled by the working class, and we know that their candidates are rarely, if ever, members of the working class. Which ticket are you going to vote with?—Coming Nation.

The Socialist-hating press is getting lots of enjoyment out of an article written against the Socialist movement by Herbert Casson, who formerly wrote for the Socialist press but who has gradually descended the scale of decency until today he is understood to be in the pay of the Republican national committee, to be used in a vain attempt to stem the tide toward Socialism in the coming national campaign.—S. D. Herald.

The most deplorable feature connected with the trades-union movement is one organization fighting another; labor's struggle to destroy itself, an insensate weakness apparent to a juvenile student of the situation. This is the reef on which the trades-union movement will crash unless wisdom and disinterested individual effort are exercised in handling the internal affairs of each trades-union and bridging over the difficulties prone to crop out between kindred organizations.—Shoe Workers' Journal.

The union workingmen of Massachusetts made a hard fight for an eight-hour law in state work—and they won, until it got up to the governor. Altho' the governor was elected by workingmen's votes he forgot this fact and vetoed the measure at the behest of his capitalist friends. The workers are going to quit working for these capitalist dummies and vote for a Socialist this fall. Just ask yourself, Mr. Workingman, if a member of your class occupied the gubernatorial chair, would he have vetoed that eight-hour bill?—Coming Nation.

The capitalistic owner of the machine did not invent it; nor does he work it. But he gets nearly all of the profits, while the party who does attend the machine barely gets a living, such as it is. This is not all. There are the idlers who are not provided for. The more the machine improves the greater will be the number of idlers. So it is easy to see that the most urgent question of the near future is this: How are we going to feed, shelter and clothe the millions who are being forced into idleness by the machine? There can be but one answer: the idlers must own the machine or starve!

Each and every year the story goes the rounds of the capitalist press regarding the shortage of farm hands in the west, which provides the basis for prosperity editorials and jubilation among those charged with its laudation. And as often as these stories go the rounds just as often are they exploded by the large numbers of unfortunates tramping back east as best they can. There is no doubt that the railroads start these stories for the increased patronage which it brings and the farmers give their consent because of the vast supply of workers that these stories lure to them, thus reducing wages.—The Toller.

In 1894 the railroads of this country earned \$5,665 a year per mile of road. Year by year this income has increased, reaching over \$6,000 in 1897, over \$7,000 in 1899, considerably over \$8,000 in 1901, and last year reaching \$9,053. But how about labor's share in this increase? Yes, labor also increased its earnings! How much? Why from 1895 to 1901 the average railway employe got an increase of just two dollars and sixty-three cents! In 1895 the average wages paid by the railroads was \$567.50, while in 1901 it was \$570.13. Measured by the rise in the cost of living the worker's wages went down terribly!—Social Democratic Herald.

The supreme court of Rhode Island has recently handed down a most significant decision on the constitutionality of a limited work-day law, which will be far-reaching in its effect. The legislature of Rhode Island passed a law restricting the working hours of employes of street railway corporations to ten hours per day, and making any contract to the contrary as illegal. The supreme court has just decided that this law is constitutional, on the ground that it is for the public good, and in this opinion the court had only one dissenting vote. The majority declared that "the public safety can not be made dependent on private contracts."

The Berlin Vorwaerts of August 14 says: Everywhere our opponents are are organizing the struggle against Socialism. The Center or Catholic party is establishing "anti-Socialist agitation schools." The National Liberals have just published a circular appealing to all parties of "law and order" to organize a "central bureau for fighting the Socialist party," said bureau to be supported by all "law-abiding" elements irrespective of party affiliations. The Vorwaerts very indifferently comments on this anti-socialist propaganda: "Undoubtedly they are organizing against us. The gentlemen will soon enough find out who will pull the shorter end of the rope. We have become accustomed to fight against a world of enemies and get the best of them in the long run."

EUGENE V. DEBS

WILL SPEAK AT

ANNUAL

Labor Press Picnic and Raffle.

Sunday, Sept. 13, 1903,

CROSS' PARK,

Morganford Road, 2 blocks south of Arsenal St.

Tickets, 10c. Children Free.

Take Tower Grove Car, get off at Morganfor Road, then walk two blocks south.

THE COMMITTEE.

DIRECTORY

Central Trades and Labor Union

Of St. Louis and Affiliated Unions.

CENTRAL TRADES AND LABOR UNION meets every second and fourth Sunday, at 2 o'clock p. m., at **WALHALLA HALL**, Tenth and Franklin Avenue.

DAVE KREYLING, Secretary and Organizer.

AFFILIATED LOCAL UNIONS.

Name of Union and Place of Meeting.	Time of Meeting.	Sun	Mon	Tue	Wed	Th	Fri	Sat
Arch. Iron Workers, 7413-327 Geyer.....				1-3				
Awning Workers, 9159-504 Market.....						2-4		1-3
Badge Makers, 9133-505 Park.....					3			
Baggage Handlers, 104-2003 Clark.....							1-3	
Bakers (Ger.), 15-Harugari.....								1-3
Bakers (Eng.), 238-Harugari.....								2-4
Bakers (cracker), 176-Harugari.....								1-3
Bakers, 248-Harugari.....				2-4				
Barbers, 102-Lightstone's.....N.								
Bartenders, 51-918 Pine.....							1-3	
Beer Drivers, 43-Third and Elm.....				2-4				
Beltmakers, 7221-Dewey.....							1-3	
Billposters, 9312-504 Market.....	2-4							
Blacksmiths, 12-1310 Franklin.....								2-4
Boilermakers, 27-Harugari.....								
Bookbinders, 18-Lightstone's.....				1-3				
Bottlers (Beer), 187-Dewey.....							1-3	
Bottlers (Soda, etc.), 8514-1029 Chestnut.....							1-3	
Bottle Packers, 9076-3001 S. Broadway.....	2						4	
Brass Molders, 99-1310 Franklin.....							1-3	
Brass Workers, 66-1310 Franklin.....						1-3		
Brewers and Malsters, 6-Dewey.....	2-4							
Brewers (Weiss Beer), 260-504 Market.....				1-3				
Brew'y Frt. Handlers, 237-3101 S. 7th.....								
Brew'y Laborers, 262-13th & Wyoming.....					1-3			
Brewery Oilers, 279-2200 S. 7th.....				1-3				
Brewery Firemen, 95-2200 S. 7th.....					2-4			
Brewery Engineers, 246-Burlington.....				1-3				
Brickmakers, 57-5200 Shaw ave.....							2-4	
Brickmakers, 63-14 S. 9th.....					2-4			
Broommakers, 45-Harugari.....							1-3	
Brushmakers, 7422-505 Park.....							2-4	
Bldg. Mtrl. Trds. Coun., 1026 Franklin.....						2-4		
Building Trades Council-Druids.....								
Builders (street car), 8157-Lightstone's.....				2-4				
Butchers and Cutters, 88-1310 Franklin.....	2-4							
Cabdrivers, 405-604 Market.....				2-4				
Candymakers, 248-Harugari.....	2-4							
Carriage & Wagnwrk, 29-9th & Arsenal.....				1-3				
Carriage & Wagnwrk, 121-Lightstone's.....								
Car and Coach Painters, 204-Lightstone's.....								
Car Wheel Molders, 7229-Bdwy & Lami.....							1-3	
Carworkers, 14-604 Market.....				2-4				
Clayminers, 8503-5200 Shaw.....							1-3	
Clayminers, 9310-Beck & Morganford rd.....							1	
Chair Workers, 3-St. Louis.....						4		
Cigarmakers, 44-Walhalla.....							2-4	
Cigar Packers, 281-504 Market.....				2-4				
Coffinmakers, 84-Lightstone's.....								
Cooks, 203-312 N. 12th.....								
Coopers, 3-Dewey Hall.....					2-4			
Coopers, 37-Lightstone's.....								
Coopers, 141-Dewey Hall.....				1-3				
Coopers, 148-2333 S. Broadwa.....					2-4			
Dairy Employes, 9093-Harugari.....					1-3			
Egg Inspectors, 8343-902 N. 3d.....				1-3				
Electrical Workers, 1-1028 Franklin.....								
Electrical Workers, 2-Lightstone's.....								
Electrical Workers, 59-1023 Franklin.....								
Electrical Workers, 189-Lightstone's.....								
Electrotypers, 36-Fraternal.....				2				
Engineers, 2-Fraternal.....								
Engineers, 43-Fraternal.....								

Engineers, 44-2702 St. Louis.....								
Federal Labor, 6482-324 Chestnut.....								1
Fin. and Glders, 41-504 Market.....	1-3							
Firemen, 6-1026 Franklin.....								2-4
Firemen, 122-806 N. 14th.....								1-3
Flour & Cereal Mill Employes, 19-Druids.....	1-3							
Freight Handlers, 9292-1310 Franklin.....	2-4							
Freight Handlers (In.), 14-1200 Franklin.....								
Frt. Handlers (In.), 10,570-1200 Franklin.....								
Galvanizers, 10,164-1310 Franklin.....								2-4
Garment Workers, 16-Fraternal.....								2-4
Garment Workers, 26-Wentzel.....								1-3
Garment Workers, 59-Wentzel.....								1
Garment Workers, 67-Wentzel.....	2-4							
Garment Workers, 68-Wentzel.....								2-4
Garment Workers, 98-Lightstone's.....								1-3
Garment Workers, 105-Wentzel.....								1-3
Garment Workers, 243-Wentzel.....								1-3
Garment Workers, 246-Wentzel.....								1-3
Glass Blowers, 5-901 Lami.....	1-3							
Glass Blowers, 6-1026 Franklin.....				2-4				
Granitoid Workers, 8172-Walhalla.....								
Hatters (cloth), 14-Wentzel.....								2-4
Hatters (felt), 21-Wentzel.....						1		
Hatters (silk)-Wentzel.....	1							
Helpers (blksmith), 317-Lightstone's.....								2-4
Helpers (boiler), 8528-2338 S. Broadway.....	2-4							
Helpers (molders), 7413-327 Geyer.....								1-3
Helpers (mch. blksm), 8463-Lightstone's.....								2-4
Helpers (typesetters), 1277-Lightstone's.....								
Helpers (steamfitters), 33-Lightstone's.....								
Horseshoers, 3-Lightstone's.....								1-3
Laborers, 9954-806 N. 14th.....								2-4
Leather Wrkrs (horse goods), 30-Walhalla.....				2-4				
Leather Wrkrs., 87-Harugari.....						2-4		
Lithographers, 5-Druids.....								2-4
Machinists, 41-1310 Franklin.....	1-3-5							
Machinists, 85-1310 Franklin.....								1-3-5
Machinists, 308-2817 Chouteau.....	1-3-5							
Machinists, 394-1310 Franklin.....								1-3-5
Mailers, 3-Fraternal.....						4		
Marbleworkers, 1-1310 Franklin.....								
Metal Mech., 46-1310 Franklin.....								1-3
Metal Polishers, 13-1026 Franklin.....								
Met. Tra. Coun.-1310 Franklin.....	1-3							
Millwrights, 7473-Fraternal.....								2-4
Molders, 59-Walhalla.....								
Molders (stove), 10-Walhalla.....								1-3
Musicians, 2-1733 Olive.....								
Musicians, 44-1102 Franklin.....	1-3							
Oilers, 8075-3101 S. 7th.....								
Packg. Rm. Empl., 9464-1200 Franklin.....								
Painters and Decorators, 23-Lightstone's.....								
Painters (carriage), 124-1026 Franklin.....								
Paperhangers, 341-Lightstone's.....								
Painters (sign), 774-Lightstone's.....								
Pat'r'n Mkr's Assn.-1310 Franklin.....	1-3-5							
Paper Box Mkr's, 8972-327 Geyer.....								2-4
Paper Carrier, 5782-Fraternal.....								3
Paper Rulers, 32-504 Market.....								2-4
Pavers (stone), 7602-2338 S Broadway.....								2-4
Postal Clerks, 10654-Walhalla.....								2-4
Pressmen, 6-Lightstone.....								2
Pressmen (web.), 2-Fraternal.....								4
Printers, 3-201 S 3rd.....								2
Printers, 8-Walhalla.....	1							
Press Feeders, 43-201 S 3rd.....								1
Retail Clerks, 80-Fraternal.....								1-3
Retail Clerks, 84-Fraternal.....	1-3							
Retail Clerks (gro.), 424-Fraternal.....								1-3
Retail Clerks (shoe), 856-Fraternal.....								2-4
Riggers, 8919-Harugari.....								1-3
Sewer Laborers, 9151-3700 Easton.....								1-3
Sheet Met. Wrks., 247-Lightstone's.....								
Ship Carpenters, 8283-B'wy & Lami.....								1-3
Shirt Makers, 103-Walhalla.....								3
Shoe Workers Council-907 N 22nd.....								
Shoe Workers, 25-907 N 22nd.....								
Shoe Workers, 126-907 N 22nd.....								
Shoe Workers, 200-2036 Franklin.....								
Shoe Workers, 207-907 N 22nd.....								
Shoe Workers, 221-2036 Franklin.....								
Shoe Workers, 338-907 N 22nd.....								
Shoe Workers, 346-2036 Franklin.....								
Soda Water Wrks., 8514-1029 Chestnut.....								1-3
Stage Hands, 6-918 Pine st.....								1-3
Steam Fitters, 29-Walhalla.....								
Steel & Cop. Pl. Printers-Gross.....								2-4
Steel & Iron Wrks, 1-Broadway & Lami.....								1-3
Steel & Iron Wrks, 4-Brighton.....								1-3
Stereotypers, 8-201 S 3rd.....	1							
Stove Mounters, 34-1310 Franklin.....								2-4
Tailors, 11-Druids.....	1-3							
Teamster (coal), 24-1026 Franklin.....								1-3
Teamsters (frt.), 27-1026 Franklin.....								1-3
Teamsters (ice), 28-1026 Franklin.....								2-4
Teamsters (pro.), 40-1026 Franklin.....	1-3							
Team (pckng. house), 42-1026 Franklin.....								1-3
Teamsters (furn.), 51-1310 Franklin.....	1-3							
Teamsters (bagg.), 54-1026 Franklin.....	1-3							
Teamsters (lumber), 64-1026 Franklin.....								1-3
Teamsters (hay), 66-Lightstone's.....	1-3							
Teamsters (brick), 71-1200 Franklin.....								1-3
Teamsters (bakery), 74-Lightstone's.....	1-3							
Teamsters (stone), 75-1200 Franklin.....								1-3
Teamsters (laundry), 79-1200 Franklin.....								2-4
Teamsters (piano), 84-Lightstone's.....								1-3
Teamsters (movers)-Lightstone's.....	1-3							
Terra Cotta Wrks, 80-5759 Manchester.....								2-4
Tobacco Wrks, 1-505 Park.....								2-4
Trunk & Bag Wrks, 1-Walhalla.....								1-3
Typefounders, 5-416 Elm.....								1-3
Tuck Pointers, 131-Lightstone's.....								
Undert. & Liv., 10742-3000 Easton.....								
Upholsterers, 21-Fraternal.....								1-3
Waiters, 20-312 N 12th.....								
Waitresses, 249-204 N 9th.....								
Woodworkers, 2-Walhalla.....								
Woodworkers, 12-Walhalla.....								
Woodworkers, 54-2338 S Broadway.....								2-4
Woodworkers, 76-1026 Franklin.....								
Woodworkers, 84-1026 Franklin.....								2-4
Woodworkers, 125-1026 Franklin.....								
Woodworkers, 149-1026 Franklin.....								1-3-5
Woodworkers, 204-1310 Franklin.....								1-3-5
Woodworkers, 221-20th & Dodier.....								1-3-5

* Meetings every week

Woman's Forum.

Edited by KATE EMMET.

COMMON SENSE ABOUT WOMEN AND SOCIALISM.

By Mila Tupper Maynard.

The position of women under Socialism is a subject about which much is said, but in regard to which the principles seem not to be well understood.

Socialism will change the position of women only gradually and indirectly, except the women now employed or desiring employment. These it will free from dependence and exploitation as it frees men.

"Women will not have to spend their time over a wash-tub and cook stove under Socialism," is frequently stated. That depends.

O, but there will be co-operative housekeeping!

Not necessarily.

In all probability none at all. Some time not far distant we may hope that there will be an evolved domestic industry under which cooking, cleaning and the like will be organized in a truly modern fashion. Just as laundries and bake-shops now do the work of hundreds of homes, so we may reasonably expect that "delicacy stores" and "home cooking" departments will enlarge and extend, until most, if not all, of the meals of a community will be served from common centers.

That will not be "co-operative housekeeping."

"Co-operation savors of personal relation too much and amateurish machinery."

Socialism is collective control of industries organized by a natural evolution, not by the co-operation of good-natured people.

So long as a woman is content to give up her time catering to the appetites and whims of her own little household, there is nothing in Socialism to force her to do otherwise.

We cannot lay too much stress on the truth that Socialism will grow no figs on thistles, will grow no acorns even on oak sprouts in a year. Everything will come naturally by a process of growth.

What, then, may we expect? Understanding that changes will come only as natural evolution brings them and as men and women are ready for them, what new progressive agencies will Socialism set in motion?

First. Women can be employed at any time they wish to be on the same terms as their husbands or any other citizens.

This will in itself virtually revolutionize the position of woman.

Women with a work to do in the world will rapidly broaden too much to have their own little domestic interests seem so marvelously important. Jennie and Jimmie will be the gainers here. Children who have not been able to command the slavish attentions of a mother all day long throughout all their childhood will be much more desirable citizens, much better wives and husbands.

The real needs of children will command greater attention, but the fact that the child knows its mother now as its cook, nurse, dishwasher, seamstress, and general attendant is not productive of the best results.

The orders issued daily in thousands of homes in every community of young hopefuls is not prophetic of considerate husbands later on.

Socialism, as such, would not affect marriage except as it would free women from financial dependence.

That alone, however, would work wonders. Sordid motives—wealth, ambition, a "home," social position—all these would disappear as foundations for marriage.

Undoubtedly the freedom from the financial problem would make divorce easier morally and legally even without any great change in public sentiment or laws, but there would, in all probability be far fewer separations, as marriages would be made under so much more favorable conditions.

Remember, that whatever radical ideas individuals may have on this subject, they are not a part of Socialism. Public sentiment will control them as now, and great changes may come, but all matters of this sort are affected by Socialism only indirectly, no matter how powerful that indirect influence may be.

THE INCENTIVE.

Revery of a Successful Man.

I used to be a poor man, a wage earner. Few cared to know me then. I had no standing, no influence. A few friends greeted me with the familiar "Hello John," some gave me a nod, most passed me by unobserved, they were too busy to notice such as I, while others were positively rude. Now all that is changed. The lawyer, the doctor, the merchant, the preacher, all bow to Mr. Smith and hope that I am well. What has caused this change? Have I rescued a drowning child? Have I, at imminent risk, prevented the wreck of a passenger train? Have I written a great book or produced a great work of art? No, none of these, it is simply that I have made my pile and am now a "solid man." Incidentally I may remark that others lost what I gained, but that cuts no figure. No one sees the blanched face of the suicide, nor hears the falling tears of the widow and the orphan.

The money itself is mere dross. I can not eat it, nor wear it. It will not warm me, nor keep off the rain. It is only by parting with it that I get any good from it. But its possession gives me power over others, and that is where the secret lies. I am no wiser, no nobler, no better—probably worse—than before, but I have power. I am now able to buy the services of many and can grant favors, therefore I am to be cultivated.

To attain this I have ruthlessly trampled on the crushed and quivering forms of my victims, oblivious to their anguish. I have risen by pulling others down. Why did I do it? In order to obtain that power, that outward show of respect which the possession of wealth confers. I know that it is a hollow mockery, that these same sycophants who now flatter and cajole me would turn against me at the first touch of ill fortune, but it is pleasant while it lasts.

And they tell us that this strife, this effort to rise at the expense of others, this unholy, soul-destroying lust of gain is the only foundation on which civilization can rest. That this lust of gain is the only power which spurs men on to great and noble deeds and high achievements. That without it we would retrograde back into barbarism. I do not believe it. I do not believe that Mozart, Michael Angelo, Milton, the great scientists were actuated by any such sordid considerations. They enriched the world for the love of it in spite of their soul-cramping environments. By the power of the inner inspiration they burst their bonds and rose above their surroundings. But how many geniuses who, under favorable circumstances, might, likewise, have enriched and blessed humanity, have been so handicapped in the daily struggle for bread as to have been unable to produce those treasures which their spirits conceived?

Under a different system of social economy; a system free from this terrible, brutalizing strife on the one hand and grinding, soul-pinching want, or the fear of it on the other; a system under which justice, truth, honor and virtue would be the characteristics necessary for a fair reputation; a system under which a man will be esteemed for what he is, not for what he possesses; a system under which all will be required to contribute according to their natural capabilities to the general welfare and each will be assured of a constant supply of all reasonable requirements and a full opportunity for the exercise of their natural talents; a system under which all things will be done for use—not for profit—by the most approved methods, using the best appliances which skill and ingenuity can construct and all waste eliminated; a system which will allow individual time for rest, recreation and self-culture—i. e.—to discover and cultivate natural proclivities; a system which will secure to every one every just right, while restraining each from encroaching upon another; under such a system men will shake off the grivelling pursuits which now enslave them and lighting the torch of genius at the altar of God's eternal truth will rise to heights of thought, beauty, excellence and purity far transcending anything the world has yet produced, and this will be Socialism.

All hail! the star now shining in the east, rising higher and brighter until it shall usher in God's Eternal Son of Righteousness. The great incentive then will be to glorify God by benefiting man. Then indeed men will "beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks, and war shall be no more."

Unattainable? Were it so our Lord, Christ Jesus, would not have taught us to pray for it. Those who say that it

is unattainable accuse Him of lying, for He said "Whatsoever ye shall ask The Father in My name, believing, He will do it."

We hear a great deal about "serving God." The only way to really serve God is to serve His people whom Christ died to save. The most effective way to do this is to assist in uprooting this soul-destroying capitalism and introducing a system under which people will practice in their daily lives the religion which they profess. I UNO.

Comrade Dan McConnell, of Butler, Mo., reported at city headquarters, the other day, announcing his safe arrival after a unique water ramble all the way from Rich Hill, Mo. His little craft, floated down the Marias des Cygnes river into the Osage, down the Osage to the Missouri and then down that stream to the Great Father of Waters, tying up at the foot of Washington avenue. As they made their watery progress the crew, consisting of Comrade McConnell and his son discharged their cargo of Socialist literature at different points where they tied up. Comrade John McConnell, Dan's son, an accomplished musician, supplied the drawing power while Dan himself dispensed Socialism.

Ward clubs are taking action on the add in party directory. The indications are favorable. In my special letter to the secretaries I will call special attention to it.

The Twelfth ward reorganized on Thursday night of last week at the home of Comrade Otto Bitterlich, 2632 McNair avenue. The following officers were elected. Recording and Financial secretary, Otto Bitterlich; organizer, Robert Poenack; alternate, Otto Bitterlich; literature agent, Emil Wishaer.



Federal Labor Union 6482, A. F. of L.

Meets First Friday in every month at 8 p. m., room 7, 324 Chestnut Street.

DAVID ALLAN, Secretary.

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

W. H. PRIESMEYER,
DEALER IN ALL KINDS OF **SALT**
And Manufacturer of

ELECTRIC FRANKLIN BULL DOG SPIRE

LYE.

St. Louis, Mo.

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OUR DOUBLE GUARANTEE. All Clothing Kept in Repair Free. Money Back if You Are Not Satisfied.

SEVENTH AND FRANKLIN AVE.

The Social Revolution.

By KARL KAUTSKY.

THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION. By Karl Kautsky. Translated by A. M. and May Wood Simons. Chicago. Charles H. Kerr & Co. 1903. Cloth, 189 pages. Price, 50 cents.

II.—THE DAY AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

We have had too many "visions" of the Co-operative Commonwealth, from Bellamy and Morris down. We have had any number of writers who were ready to tell us just how everything is to be arranged in the future—after it is all in working order. How it is got into order is a matter they prudently pass over with a few vague phrases. Even Morris and Bellamy, in the chapters they devote to this part of the subject, hardly seem to have tried—still less have they succeeded—to treat it seriously, to take into consideration things as they are and things as, in their general outline, we see they are to be, and scientifically imagine the methods of transition. We say "scientifically imagine" advisedly, for imagination has its right place in scientific investigation; advisedly, too, we say "methods," in the plural, for the manifold and multiform tendencies now working for Socialism as well as the varied and complex character of the material they have to work in (the existing facts of economics, politics, ethics, manners and customs, and modes of thinking) make it fairly obvious that the passage from the capitalist to the Socialist system will not be a simple and direct process, but an exceedingly complicated one, a whole set of related processes, rather, whose proportions and mutual relations we cannot, of course, foresee with any great degree of accuracy.

Kautsky approaches the subject with the confidence and the self-respect of a trained thinker, accustomed to deal, not with principles apart from facts or facts regardless of principles, but with principles as summarizing the observation of facts. He makes no attempt to give us in advance a dramatic story of the revolution, nor does he pretend that there can be any approach to certainty in detail. But on the other hand, he maintains that it is a help to political clearness to examine the problems that will grow out of the conquest of political power by us and that "this is also valuable for propaganda, since our opponents frequently assert that our victory will give us insoluble problems: * * * and it is important to investigate and know how far this is the case."

Kautsky does not underestimate the bigness of the task the proletariat has before it. He does not expect the revolution to be made in a day nor a year perhaps not in a decade. Aside from recognizing that the complete political power, even throughout a single nation, is very unlikely to be grasped by the proletariat all at a single moment and that the proletariat itself is no and will not then be an absolutely united and uniform body to pursue an ideally whole and definitely purposeful policy at every step, he recognizes that, even if these two facts were otherwise, the sweeping away of old institutions would have to go on simultaneously with the building up of the new ones and the development of individual and social habits suitable to them, and that the rate of production must not only be maintained, but must be positively increased, while this reconstruction is going on. But serious as he sees the task to be, Kautsky does not doubt the ability of the proletariat to perform it in due time.

Kautsky's forecast of the future state is as different as possible from the centralized, uniform, we had at most said regimented society imagined by Bellamy, and just as far from the

sweet elysium of "News from No where." It is a state as varied and complex in its forms as that now prevailing, perhaps more varied, as being more free and plastic. Some industries will be taken over by the nation some by municipalities, some by trade unions or co-operative societies of production or consumption; in agriculture to a considerable extent and in manufacture to a lesser degree, private industry on a small scale will persist for a long time in the midst of the collectivist society—the proletarian governmental power would have absolutely no inclination to take over such little businesses." This does not mean, of course, that capitalist exploitation would continue in such industries.

Kautsky thinks it probable that some form and measure of compensation will be given to the present owners of the means of production—not as a measure of abstract justice, but as being the easiest way of making the change with the minimum of social disturbance. This compensation will not, of course, mean the permanent establishment of a class of public bondholders, relieved of all responsibility of management and guaranteed a fixed income by the state; it will mean only a distribution of the unavoidable actual "confiscation" over the period of a decade or even a generation.

A large portion of this second part is devoted to the question of the incentive to labor and the means by which production is to be kept up without interruption and even enormously and progressively increased under the new régime. The habit of working, acquired and accumulated through many past generations, will be a powerful factor, but it is not alone to be counted on. The intelligent democratic discipline of the proletariat will be a still more powerful force. The improvement of the conditions of labor will make it all the easier to keep industry going. But after all, it will still be necessary very greatly to increase the productive power of labor in order at once to lessen the burdens of the proletariat and to meet the manifold needs of the new society. For this is to be done our author considers at length, and concludes that, by the organization of industry in the most effective manner and the elimination of competitive waste, "a proletarian régime can raise production at once to so high a level that it would be possible considerably to increase wages and simultaneously to reduce the hours of labor." He considers that the forms of wages for labor and of buying and selling products with money of some kind will persist for a long time, though the reality under these forms will be radically different from those now prevailing.

It would be quite impossible in a newspaper review to do more than give the reader a general idea of what he will find between the covers of this little book. No thoughtful student of the social problem can afford to neglect it. It is not a Socialist "Law and Gospel" and should not be read as such. It is a careful scientific investigation of present facts as indicative of future tendencies and as a means of determining the wisdom of present policies. Read in the spirit in which it is written, it cannot but be of great value.

Of the translation it must be said that it is too evidently a translation. More freedom and more revision would have made it both clearer and more attractive. Some of the more glaring faults we have to note may be due to hasty proof-reading. It is too bad to see "catastrophes" repeatedly spelled "catastrophies." "Affiliation" (p. 15) clearly should be "affinity." "Former" and "latter" are obviously transposed on p. 33. "Poll" (p. 63) is, of course,

a slip of the pen for "political." The misprint of "protection" for "production" in the ninth line on p. 73 seriously obscures the sense, as does the misprint of "supplemented" for "supplanted" on p. 90. The sentence beginning "One fears every energetic policy" (p. 95) is correctly translated—by the rules of grammar; but it conveys a wrong impression if taken for idiomatic English; "they fear" would have been better; best would be "Every energetic policy * * * is feared." As the sentence stands, it seems to mean that the writer shares the fear, whereas it is reactionaries that are afraid. Let us hope that these and some minor errors will be set right before another edition goes to press. Kautsky is a close enough thinker to merit verbal accuracy in translation.

A. L.

LITERATURE FOR OPEN-AIR MEETINGS.

The municipal campaign in New York is now under way and open-air meetings are being held in nearly every part of the city. In planning this work it is important to remember that the majority of those who form the audience at a street meeting do not stay throughout. Some come as others go; comparatively few hear the whole of the speeches, though each hears enough to make some impression on his mind—especially if, as should always be the case, there is a conspicuous banner displaying the party name and emblem and the names of our candidates.

This is not enough, however. In order to get the best results from outdoor meetings, it is absolutely necessary that the sale of pamphlets and the distribution of leaflets and papers should be energetically pushed. No man who joins the crowd, even though he stays only five minutes, should go away without at least one piece of party literature. If the speech has made the slightest impression upon him, he is pretty sure to read what he gets, and that will strengthen the impression and render it clearer.

GOOD AND CHEAP PAMPHLETS

In order to be able to supply without delay the needs of the New York City organizations, in the campaign, the Socialist Literature Company (184 William Street) has laid in a large stock of the best pamphlets in the Pocket Library of Socialism, of which we would especially recommend the following for use at street meetings:

- "Wage-Labor and Capital," by Karl Marx.
- "The Man Under the Machine," by A. M. Simons.
- "Socialists in French Municipalities."
- "Socialism and Trade Unionism," by

Max S. Hayes and Daniel Lynch.
"The Trust Question," by Charles H. Vail.

"What the Socialists Would Do If They Won in This City," by A. M. Simons.

"The Pride of Intellect," by Franklin H. Wentworth.

"Easy Lessons in Socialism," by William Leffingwell.

These are sold at the rate of \$1 a hundred copies.

Another excellent pamphlet, of which the Socialist Literature Company has a good supply on hand, is Gaylord Wilshire's "Why Working men Should be Socialists." This is sold at 50 cents a hundred copies.

"The Socialist Army," by Algernon Lee, though intended more particularly for party members, is well adapted to give the inquirer into Socialism an idea of the methods and spirit of our party and the reasons why he should join it, and should be widely circulated. The price is 75 cents for a hundred copies.

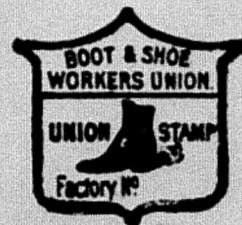
Several assembly district organizations are following the plan of selling these pamphlets at open-air meetings in sets of three for five cents, and find that they go "like hot cakes." This is better than giving them away, not only because it covers the cost, but because from one meeting providing the stock for the next, but also because the average man is more likely to give careful reading to something that he has paid a nickel for than to something that is given to him.

PAYING PROFITS TO THE CAPITALIST.

So far from the capitalist paying wages, the laborer not only produces capital in the first place, but reproduces it day after day as he works, creates his own wages, pays for superintendence, depreciation, wear and tear, meets all the outlandish wastes of competition, and finally produces all the great sums that go as profits to the capitalist class. Out of the profits thus produced by the laborer the capitalist piles up funds to constitute a basis for future exploitation. When in a few years this surplus value has become the private property of the individual capitalist it will be explained by some few apologists of capitalism as a fund out of which capitalist generously pays wages to the poor laborers—A. M. Simons, in Seattle Socialist

It is well also, however, to have some literature for free distribution at every meeting. For this purpose we would call especial attention to the four-page leaflet, "Competition and Monopoly," which treats in a concise and popular and yet scientific manner of a question that is now in every one's mind.

AT THE SAME PRICE,



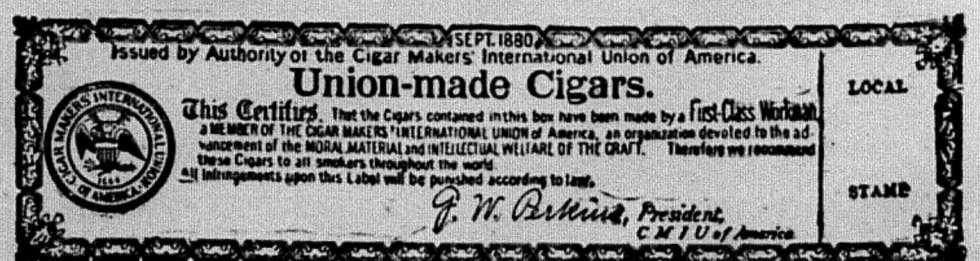
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ONE-THIRD TO LABOR.

By H. L. SLOBODIN.

What is the share of labor in the product of labor? The publication of Census Bureau statistics bearing on this point is often followed by a discussion in which the strength of an argument is evidently measured by the length of the array of figures. Mr. Gordon, in his article "Labor's Real Snare" published in the July issue of the "American Federationist," "beat the record" by taking as a basis of his calculations the total value of all manufactured products of the United States, the total cost of materials and the total sum of wages paid to over five millions of wage-earners. Mr. Gordon's conclusions may be of interest to the idly curious engaged in the pursuit of abstract averages, but they have no practical value to the student of concrete realities. To give raw billions of dollars and millions of men, without inquiring into the derivation, composition and character of the material at hand denotes a mind which delights more in confounding and puzzling than in instructing.

The opinions on the magnitude of labor's share in the product diverge widely. Among the Socialists the opinion is current that labor gets the smaller half of the product, while the apologists of capitalism contend that labor's share is about 85 and 90 per cent, and "not less than 75 per cent.," as Mr. Gordon claims.

In order to arrive at an approximate understanding of this problem we must study the conditions and relative earnings of labor and profits of capital separately in each industry. Even then it will be found necessary to differentiate and distinguish.

The gas industry presents a field where investigation is greatly facilitated by a greater homogeneity both of its products and methods of production.

The total value of gas and its by-products produced in the United States in 1900 was \$75,716,993. The amount of dividend on gas stock paid out in 1900 was \$15,842,138, and the amount of interest paid on bonds was \$9,471,575. Does this sum of \$25,313,713 represent the total share of capital in the product of labor? Let us have a close look at the figures. The sum total of wages paid in the gas industry in 1900 was \$12,436,296. The sum total of salaries paid to officials, clerks, etc. (including proprietors and firm members) was, according to the Census, \$5,273,500. The Census Bulletin contains a report from 15 municipal gas plants. The average SALARY paid by municipal establishments in 1900 was \$700. The average SALARY paid by private gas concerns in 1900 was about \$900. On the other hand, the average WAGES paid by municipal establishments in 1900 was \$615, while the average WAGES paid by private concerns in 1900 was \$553. Now it is evident from a comparison of the wages paid in municipal and private gas plants, that it is not the clerk's salary that swelled the average of salaries paid by private concerns. It is the princely salaries of proprietors, firm members and high officials who are paid not for their utility in production but for their skill in exploiting the wage-earners, that swell the average. These "salaries" may be justly considered as extra appropriations of surplus value by the way of "salary." It is fair to assume that the salary of \$700 paid to clerks by municipal gas plants is above and stands in the same ratio to the real average salary paid by private concerns to real workers in their offices as \$615 average wages paid by municipal establishments is above and stands to the \$553 average wages paid by private concerns. This indicates an average salary of \$630 paid by private concerns. The 5,904 salaried officials, clerks

etc. (and this number includes proprietors and firm members to whom we accord the average salary), received in real salaries the sum of \$3,719,522 and not \$5,273,500 as reported in the Bulletin. The difference of \$1,553,980 represents profits of capital appropriated by way of salary. This sum must therefore be added to the dividend and interest. Well, is this all? Patience. Look closer, search further. If profits can be made by way of "salary," why not by way of "miscellaneous expenses." If you will dig under this innocent looking item you will find there the capitalist "with the goods on." The municipal establishments represent small plants, while the private concerns represent the largest plants in the United States. Now, it is a well known fact that miscellaneous expenses of manufacturing gas decrease as the size of the plant increases. We find, however, the average miscellaneous expenses of the municipal establishments to be 12.4 cents for each 1,000 cubic feet of manufactured gas, while for the private plants the miscellaneous expense is 22 cents for each 1,000 cubic feet. What else does this additional expense of 9.6 cents on each 1,000 feet represent but bribes to legislators, aldermen, gas inspectors, contributions to the campaign funds of Republican, Democratic and Reform parties, etc.? It is part of the profit set aside as a secret corruption fund. The 12.4 cents for each 1,000 feet must be sufficient for miscellaneous expenses, seeing that the politicians in charge of the municipal establishments are not starving on this rate. We shall, therefore, take it for private concerns. The real amount of miscellaneous expenses is therefore \$8,319,600, and not \$14,769,022 as reported by the Census. The difference of \$6,449,442 must be added together with \$1,553,980 to the dividend and interest as profit of capital.

Now we can make a fair and intelligent estimate and comparison of the respective shares of capital and labor in the product of labor. The share of capital is:

Surplus value in the form of dividend	\$15,842,138
Surplus value in the form of interest	9,471,575
Surplus value under the guise of salary	1,553,980
Surplus value under the guise of miscellaneous expenses	6,449,442
Total	\$33,317,135

The share of labor is:

Wages	\$12,436,296
Salaries	3,719,520
Total	\$16,155,816

The gross value of the product of gas in 1900 may be divided as follows:

Cost of material	\$20,605,356
Miscellaneous expenses	8,319,600
Share of capital	33,317,135
Share of labor	16,155,816
Total	\$78,397,907

This sum exceeds by \$2,681,214 the gross value of gas products in 1900 reported by the Census. This excess must have been taken from a reserve fund—surplus value that remained over from former years—in order to pay dividends and interest, which is often done for stock jobbery purposes. We will be fair and deduct this sum from the share of capital in the product of 1900. There remains the sum of \$30,637,921 as capital's net share in the product of 1900.

Again, if we deduct from \$75,716,993, the gross value of the gas products of 1900, the cost of materials and the real miscellaneous expenses, there will still remain the sum of \$46,789,737, the net product of labor in 1900. This net product is divided between capital and

labor as follows:

Capital	\$30,637,921
(or 65 per cent.)	
Labor	\$16,155,816
(or 35 per cent.)	

Here is a real capitalistic ratio—the good, old way of dividing—two-thirds to capital and one-third to labor. Beside it the contention of the capitalist apologist that labor gets 90 per cent and "not less than 75 per cent." of the product labor looks like a lie "that would not come off." We urge the professional academicians and statisticians to examine our figures and point out the errors, if any. But we would warn them not to go too far behind the Census returns, lest they stumble unawares on the same game-magnate "with the goods on." Indeed it would be presumptuous for me to assume that a practical captain of industry will not find more ways than those pointed out by me of tapping labor power and converting it into surplus value. It is much safer to assume that still more surplus value may be found, enough to pay the real cost of franchises.

It may be contended that the gas industry, being a monopoly, charge monopoly prices to the consumer and that the share of the capitalist is not all the product of the gas workers, but is partly made up by taxing the consumers of gas. We will not discuss this proposition now as it would involve a discussion of the Socialist theory of value, which would exceed the scope of this article. But we will point out that a necessary corollary to this proposition is that the gas worker is not permitted to enjoy even the one-third of his product. For his share is further reduced by the fleecing of the capitalists when he exchanges it for the necessaries of life.

We do not think that the academicians and statisticians can make much of this proposition, as it further convicts, instead of excusing, their patron—capitalism. For our part we will say right here that Socialism is not committed to this or any other rate of capitalistic exploitation. For the loss of the workingman which is due to capitalism is infinitely greater than the mere gain of the capitalists. And hence the gain of the workingman from Socialism will be infinitely greater than the gain of the capitalist from capitalism. Just think it over Messrs. Academicians and Statisticians. It may give you some valuable points which you will not find in your text books and encyclopedias.

In further articles we will describe how the great gas industry originated and developed to its present prosperity.

CAPITALIST ADMINISTRATION.

Alderman Vorley: "Here's a fine-looking street."

Councillor Flint: "You're right there. What's best to be done to it?"

"Let's have it dug up for a sewer."

"But wouldn't it be proper to pave it first?"

"Of course; I suppose you understood that. Then, after it is paved and a sewer put in, we'll have it repaved."

"All in readiness to be dug up again for a gas pipe? I see you understand the principles of municipal economy. And after we have it repaved a second time, then what?"

"Well, then it will be in order for widening. There's nothing I admire so much as system in the care and improvement of our roadways."—Leicester Pioneer.

—Every Socialist who has not already done so should read Liebknecht's pamphlet, "No Compromise, No Political Trading." Written with especial reference to the appearance of certain fusionist tendencies in Germany, its arguments apply with equal force to the movement in the United States. It can be had of the Socialist Literature Company, 184 William street, New York City. Price, 10 cents.

EVERY NEW SUBSCRIBER

Means a New Soldier for the Army of Labor and Socialism.

Every Socialist, every union man, every working woman can get a new subscriber to LABOR. Try it. Every new subscriber means a new soldier to the army of Organized Labor and Socialism. You belong to a trade union. Induce your fellow members to subscribe to LABOR. They will subscribe, if you do your duty. But you forget about asking them. That's the trouble. In a union with 200 members you can get at least 100 men to subscribe in less than six months provided you work in every meeting and never rest until the last man in the union reads your paper. What's the use of all our sweet talk about ideal Socialism when we forget to do our duty in the great class struggle? One of our comrades belongs to a union that has 65 members. In less than four months he had 56 of these union men as-subscribers to either LABOR or Arbeiter-Zeitung. You can do the same. Try it. Stick to it! You will succeed, you must succeed, even if it should take years of hard work. We do not ask you for favors. We demand that you do your duty as a Socialist and union man.

We must all stand together and help and sustain each other, or we will all suffer together.

C. CHALLY,

Staple and Fancy Groceries.

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Central Trades and Labor Union Headquarters.

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Lemp's Celebrated Pale and Standard Lager on Draught

COLUMBIA BOX COMPANY,

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BOXES OF ALL KINDS UNION LABEL BOXES.

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Manufacturer of

UNION CIGARS.

BUY "My Motto," "Town Talk," and "Flor de Merit." They bear the BLUE LABEL. 708 CHOUTEAU AVENUE.

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A Roster of all Union Musicians in the City Always on File.

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Socialism in Municipalities.

By A. M. SIMONS.

The municipality is but a local organization within a greater capitalist government; its activity is hedged in at every point by this environment. Hence it is that any action that may be taken within the municipality will not be Socialism. Socialism, like capitalism, is a social stage. To the utopian, therefore, there is no field for Socialist action within the municipality. But in the other and much more important meaning of the word, Socialism is a philosophy based upon a class struggle. In this sense, Socialism has much to say with regard to municipal action.

How then can the Socialist Party best use its strength in the class struggle on the municipal field? There are two subjects which are most frequently discussed in this connection. The average bourgeois reformer lays all the emphasis on municipal ownership of a few industries. A great many Socialists, on the other hand, talk as if the only thing Socialists could do if they were elected to office would be to call off the police in time of strike. The fact is that, while the use of the police in labor troubles is of vital interest to the laboring class, the average workingman is not engaged in a strike where the police will be used more than a few times in a lifetime. In the same way the man who burns kerosene, walks to his work, and never has any need for a telephone except in transacting his master's business, is not so tremendously interested in municipal ownership of these industries. There are other fields which are much less spectacular, but in which much effective work can be done.

Before proceeding to any details, I wish to say that, in my opinion, the one thing that is of such paramount importance that nothing else should be allowed in any way to compete with it is the capture of the municipal government by a class-conscious Socialist Party. For this reason the Socialist can never afford to engage in any movement for municipal reform which would weaken the strength of an independent class organization on the political field. The attainment of municipal ownership or, indeed, of any of the things which I shall hereafter mention, and most of which I consider more important than municipal ownership of any of the industries, about which so much fuss is easily made, is of infinitely less importance than the increasing of the number of class-conscious voters.

Once, however, that men have been placed in City Councils by Socialist ballots, the question of what they shall do becomes of very great importance, and here it is that we have need of a working program.

It seems to me that among the things which should rank of first importance to the workingmen are provisions affecting health and education. A physically strong and intellectually trained proletariat will not become slaves.

No Socialist, of course, is blind to the fact that education is only a superstructure on the economic foundation and that while that foundation remains capitalistic no real revolutionary changes can be made in education. It is equally true, however, as was noted above, that the municipality itself must operate within capitalism and that the Socialists can do nothing in the municipality alone that will overthrow that superstructure. Within capitalism however, while the class struggle lasts much can be done to strengthen the fighting ability of the proletariat.

Our present school system is distinctly organized and directed toward the perpetuation of capitalism. Its

methods of teaching, its discipline, its whole make-up, rest upon the assumed justice and even sacredness of the present system of exploitation. Much of this at least could be changed by Socialists in municipal government.

Here, as at many other points, indeed I might almost say, as to all other points in our society, the tide of thought of the best minds working in this field, even if non-socialist, is in direct accord with the Socialist position.*

Another field in which much can be done is that of improved housing for the laboring class. Nothing is of more importance than life, and the sanitary conditions imposed by capitalism are literally murdering tens and hundreds of thousands of the working class each year. Sanitary laws, even more than other legislation, are almost invariably enforced in strict accord with class interest.

Whenever the rent of the landlord comes into conflict with working-class life the former is favored. In this field the efforts of a single Socialist officer could be made to produce most remarkable results. This is especially true because he will not need in most cases to initiate new legislation. In Chicago, for example, the whole slum district would need to be levelled to the ground and rebuilt if existing sanitary legislation, which has been enacted for the protection of the capitalist class, were enforced throughout the working-class district.

The city hospitals are filled almost exclusively with working-class patients. These institutions are generally, and with good cause, looked upon with horror and treated as places of torture and experiment, hotbeds of mismanagement. It is the laboring class more than any other which is subject to sickness and accident under capitalism. Moreover, a working-class home to-day can never afford adequate accommodations for the care of the sick and injured. Indeed, the wealthier homes are lacking in even the essentials which modern surgery demands. Every day makes this fact more evident, as more and more costly appliances and arrangements are needed. The city hospital should be made an ideal place for the care of the sick and injured; it should be a place in whose management the utmost confidence could be placed and to which the pa-

* See article by May Wood Simons in "International Socialist Review" for August, 1902, on "Democracy and Education," for further elaboration of this point.

tient could be taken with every assurance of the best care. The existence of such institutions would mean infinitely more to the working class of any city than "municipal ownership" of all the "natural monopolies" ever advocated by tax-saving, small-capitalist reformers. In this field also a single Socialist official can accomplish much because of the tremendous force of publicity in such matters. Many of the abuses of to-day depend upon the secrecy which what may almost be called a "conspiracy of silence" makes possible.

When it comes to the management of municipally owned institutions, the discussion by Socialists is already full, and for that reason I will not discuss it here. I might say, however, that one demand which is often overlooked is of much more importance than many which are ordinarily emphasized. The right of the employees in municipally owned industries to organize is of more importance than any definite regulation as to hours, wages, or conditions of employment, although, of course, these should by no means be overlooked. But with the right to organize secured

to the workers in any industry, they have a weapon in their hands with which to obtain continuously better conditions and to defend themselves against aggression. At the same time their conditions will depend definitely upon their own resources and not upon apparent legal discrimination. This latter point is of special importance to Socialists who wish to cultivate in every possible way the spirit of intelligent class rebellion.

The Socialist officer in the municipality should, of course, insist on absolute non-interference by the police in time of strikes. He is justified, even under capitalism, in saying to the employer that if he cannot run his business without precipitating a riot then that business must stand still. Under these conditions the employer is very likely to come to terms and grant as advantageous conditions to his men as possible. Yet I think there has been a tendency on the part of Socialist speakers to exaggerate what could be done on this point under capitalism. While private property remains, law and the police are essentially for its protection. They have been organized for that purpose, and it is difficult to use them for any other purpose.

In the field of possible municipal activity one thing which has been overlooked is the possibility of municipal bakeries. These have been run in Italy, particularly in Naples, with most remarkable results. To be sure, all of these measures which tend to reduce the cost of living ultimately rebound to the benefit of the capitalist, yet with a strong union organization the laborer can hold much of what is gained.

The schoolhouses should be thrown open for popular discussion. If this is done, particularly if they are allowed to become meeting places for public bodies, including trade unions, with

free discussion, I know of few things that would offer more encouragement for the growth of Socialist sentiment.

These are just a few suggestions of methods by which the proletarian side of the class struggle can be waged by Socialists who may chance to hold office in municipalities.

In the next article I shall endeavor to outline a plan by which these suggestions and the many others of perhaps much more value which may occur to other comrades can be put into effect at the present time.

MACHINE RAFFLE TICKETS.

To Be Sold or Returned by Saturday, Sept. 12th.

Comrades who have raffle tickets for the New Home sewing machine in their possession should dispose of them within the next two weeks. Under no circumstances must these tickets be held later than September 12.

L. E. HILDEBRAND,
Secretary.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

Balance on hand Aug. 17.....\$ 8 34

RECEIPTS.

Campaign fund 5 70
Dues 4 95
\$18 99

DISBURSEMENTS.

Secretary's salary\$3 00
Postage 65
Car fare 30
State organizer 2 50 \$ 6 45
Balance \$12 54

Is your mother, sister or daughter safe under a system where women are daily compelled to exchange virtue for bread?

HEYDT'S SUPERIOR BREAD

...UNION MADE...



New Union Factory on Randolph, near Jefferson.

HAMILTON, BROWN SHOE COMPANY.

New Union Factory.

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



THE AUTUMN GIRL—GOLF AND OTHERWISE

CONTINUED USE OF MAGPIE EFFECTS, BOTH OUT DOORS AND INDOORS.

THE autumn girl is the best of all the girls, healthier, handsomer even than the summer girl. And it pays to buy her clothes, for, with her bright eyes and red-brown cheeks, she sets them off so well.

The athletic girl, in her reaction from piazza-and-trailing-skirt days, for awhile went to the extreme of not caring very much how she looked, what she wore. But gradually a change has come over her, and now she shows careful thought for her appearance.

Instead of choosing some dowdy, worn-out old thing in which to array herself for her sports, she selects suitable cut and material for the gown in which she plays her games. Perhaps she spends more time and money on "field" clothes than on her ball gowns, and we believe she would be wise to do so, for they appear in the garish light of day, when defects are painfully visible. The "magpie" combination (our old friend, black-and-white) the golf girl will probably select this fall for her costume on the links, and somewhere about the costume there will undoubtedly be visible a dash of cherry red or a bit of oriental embroidery.

In a golf costume, the skirt is of paramount importance, as the player usually discards her jacket when following the ball from hole to hole. But the coat, when finally donned, should be one that need not shame the wearer. The suit here pictured is one of the season's best; the skirt, with its trim fit and straight lines; the plaits of the coat matching well with the skirt, and the modish black belt and stock adding very good touches. The white felt hat with the black velvet and black quill, complete the "magpie" effect.

All summer we have had the open-work embroidery, and still have a continuation on the wool stuffs for fall and winter. Oriental, and also a sort of padded, raised embroidery, will be popular, much of which can be copied by skillful fingers at home. Jet will be used again, but perhaps not as freely as last year. Velvet buttons, ap-

pliques of cloth and velvet, frills and ruching are among the fancies of the season.

Last week we spoke of changeable and fancy silks for linings, and now have a word to say in regard to shot silks for dress materials. From time



THE GOLF GIRL.

to time the shot silks come into fashion, and one does not wonder at the hold they have; for they are so beautiful, their hues changing with every change of light, such lovely combinations of color observable in their make-up. The shot-silk gowns will be built after old-fashioned models, much befrilled and be-ruched.

sleeved affairs; such soft, trailing robes. This week we picture two of the many that caught our fancy; a negligee of white crepe de chine, and a little flowered challis. The first would be a very appropriate model for pongee, too; the yoke and top of the sleeves should be of lace, and the velvet facings may be of any color preferred. The velvet employed on the



NEGLIGEE OF WHITE CREPE DE CHINE.

white crepe de chine shown in the cut is an emerald green, very effective with the white crepe. The other little negligee is of lightweight wool, simple, comfortable and considerably warmer than the sheer material of the more elaborate negligee.

A very effective, beautiful teagown

designed for the early days of fall is made of cream serge embroidered in dull rich silks suggestive of the orient, and further ornamented with black velvet ribbon, the long ends finished with silk fringe. The tassels and fringe now so fashionable are very suitable trimmings for these at-home gowns. The teagown described might be made of either cashmere or veiling, but the serge seems best with the oriental embroidery.

The long shoulder effects concerning which one reads so much and of which one sees so much, are absolutely necessary for those who would dress a la mode. One good way of obtaining the long, sloping shoulder is by the use of a deep collar or cape. When one is able to afford fine real lace for this, well and good; but never wear the elaborate imitations that are at present so depressingly common. Collars and capes of fine batiste are in very good style, and can be procured at reasonable prices. Pelerine shapes reign, and the bertha and fichu are approved. In Paris—of all places—there has appeared the modest neck handkerchief of mull, which Quaker accessory seems to belong rather to Philadelphia.

Speaking of mull, there is nothing daintier in the way of neckwear than the hemstitched mull, or very fine linen lawn, turnover collars one sees occasionally. When immaculate and worn with small cuffs to match, they give the ordinary shirt-waist suit an air of neatness and gentility quite refreshing in these days of fussiness.

Another article of dress now noticeable in the world's center of fashion is the very small handkerchief. But it is doubtful if the tiny thing will have much vogue over here.

ELEEN CONNOR.

COX & GORDON, Pork Packers.

CURERS OF

Fine Hams, Breakfast Bacon, Shoulders and Beef.

ORDERS FILLED FOR PORK, BACON AND PURE LEAF LARD.

ST. LOUIS, MO.

DRINK ONLY UNION BEER.

[See Simile of Our Label.]



This label is pasted on every barrel and box as a guarantee that the contents are the product of Union Labor.

BARGAIN NEGLIGES—SOME MODISH ACCESSORIES

THIS IS THE TIME TO GET BARGAINS, AND GOOD ONES, TOO.

UNTIL one can pick up summer bargains, especially good bargains in the way of teagowns and negliges. For styles do not change greatly for these garments, and if one finds something pretty and becoming, one may feel safe that it will be sufficiently in fashion for some time to come. And all through the winter one can make use of the fluffy, light sacks and gowns for home wear, our houses being over-heated to a degree when cold reigns without.

Though wools seem more appropriate for fall and winter negliges, yet many ladies will employ the ones of light mulls and China silks which the stores are selling at greatly reduced prices. And such pretty, pretty things these are that are going for a song; such charming low-necked, elbow-



NEGLIGEE OF WOOL CHALLIS.

JACK RABBIT PANTS ARE GOOD PANTS.

Recommended by United Garment Workers and Local Union Labor Organizations. Made with Union Label.



Ask Your Clothier for Them.



Announcement: E. V. Debs will speak at Gross' Park, Morganford Road and Juniata Street, Sunday, September 13. 20,000 cards ready for distribution. Make this a Grand Socialist Demonstration.

FIGHTING SOCIALIST PROPAGANDISTS.

In Colorado, Minnesota and Alabama Attempts Are Made to Check the Socialist Party Movement.

State Secretary Martin, of Colorado writes under date of August 20th: "Local Denver is jubilant over her victory in the district court. Meetings are being held on the street each evening without police interference. Last night the special committee 'on street speaking, and demonstrating the right of free speech in the courts', turned in its final report and was discharged. The committee raised \$238.76 and expended \$232.35 in the four weeks of its work, and did this without drawing on the funds of the local for a dollar. It turned over to the treasury of the local a balance of \$6.41 in cash and some \$20 in unpaid subscriptions, most of which will be paid. The committee took up the work without a dollar on hand, but at no time during its existence was it seriously hampered for want of funds. The enthusiasm, liberality and self-denial of the comrades was equal to every demand as soon as made. The fight has done us great good every way, but chiefly in inspiring the comrades with confidence in their ability to 'do things.' The local is more solidly united than ever before in its history."

State Secretary Waldhorst, of Alabama, reports the arrest and imprisonment of Comrade McGuire, a member of Local Birmingham, for talking Socialism on the streets of that city. "Holiness" meetings had just been held, the speakers attacking Socialism. After this meeting McGuire began to hold one, and answered the arguments and explained Socialism. He was ordered by the police to "Shut up and Move on." McGuire refused, and was locked up for the night. Next morning Comrade Waldhorst had the trial postponed for a week and engaged counsel, who made the policeman swear out a warrant, which the latter did not want to do. The judge instructed the policeman to swear out the warrant, as he should not have arrested McGuire, if he were not willing to do that. The warrant was sworn out, and an ordinance forbidding the blockading of streets by ash barrels, boxes, trash of any kind, was used for the argument. The judge fined McGuire \$5, but granted an appeal on a bond of \$25. The judge said he "had to impose the fine, but wanted an appeal taken." The case will be watched with interest when it comes up in the higher courts. Comrade Waldhorst also reports 28 locals now in Alabama, and hard work is gradually getting them in shape.

Last week the Minnesota state van pulled into Thief River Falls, Minn., and proceeded to locate for a street meeting. Immediately the mayor came up and ordered the comrades to move out, saying that no such meetings were permitted in the streets. Comrade Etherton told the mayor that since they had a constitutional right to address the people in public upon questions, they would have to insist as American citizens upon the freedom to exercise that right. The mayor then changed his order and told the comrades that they would at least have to

move away into a side street. While Comrade Etherton then stepped to the van platform and explained to the gathering crowd the order of the mayor, Comrade Martin changed the position of the van to a place around the corner. Again the mayor changed his order, forbidding the comrades to speak at all. Etherton proceeded to speak. "Take them away," said the mayor to the police. The officer stepped close to the mayor, and in a low voice asked: "What complaint can we make?" "Never mind the complaint," said the mayor, "take them." Thereupon the officer took hold of the horse and began to lead the van away. Etherton stood on the platform speaking to the people as they followed the van. The crowd was gathering and growing immensely interested in the situation. Another officer, evidently frightened at the turn things were taking, stepped beside the speaker and expressed his regret of the affair and began to make certain intimations of how the matter could be amicably settled, if the comrades would not further insist on speaking. By this time the van had been dragged around several blocks to the city hall. Etherton began to speak. "The mayor has forbidden you to speak," said the officer, "you are my prisoner." "That will never do," came from several in a chorus. "It is an outrage and a disgrace to the community," said another. "Do you know that you fellows are getting yourselves into trouble?" said a well-dressed and well-to-do citizen, who is not a Socialist, but who believes in fair play and free speech. He then offered to bail the prisoners out immediately, although he had never seen them before. Martin then began to speak, but the other officer continued to pull the van toward the city limits. As soon as the officer left him Martin drove back. Excitement was beginning to run high when Comrade Etherton stepped to the van platform and announced that the last order from the mayor was that he was released, and the meeting would go on. A shout went up from the crowd, and they followed the van back to the public square, where the comrades opened up the batteries upon the listening populace until 11 o'clock.

'HELL'S BROKE LOOSE IN TEXAS'

The Anti-Trust Law a Weapon Against Organized Labor.

"Hell's broke loose in Texas!" is the somewhat startling saying that has become more or less popularized in the southwest, and it expresses the present situation correctly so far as Organized Labor is concerned. Readers of the Review will recall that mention was made in this department several months ago that the Texas legislature had enacted an anti-trust law under the provisions of which trade unions could be attacked in the courts. The Texas unionists attempted to have the law changed, but were unsuccessful,

and the attorney-general wrote to President Gompers, of the A. F. of L., in reply to an inquiry, that there was no cause for alarm, as the law would not be enforced against the unions. But what is the result? Were the criminal trusts proceeded against? Not a single capitalistic combine was driven from the state. On the contrary, Attorney General Bell, who possesses a treacherous memory, and District Attorney Bee have begun proceedings against the Electrical Workers' Union of San Antonio for \$6,000 damages for boycotting, and for an additional \$50 a day for every day that the boycott is continued, and the anti-trust law is the weapon that is being used against the unionists. These Bourbon hypocrites never intended to smash the trusts. If the truth were known it would probably demonstrate the fact that the anti-trust law was enacted for blackmailing purposes, to furnish boodle for corrupt politicians. The unions, having no boodle to feed the hungry grafters, will be bled in another way. In addition to this case, as well as the damage suits reported in the last couple of numbers of the Review, several more can be mentioned. There seems to be a regular craze in Chicago to mulct the unions. Another suit has been commenced in that city and the sheet metal workers are in this one. An independent contractor charges that the bosses' association and the union conspired to drive him out of business, and he wants both sides to soothe his wounded feelings with \$100,000. Still another case has been begun by the Bourbon bosses in Richmond, Va., who want \$10,000 from the stone masons for refusing to work on boycotted material. So the new scheme to disrupt unions and confiscate their treasuries is spreading to every section of the country, and democratic and republican politicians are doing nothing to hamper democratic and republican capitalists from injuring Organized Labor. All the same, the rank and file are rapidly learning that there is a class struggle, and they will strike back at the polls through the Socialist Party, no matter what the views of a few back-number leaders, so-called, may be.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

Balance on hand August 10.....	\$ 9 29
Receipts to date:	
Dues	13 10
Supplies	10
Campaign fund	3 25
	\$25 74
Disbursements to date:	
Dues	\$14 00
Secretary's salary	3 00
Car fare	40—\$17 40
Balance on hand.....	\$ 8 30

DAVID ALLAN,
Secretary-Treasurer Local St. Louis.

Join the Working Class Party—the Socialist Party. It is the only party that will make a square, red hot fight against the capitalist parties.

Man's respect for law is strictly proportionate to the law's respect for the inviolable rights of man.

It is due to an infamous miscarriage of justice that charity is permitted to exist as a degrading necessity.

Socialist Party

Local St. Louis, Mo.

HEADQUARTERS—Room 7, International Bank building, Fourth and Chestnut streets. DAVID ALLAN, city secretary.

CITY CENTRAL COMMITTEE meets every Monday evening at headquarters.

LOCAL ST. LOUIS GENERAL MEETING first Sunday in each month, at 7 o'clock p. m., at Delabar hall, Broadway and Elm street. DAVID ALLAN, Secretary. SOCIALIST WARD CLUB MEETINGS.

First Ward—First and third Fridays, 4440 Penrose street, Walter Young, secretary.

Second Ward—Third Thursday, Elm Hempstead street, C. E. Arnold, secretary.

Seventh Ward—Third Tuesday, 1212 South Eleventh street, Wm. R. Guiber, secretary.

Eighth Ward—Third Wednesday, 2301 South Broadway, G. Bohling, secretary.

Ninth Ward—First Tuesday, Tenth and Arsenal streets, Paul Fromm, secretary.

Tenth Ward—Every Thursday, Oregon avenue, Ed. Ottesky, secretary.

Eleventh Ward—Third Friday, 715 South Broadway, Wm. Holman, secretary.

Thirteenth Ward—First and last Thursday, 2632 Caroline street, Otto Bitterlich, secretary.

Seventeenth Ward—Every Wednesday, 2563 North Market street, A. J. Lawrence, secretary.

Eighteenth Ward—First Tuesday, 2108 North Fourteenth street, W. E. Kindorf, secretary.

Twentieth Ward—Second Tuesday, 2927 Cass avenue, F. W. Wehking, secretary.

Twenty-First Ward—Third Friday, 3619 Lucky street, Charles Lowe, secretary.

Twenty-Second Ward—Second Wednesday, 3204 Pine street, David Allan, secretary.

Twenty-Fourth Ward—First Thursday, 6108 Elizabeth ave., Walter P. Abling, secretary.

Twenty-Seventh Ward North Branch—First Thursday, 2318 Gilmore avenue, Mrs. Helen Hendry, secretary.

Twenty-Seventh Ward South Branch—First Tuesday, 5371 N. Market street, Chas. Kaemmerer, secretary.

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

BASE BALL

National League.

PITTSBURG... Aug. 30, 31.

ADMISSION, 25, 50 and 75c

According to Location.