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of all
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LABOR.

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your chains, and
a World to Gain.

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VOL. IV.

ST. LOUIS, MO., SATURDAY, SEPT. 19, 1903.

NO. 137.

E. V. DEBS' SPEECH AT GROSS' PARK.

Last Sunday's Socialist Festival was a Most Successful Affair and Marks a New Epoch in the Growth of the St. Louis Socialist Movement.

Never before in the history of our movement had the Socialists of St. Louis such a grand and successful demonstration as last Sunday at Gross' park. It was the annual labor press festival, which was attended by about five thousand people. Indeed, the extraordinary success of the affair was a surprise even to the most optimistic members of the arrangement committee. In various respects the arrangements were inadequate to meet the demands of the overflow crowd. The comrades of the various committees were on the grounds at an early hour working all the forenoon to make the final arrangements. Especial care had been taken to make it a thoroughly and strictly union affair, and it is in this connection that we are in duty bound to report an unpleasant incident that caused considerable annoyance to the committee of arrangements and meant a financial loss to our organization of at least \$100 or more. As a matter of course the committee had engaged union waiters and bartender. The union bartender had been engaged and promised to be on the grounds at 1 o'clock p. m. Immediately after the noon hour the crowds came rushing into the park. The bar committee was anxiously waiting for the union bartender, but the man did not show up, and all efforts to locate him or communicate with the headquarters of the bartenders' union and find out something about him were in vain, neither could the committee get another union bartender to take his place.

The union waiters arrived on the grounds ready to go to work. As all attempts to secure the services of the engaged bartender, or any other union man in his stead, failed, the committee, after conferring with a number of other union men on the grounds, decided to open the bar until the union bartender would show up and attend to the work he contracted for.

The force of union waiters, not seeing a union bartender behind the bar, at first refused to work until the situation was explained to them. Of course, the arrangement committee will not blame the bartenders' union for this unpleasant occurrence, but the union should certainly not permit any of its members to accept an engagement for a festival and then fail to report for work without giving any notice to the organization that contracted for his services. The name of the union bartender who caused this trouble is Geo. Hafer.

Aside from this unexpected incident at the opening of the festival everything went on smoothly and pleasantly.

We state the above occurrence introductory to this report because some of our anti-Socialist "friends" and peanut politicians have already circulated a report that scab bartenders were employed at the Socialist picnic.

Prof. Boeck's union band furnished

excellent music for concert and dance from 1:30 o'clock on. The four workingmen's singing societies, Vorwaerts, Herwegh Saengerbund, Freiheit and Arion, appeared in a body, and sang some of their best songs of labor's freedom. The raffle stand, the bowling alley, the lunch stand, the ball-pitching stand, the literature stand, etc., were under the management of good comrades, who had all their hands full from noon till midnight. Our brave comrades of the Women's Socialist club deserve special mention for all the hard work they had to do during the festival. They were so crowded with work that they did not get time to eat a bite or have a minute's rest.

Although the park was overcrowded everything went on as orderly as could be wished for. All visitors enjoyed themselves to their heart's content, and they will long remember the pleasant Socialist picnic.

The main feature of the programme was the address of Comrade Eugene V. Debs, who arrived in the city in the forenoon. Not having had much sleep the night before, he remained in his room in one of the small hotels on Market street, near the Union depot, to have a little rest. In the evening the reception committee escorted him to the park, where no time was lost to get him on the stage.

Every raffle ticket was sold and every prize taken out. In the bowling alley not one prize remained. The fine Bebel picture (worth \$15) was won by Mr. J. M. Thiele (North Market street), while the big Debs' picture was secured by Comrade J. Fuhrth and Albert Arnhold. The sewing machine was won by Comrade W. W. Baker (ticket No. 312). On the lunch and candy stand everything was gone long before the end of the picnic. Twice as much lunch could have been sold.

The Gross park festival was a complete success in every respect. A full report of the receipts and expenditures will soon be published in our papers.

EUGENE V. DEBS' ADDRESS AT GROSS PARK.

When Comrade Debs appeared on the platform he was greeted with a storm of applause. Comrade Wm. M. Brandt introduced the speaker. Several thousand people thronged into the summer theater of the park where the speaking took place. Comrade Debs spoke for about an hour, and his remarks and arguments were to the point. In substance he said:

"Comrades! Workingmen and Women of St. Louis: I have come here this evening to deliver a political address, to talk politics to working men and women. Not the politics of your old party politicians, but the class-conscious politics of the working class, the revolutionary, the Socialist politics of the proletariat. I am not here to harmonize conflicting class interests, I am not here to appease, but to touch

and quiver the revolutionary chord of every man and woman within the hearing of my voice, and right here let me tell you that we are living in the midst of the most tremendous and far-reaching economic and social revolution in the history of mankind. [Great applause and shouts of approval.] You shout, but will you vote?"

"Who are you? I can read from your faces that you are hard-working men and women. I ask you: Who are you? Can you answer? Will you answer?"

"You are the foundation of society. Your labor makes social life possible. Without your labor there would not be any enjoyment of social life. You are the producers of all values. All the wealth you see around you in this great city and throughout this great country is the result of labor.

"Do you own the wealth which you produce? No, you do not. You have built up an aristocracy of wealth consisting of the parasites of society, and you, the wealth-producers, represent the great mass of people that live in wage slavery, in poverty and misery. You are the fundamental power of society, and you don't seem to know it. You imagine that you are free, while in fact you are enslaved. The man who owns the tools of labor, the means of production, controls your means of life. You are dependent on your employer for a job, and for you the job means the chance to live. Consequently, the class of men who own the means of production own your very life.

"You have been asleep while the Rockefellers, the Carnegies, the Hills, Pierpont Morgans, Baers and others have accumulated thousands of millions of dollars of wealth, which represents the stolen products of the American working class.

"You have been shouting for the Democratic and Republican Parties. You have been voting the capitalist party tickets. You elected the same political parties into power whose mission it is to-day to protect and advance the class interests of capitalism.

"You see the work of your old political parties. The politicians flatter you and pretend to love you before the day of election; after the election they will kick you and despise you, and when your unions go out on strike or declare a boycott the political rulers will show their love for the working class by ordering the powers of the police, militia and federal troops to break your strikes and by issuing injunctions against you.

"I challenge any politician to show me any difference between the Democratic and Republican Parties. Both are the tools of capitalism. The only difference I can find is that the Republican Party is controlled by the big capitalists and the other by the little capitalists who are very anxious to become big ones. Whenever and wherever organized labor is engaged in a serious struggle against the powers of capitalism you will find both the old

parties on the capitalist side fighting against the working class.

"And yet we witness the disgraceful spectacle of the great army of union men voting for these capitalist parties, under the pretext of voting for good men. We know from experience that the cause of the Democratic and Republican Parties is a bad cause, a rotten cause, based on the principle of deceiving the working class for the purpose of enabling the ruling classes to continue their system of exploiting and robbing the toiling masses. How can intelligent, good men fight for a bad cause?"

"In view of these facts are you not ashamed of ever having voted the Republican or Democratic ticket? It is bad enough to see a poor desperate wage slave scab on his own class by taking the place of his striking fellow workers. In my opinion, however, it is a hundred times worse to see a so-called intelligent union man doing scab work on election day by voting for either of the capitalist parties, thereby injuring the best interests of the working class as represented by the Socialist Party.

"The Republican politicians will parade as Lincoln Republicans. Now, Lincoln was a good man, but Lincoln is dead, and in the Republican Party of to-day the spirit of Abraham Lincoln is dead and buried. The party is controlled by the spirit of Mark Hanna, Rockefeller, Morgan & Co.

"The Democratic Party poses as the Jefferson democracy, but Jefferson is dead. The Jefferson principles in the Democratic Party are dead, and the principles of boodle and political high-way robbery flourish instead.

"There are in your unions many fakirs and heelers who are members of organized labor not to help the cause of the working class, but to gain prestige and influence in order to secure some political job from the capitalist parties. You have them right here in St. Louis, you find them in other cities. As a rule they are attempting to play their miserable role in the central bodies, but their life is a short one, and the quicker these parasites on the body of the labor movement are found out and kicked out the better for the movement.

"Every true union man must admit the justice and truth and necessity of Socialism, and consequently also the necessity of the Socialist Party movement. There is absolutely no excuse for any union man to vote the Democratic or Republican tickets. His proper place is in the Socialist Party, because this is his party, the party of the working class.

"It can no longer be a simple fight for a 15-cent increase in wages; it has become a question whether or not the working class shall take possession of all the wealth created by labor or whether this wealth shall remain the monopoly of the class of social parasites who never do an honest day's

Comrades, Agitate for LABOR! It is Our Most Effective Weapon.

work. "I want you to think for yourselves. Be men and women who do their own thinking. Under the present system of society you are being robbed whether you receive higher or lower wages, because the wage system is based on legalized robbery. The millions of toilers slave and starve for the idle few who accumulate the stolen products of labor and lead a life of luxury and debauchery, demoralizing to themselves and destructive and death-breathing to the working class.

"I am not addressing you as a Lincoln Republican or as a Jefferson Democrat, but as a union man and Socialist, as a Social-Democrat. I want you to fight for the freedom of your own class and join the working class party, which is the Socialist Party.

"I appeal to the young ladies in this audience to investigate whether the young men who are anxious to become their future companions in life's great battle are still doing mercenary work for the old parties, and, if they do, our young women friends will do well to place these young gentlemen on the boycott list until they get sense enough to become Socialists and work for the emancipation of the working class. Every young man should remember that by voting for the parties of capitalism he helps to perpetuate wage slavery, he strengthens the fetters of hard toil and misery on his own father and mother, on his own sisters and brothers, on his own sweet-heart and on his own future family.

"Let us not be union men 364 days in the year and scab on our own class on election day by voting for either of the capitalist parties.

PRESIDENT GOMPERS CRITICISED.
"Some time ago President Sam Gompers of the American Federation of Labor challenged President Parry of the Manufacturers' association. Mr. Gompers denounced Mr. Parry in very strong language, and Mr. Parry denounced Mr. Gompers in equally strong terms. Permit me to inform you that Mr. Parry deserves credit for his open stand in favor of his class. He is not a hypocrite. He is fighting the battle of organized capital. He is true to his class, not only on the economic, but also on the political field.

"Indeed, this is more than I can say of Mr. Gompers for the following reason: President Gompers is denouncing Parry and his class of union smashers and pledges his word of honor to fight them to the bitter end. When election day comes we see Mr. Gompers go to the ballot box and deposit a scab-ballot. On election day President Gompers of the A. F. of L. votes the same capitalist ticket as President Parry of the Manufacturers' association.

"Is this logical? Is this right? Is this honorable? Is this for the interests of the working class?

"I assure you that Mr. Parry will not scab on the capitalist class. He will not vote the Socialist Party ticket. You union men are sacrificing your self-respect and your honor by following such political scab and blackleg tactics.

"The political powers of capitalism are organized against you. It is for you to organize under the banner of Socialism and the Socialist Party and fight the battles of your own emancipation.

"We are in the midst of a most serious crisis in the development of modern society. While the ruling powers of America, Europe and Asia are preparing for war, are building warships and forts, are drilling millions of armed mercenaries, ready at a moment's notice to throw the civilized world into the bloodiest war in the history of mankind, the millions of wage workers all the world over are organizing their forces under the banner of Socialism and economic freedom.

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

"No Bismarck, no kaiser, no czar, no Mark Hanna can check the victorious onward march of labor.

"The great army of labor and Socialism, although many millions strong, has no forts and warships, no

Gatling guns and Winchesters, no lead and powder—in short; we have no machinery of murder and destruction, and yet our army is mightier and more powerful than all the armed forces of capitalism throughout the world. We defeat the Bismarcks, the kaisers and the czars, and we shall in the near future defeat the Mark Hannas, the Rockefellerers, the Morgans and other uncrowned princes, kaisers and czars of America.

"Socialism and science are our most powerful weapons. The rank and file of labor constitute our great army that will use these weapons against the common enemy.

"Dark clouds of storm are gathering over the social horizon. Darker and darker grows our surrounding. Now and then, here and there, we see the flashes of lightning of the coming storm. We hear the rumbling thunder like the subterranean noise of the volcano. In the midst of the darkness we hear the voices of the suffering working men, women and children. Take courage! Look up! Soon the golden rays of the sun of Socialism will be visible. The storm clouds will disappear. Socialism will enlighten the masses and in the daylight of knowledge and science the working class will concentrate their forces, repel the forces of darkness, reaction and slavery, and victoriously march over the battlefield of emancipation and economic freedom.

"Prepare for the great battle of 1904. It will be a severe struggle between the political forces of capitalism as represented by the Democratic and Republican Parties, and the forces of labor and Socialism as represented by the Socialist Party."

The speaker was repeatedly interrupted by applause, and his concluding remarks were followed by shouts and cheers. Hundreds of people forced their way to the stage to shake hands with "Gene," and the reception committee had quite a job to get Comrade Debs out of the crowd and to get back to the city in time to catch the last train to Indianapolis, where he was announced to address a mass meeting the following evening.

SPECIAL NOTICE. The splendid picture of August Bebel won at the bowling alley by Comrade Thiele was painted and presented by Comrade E. Sohn, the well-known artist, of No. 2418 North Broadway. Comrades who wish to have similar work done should remember Comrade Sohn before going to any other place.

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.

NEW SUBSCRIBERS

- Were secured since our last report by the following friends and comrades:
- Alex Blaser, Jersey City Heights, N. J. 1
 - Al. Arnhold, St. Louis 2
 - L. H. Schneider, St. Louis 1
 - Al. Scholl, St. Louis 1
 - Wm. Crouch, St. Louis 4
 - F. McKeirnan, St. Louis 1
 - F. Sponsor, Valley Park, Mo. 1
 - Jno. Cunningham, East St. Louis ... 3
 - A. Zuckermann, St. Louis 2
 - Richard Weber, St. Louis 1
 - Phil. Mueller, St. Louis 3
 - W. H. Priesmeyer, St. Louis 40
 - Geo. Roede, St. Louis 3
 - C. E. Arnold, St. Louis 1
 - Wm. Kindorf, St. Louis 1
 - W. T. Smith, St. Louis 1
 - Hugo Neumann, St. Louis 1
 - Gus. Eckhoff, St. Louis 1
 - Otto Rudolf, St. Louis 1
 - G. A. Hoehn, St. Louis 2
 - C. Bolfig, St. Louis 1
 - H. F. Gellermann, St. Louis 1
 - H. Stemmler, St. Louis 1
 - B. F. Orear, St. Louis 1
 - Mrs. R. Nagel, St. Louis 1
 - Jno. M. Palmer, St. Louis 1
 - R. J. Robinson, St. Louis 1
 - Emil Burkhardt, Herman, Mo 1
 - Walter Strosnider, St. Louis 1

LABOR DAY IN LOS ANGELES.

Police Attempt to Create Disturbance at the Grounds After Parade.

(Special Correspondence.) Labor Day in Los Angeles this year was the most remarkable demonstration ever witnessed in southern California. The line of march covered thirty blocks and the head of the procession had disbanded before the rear was in motion. It is useless to say the little gang comprising the Employers' association, at the head of which is H. G. Otis, was thrown into a state of consternation at the splendid showing made by the hosts of organized labor. Practically every union in the city, and several organizations from the suburban town of San Pedro, were represented in the parade, a feature of which were the new unions in line, thirty-four having received charters since Labor Day 1902. The judges of the parade were selected from the three daily papers of Los Angeles employing union labor, thus emphasizing the attitude of the infamous Times toward those who toil. At the grounds in the afternoon what at first promised to be a serious difficulty was caused by a policeman dressed in plain clothing, who drew a revolver while making a petty arrest. The opinion is freely expressed that the policeman was acting under or-

ders from the chief, a tool of Otis, and this belief is strengthened by the manner in which the Times devotes an entire page to the "union riot." Naturally, the union men and women of Los Angeles are much pleased at the great showing they made, and are confident that ere another Labor Day is at hand Otis will be forced to make peace with labor.

A leader of trade unionists may very well urge his organization to adopt such policy as will best insure its benefit and those affiliated with it, but when he goes into the public press, stating his views upon economic questions, displaying the misconception of the conflict in modern society, which Mr. Mitchell has, he must expect to be treated as one who is with the working class in their unions and against them outside, this naturally diminishes his influence for good and makes the task much harder for those who realize that the trade union is but one wing of the great army which is preceeding not only on the economic field but the political as well for the accomplishing of industrial freedom.

TRADES UNIONS

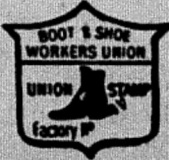
- Foster education and uproot ignorance.
- Shorten hours and lengthen life.
- Raise wages and lower usury.
- Increase independence and decrease dependence.
- Develop manhood and balk tyranny.
- Establish fraternity and discourage selfishness.
- Reduce prejudice and induce liberality.
- Enlarge society and eliminate classes.
- Create rights and abolish wrongs.
- Lighten toil and brighten man.
- Cheer the home and fireside and

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.

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Trade Unionism.

EDITED BY A SOCIALIST.

Protest Against Roosevelt's Action in the Miller Case.

At last Sunday's meeting of the Central body the report of the entertainment committee was received. The Lemp's park picnic netted a clear profit of over \$1,400. The report of the Engineers and Brewery Workers' "harmonizing committee" was received and filed. A communication was read from the Washington (D. C.) Central Labor Union concerning President Roosevelt's anti-union decision in the Miller case.

W. A. Miller, some time ago, was dismissed from the government printing office because of a disagreement with the Bookbinders' union. The matter was brought before the president, who ordered that he be reinstated. The Washington C. T. U. appeals to organized labor to petition President Roosevelt to modify his decision in the Miller case. When a motion was made to comply with the request, Delegate Hoehn arose to protest. He said that President Roosevelt had insulted organized labor, and no union man should disgrace and humiliate himself to petition a politician, especially after such an insult, no matter whether it was Roosevelt or "Snake" Kinney. On Hoehn's motion, that part of the communication referring to petitioning the president was stricken out, and the following inserted:

"Resolved, That we hereby most emphatically protest against the action of President Roosevelt."

Strikers Deert the Mines.

DALLAS, TEX., Sept. 16.—This was the most important day so far in the Thurber strike. The Texas Pacific Coal Co. tried to start up mine No. 9, but could get only six men for work which before the strike called for more than a thousand. Manager Gordon was surprised when he found the mine workers' union making good its promise to move all the miners from Thurber. Three hundred and twenty-five more were forwarded to various mines in the southwest on the noon train, and 500 more, the last of the original forces, are ticketed to leave.

It is reported here that President Marston, in New York, is displeased with the disastrous turn at Thurber, and has been in serious correspondence with Thurber. It is also rumored that Manager Gordon has forwarded his resignation to New York.

Mass meetings are being arranged for Texas cities, to assist the Thurber union labor movement. Messrs. Scott, Stein, Palmer and Woodman, officials and organizers of the Federation of Labor, addressed a mass meeting at Dallas to-night. They are raising funds to help the brickmakers, clerks and other crafts, recently organized at Thurber, but who are not eligible to United Mine Workers' membership.

Carmen Elect Officers.

The Brotherhood of Railway Carmen decided to hold their next convention in Buffalo, N. Y. Officers of the grand lodge elected were:

F. L. Ronemus, Kansas City, grand chief carman; W. C. Denius, Kansas City, first vice-grand chief; Hugh Jones, St. Paul, second vice-grand chief; John Suthous, Corning, N. Y., third vice-grand chief; C. M. Suiter, Kansas City, grand secretary and treasurer.

The new board of directors is composed of Frank Hall, Logan, Ia., chairman; F. H. Wallace, Ontario, Can.;

M. F. Ryan, Beaumont, Tex.; J. W. Bartholomew, Sunbury, Pa., and W. C. Wallace, Wilmington, N. C.

The Miners' Trouble in Colorado and Judge Owers' Decision.

There is a judge in Colorado who seems to have missed his calling. Judge Owers, of Idaho Springs, has taken the side of the miners who were driven from that city by the good capitalists "from whom all blessings flow." For this he has been "called down" by the governor, who tries to remind the judge of the apparent fact that he is to be the servant of the aforesaid capitalists, and, as such, should defend their criminal action. It will be noticed, in the following reply of the judge to the governor's strictures, he discards all judicial traditions, which look upon the working class as the legitimate prey of the judiciary, and actually assumes that they are innocent till proven guilty. Ere long there will be a judge in Colorado "without any visible means of support."

Among other things, he said:

"The law presumes all innocent until proven guilty.

"I have not seen, and I have not heard that any miner has yet been tried, let alone convicted, of any crime connected with recent labor troubles in this state. I have not heard that any miners, either as individuals or as a union or otherwise, have openly boasted of the commission of any crime or misdemeanor or openly avowed responsibility for and approval of the same in any manner, let alone adopting and publishing resolutions approving thereof, and offering to aid and abet the same.

"On the other hand, it is a matter of common knowledge that in Denver, Idaho Springs and elsewhere throughout the state an organization exists known by some such name as 'The Citizens' League or Union,' which has openly resumed responsibility and boasted of its pride in the recent mob violence and outrage at Idaho Springs, and concerning which you have not so far raised your voice in condemnation or pretest.

"I regret that, lacking the advantages of blood, breeding and education, which are yours in so eminent a degree, I am not gifted with that delicate sense of discrimination which enables you to distinguish so nicely between a mob led by a banker and a dance hall proprietor, and one led by a miner, and which makes it possible for you to regard an actual trespass upon human rights with equanimity, while you look upon even a threatened invasion of property rights as, by comparison, an unpardonable sin."

The judge challenges the governor to show wherein the court had in any way overstepped its authority in protecting the miners from the unlawful acts of the Citizens' league.

PRESENTS FOR THE RAFFLE

Were sent in Friday and Saturday as follows:

Mrs. H. Prien, fine cushion, vases, aprons and other valuable articles.

Mrs. Kohl, fine cushion, vases, aprons, etc.

J. M. Thiele, 34 pieces of glass and chinaware.

Mrs. H. Herminghaus, Dr. Warren's doctor book.

Mrs. Vincenz Schwab, fine silk head rest.

Mrs. Chas. Gebelein, glassware.

Miss Martha and Mrs. Fred Arendt, fine fancy box and fine plates.

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 and 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 proletariat 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 state 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 employes, 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 cooperative 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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FOR SOCIALIST STUDENTS.

THE PROLETARIAT.

DISSOLUTION OF THE PROLETARIAN FAMILY.

The labor of women in productive pursuits betokens the total destruction of the family life of the workingman, without substituting for it a higher form of family relationship. The capitalist system of production does not yet generally destroy the single household of the workingman, but robs it of all its bright, and leaves only its dark sides. The activity of women to-day in industrial pursuits does not mean to her freedom from household duties; it means to her an increase of her former burdens by a new one. But we can not serve two masters. The household of the work-



KARL KAUTSKY

ingman suffers whenever his wife must help to earn the daily bread. What present society puts in the place of the individual household and family which it destroys, are miserable substitutes: soup-houses and day nurseries, where the offals of the physical and mental sustenance of the rich are cast to the lower classes.

Socialists are charged with an intent to abolish the family. We do know that every system of production has had a special form of household, to which corresponds a special system of family relationship. We do not consider the existing form of the family the highest possible nor the last utterance upon the subject; and we do expect that a new and improved social system may yet develop a new and higher form of family relationship. But to hold this view is a very different thing from striving to dissolve all family bonds. Those who do destroy the family bonds—who not only mean to, but who in fact do destroy them right under our own eyes—they are, not the Socialists, but the capitalist themselves. Many a "slave-holder has before this torn husband from wife, and parents from grown-up children; but the capitalists have improved upon the abominations of slavery; they tear the suckling from the breast of its mother, and compel her to intrust it to strangers' hands. And yet a society in which hundreds of thousands of such instances are of daily occurrence, a society whose luminaries promote "benevolent" institutions for the purpose of making easy the separation of the mothers from their babes, such a society has the effrontery to accuse the Socialists of contemplating the abolition of the family simply because they, basing their opinion upon the fact that the "family" has ever been one of the reflexes of the system of production, foresee that further changes in that system must also result in a more perfect system of family relationship.

PROSTITUTION.

Hand in hand with the accusation on the subject of the family bonds goes

the accusation that Socialists aim at a community of wives. This charge is as false as the other. Socialists, on the contrary, maintain that just the reverse of a community in wives, and of all sexual oppression and license, to-wit, "ideal love, will be the foundation of matrimonial connections in a Socialist commonwealth, and that pure love can only prevail in such a social system. What, on the other hand, do we see to-day?

The irrational system of modern production tears the sexes apart. It builds up she-towns in New England and Le-towns in the mining districts of Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio and the farther west, thereby directly promoting and inciting prostitution as a natural and inevitable result. Furthermore, helpless women, forced to earn their living in factories, shops and mines, fall a prey to capitalist cupidity; the capitalist takes advantage of their inexperience, offers them wages too slight for their support, and hints at, or even brazenly refers them to prostitution as a means of supplementing their income. Everywhere, the increase of female labor in industry is accompanied by an increase of prostitution. In the modern state, where Christianity is preached and piety is at a premium, many a "thriving" branch of industry is found whose working women are paid so poorly that they would be compelled to starve unless they prostituted themselves; and wonderful to say, in such instances the capitalist will ever be heard to protest that these small wages are indispensable to enable him to compete successfully in the market and to maintain his establishment in a "thriving" condition.

Prostitution is as old as the contrast between rich and poor. At one time, however, prostitutes constituted a middle class between beggars and thieves; they were then an article of luxury which society indulged in, but the loss of which would in no way have endangered its existence. To-day, however, it is no longer the females of the slums alone, but working women who are compelled to sell their bodies for money. This latter sale is no longer simply a matter of luxury, it has become one of the foundations upon which production is carried on. Under the capitalistic system of production, prostitution becomes a pillar of society. What the defenders of this social system falsely charge Socialist with, is the very thing they are guilty of themselves: Community of wives is a feature of capitalist. Indeed, such deep roots has this system of community of wives cast in modern society that its representatives agree in declaring prostitution to be a necessary thing. They can not understand that the abolition of the proletariat implies the abolition of prostitution. So deep are they sunk in intellectual stagnation that they can not conceive a social system without community of wives. But, it is noted, community of wives has ever been an invention of the upper layers of society, never of the proletariat. The community of wives is one of the modes of exploiting the proletariat; it is not Socialism; it is the exact opposite of Socialism.

CAPITALIST ANARCHY.

Labor Agitators Sent to Jail in Porto Rico--Rotten Politicians Play the Stars and Stripes Comedy.

Union men, read the following telegram from "our new possession," Porto Rico:

"SAN JUAN, P. R., Sept. 15.—Eduardo Conde and Leonidas Gullot, two Socialists who spoke in a recent meet-

ing of the American Federation of Labor, were put on trial to-day for insulting the American flag and threatening the life of Gov. Hunt. Their speeches teemed with abuse of the government. One of the prisoners was accused of advising the workmen, upon the return of Gov. Hunt, on October 1, from the United States, to parade, carrying black flags, and then to make demands upon the government. If these demands were refused, the speaker added, the alternative of killing Gov. Hunt remained.

The other orator was said to have declared that the American flag was a rag fit only to cover rascals and criminals. THE ACCUSED VEHEMENTLY DENIED THE CHARGES.

They were tried before Justice Kopel, convicted of anarchistic conduct and sentenced to six months in prison. Justice Kopel says the flag is higher than the law, and anarchists need never expect any mercy in his court.

The case has established a precedent as a Porto Rican official warning that attacks on the flag and government must stop. The Americans and

loyal Porto Ricans are jubilant, while the Socialists are angry at to-day's decision. The convicted men will appeal from the judgment, claiming that Justice Kopel had no jurisdiction, as there is no law covering the offense. The interest in the case is intense."

Eduardo Conde is the colleague and personal friend of Comrade Iglesias, the official organizer of the American Federation of Labor for the Island of Porto Rico. It is due to the efforts of these two men that thousands of Porto Rican wage workers were organized into trades unions. The American and Porto Rican capitalists and speculators hate the trades unions, because of the interference with their schemes of exploiting the poor wage slaves at starvation wages.

Iglesias, Conde and Guillot are not only trades union agitators, but Socialists as well. What they really have said about the American flag was this: "Politicians and criminal carpet-baggers are doing their corrupt work under the cloak of upholding the Stars and Stripes, while the working people of the island."

The Socialist Congress in Dresden.



DRESDEN, Sept. 15.—The feature of to-day's session of the Social Democratic congress was a speech lasting three hours by the renowned leader, August Bebel, on party ethics. With splendid forensic the speaker proceeded to explain the road along which the revisionists and intellectual section of the party was endeavoring to direct the Socialist movement. He declared that the masses were consumed with volcanic indignation at the conduct and writings of the learned authors and journalists who, for personal ends, had placed themselves at the head of the party, and that these writers had entirely lost touch with the proletariat.

Dealing with the personal attacks leveled against him, Bebel aroused the congress to a higher pitch of enthusiasm by revealing what he declared to be the source of his powerful morality. In the course of 50 years, he said, he had committed many blunders, but his most bitter opponent had not succeeded in detecting a stain on his honor, of insincerity in his conduct. The Socialist leader declared that the academicians, whose dishonorable articles had betrayed the principles of the

cause, were a cancerous growth on the party, and that a severe operation must be performed. The academicians, he continued, must remember that the Social Democratic Party was not like the German army, commanded by generals; its leaders were its servants, not its masters.

Mr. Askew, a British delegate, in an interview, said the proposal of the German revisionists to appoint a Social Democrat vice-president of the reichstag had disgusted the masses, whom the revisionists never understood.

United political action will place the working class in control of government, and the abolition of capitalism will inevitably follow.

The Socialist party is the party of the working class, the party that stands for economic equality and industrial freedom, the party of progress and civilization.

The liberation of the toilers of earth from the bonds of wage-slavery is a mission worthy of the great international movement historically commissioned to render that inestimable service to humanity.

Woman's Forum.

Edited by KATE EMMET.

COFFEE, CURRANTS AND ORANGES.

The Poor Can Not Get Them, Because Too Much Is Produced.

As a very tangible evidence of the inability of society to distribute the wealth that is produced under our present competitive system, it is interesting to note the overproduction of three great staple products, viz.: coffee in Brazil, currants in Greece and oranges in California.

Ordinary agricultural products, such as wheat or corn, which are planted from year to year, can be restricted in production when the price falls too low, by the simple process of refraining from planting. But with a crop like oranges, growing in orchards requiring great expense in the planting and culture for years before maturity, it is self-evident that one or two years of low prices will not incite the growers to lose all the money invested by abandoning their orchards. The same applies to the coffee plantations and currant vineyards. It is to be remembered that an orchard neglected goes to ruin. Hence, when overproduction ensues in crops of this nature, the planter is face to face with a very serious problem. He must go to the expense of taking care of his orchard, and he has a crop forced on his hands which he can not dispose of.

From the following item, taken from the New York Commercial of recent date, it will be seen the conditions in Brazil are so desperate that the government is proposing to destroy one-fifth of the crop.

The forty-fifth annual report of the chamber of commerce for the official year 1902-3 was made public yesterday. The proceedings of the chamber for the year ending April 30, 1903, together with the roll of members, officers and committees, constitution and by-laws, comprise the first part of the volume. The second part contains trade reviews and statistical statements of trade and finance.

The report says: "The coffee markets of the world have been overshadowed by the enormous yield of the Brazilian crop, which has been of increasing rather than of diminishing proportions, and has afforded very little opportunity for the development of bullish features. The crop of 1901-2 was more than the whole world's yearly consumption; and this was followed by a crop that very nearly equaled it in size, while the present prospect is that the crop due July 1 will exceed all its predecessors, the estimates foreshadowing a production of 16,000,000 bags.

"This enormous expansion is the result of the plan of agricultural development adopted several years ago, and which resulted in converting a large acreage of wild land into coffee plantations. The new trees, which require three years to mature, have gradually swelled the proportions of the crop until now planters are just as anxious to restrict the yield, and various plans have been discussed, but the only one that has in any way materialized is the tax in kind levied in the state of San Paulo, which is to go in operation July 1; under the provisions of this law planters will be required to hand over to the government 20 per cent of their shipments.

"Thus, if an order for 1,000 bags is received, the planter will be required to send to the government agent 200 bags to be destroyed; that is, burned up. It is said that this measure can not be practically carried out, and that it will fail, especially as it is to be enforced in only one of the five coffee

growing states. During the month of August a New York syndicate that had a large speculative interest in the market endeavored to advance prices by manipulation, but although they were aided by a temporary drought and a light frost, they relinquished the contract."

In Greece, where there is an overproduction of currants—it may be said the currants of commerce are not currants in the American sense of the word, but are a small grape, grown upon a vine like any other grape—the government is also arranging to have part of the crop destroyed and passing strict laws against the further extension of planting. In California the orange growers are not sufficiently organized as yet to have part of the oranges destroyed in order to be able to sell the remainder at a living profit, but there is no question but this is what must be done ultimately. The price of the surplus determines the price of the whole. If the surplus sells at a loss, the whole crop sells at a loss. If, for instance, there are a million boxes of oranges for sale, and there is a demand for only 900,000, then the extra hundred thousand must be slaughtered at any price, and the price upon this hundred thousand will make the price for the whole million. It is evident, therefore, there being a market for 900,000, that it is better to destroy the 100,000 and get a living price for the 900,000 than to try and sell the whole million at a loss. The total returns to the growers for the 900,000 boxes at a high price will be much better than for the million boxes at a low price.

The problem the California growers have to solve, however, is how shall the growers of the 100,000 boxes, which would be destroyed, be compensated. To-day this would necessitate a close organization of the growers, and in fact such a compact organization that it is very problematical whether it can yet be formed. The growers have not had enough discipline yet.

Of course, all this discussion about destroying the fruits of the earth when so many people need them would seem absurd if it be not always remembered that we are living under an absurd system. Here we have the earth so prolific that we are actually threatened with starvation unless we destroy some of the food which we have produced. When we abolish our competitive system and introduce a co-operative system of distribution, we will never raise more than we need, because production will be systematically planned; and if at any time we find that more labor is directed toward the production of a certain commodity than is needed, it will mean either a reduction in the hours of labor or the transfer of labor to some other industry. To-day our competitive wage system so limits the effective demand of the people that it is folly for us to expect consumption to keep up the production.—Wilshire's for August.

The insecurity of the future is an indisputable fact.

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

* * *

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

PROGRESS OF OUR NATIONAL ORGANIZATION

FROM NORTH, SOUTH, EAST AND WEST.

Organizer Goebel in Virginia.

George H. Goebel reports his work in Virginia as follows: Opened at Norfolk, August 21, with open-air meeting and good audience. On Sunday, went to Ocean View, with thought of reaching the large crowd of people who visit there Sundays, but the trolley company declined to permit any meeting. Monday, spoke to a good-sized and much-interested open-air audience at Newport News, and on Tuesday at Portsmouth to fair crowd, and good attention shown. Next day at noon spoke to employes at navy yard, getting fine reception for my message. At night spoke at Norfolk again, and despite rain, had a fair audience. After meeting, a well-educated man asked a question, which led to more questions; a new crowd gradually gathered, until we had a larger number than before, which really meant two meetings for the night. Next two nights were at Newport News, one open-air and one in-doors, several new members being obtained.

From there went to Richmond, which I found to be ripe for Socialist agitation, because of the car strike, which was just coming to a close, with the men defeated. Spoke Saturday night in hall. Sunday afternoon went to a public park intending to speak. Was told by the police that only religious speaking was permitted there, and the moment I attempted anything else I would be hauled down. I said, "All right, I guess I know how to make a religious address." Had a fine audience and wonderful attention. One old lady remarked at close it was the finest religion she ever listened to, and I guess she was right, for it was as good Socialism as I had to offer. Spoke again at night in hall.

On Monday went to Petersburg, and found the only active Socialist in the town packing his grip to go to New York, because of being blacklisted for his trade unionism and allround cusdedness from the capitalist standpoint. This left me nothing to work on, but by calling on a number of union men I finally got hold of some who seemed interested, and arranged meeting on

Wednesday night. In the meantime I returned to Richmond to speak there in the open air on Tuesday night. Had a permit, but was given the information that it would be the last.

When I started I called attention to the statement of the chief of police and suggested that there could hardly be any law against talking on the street, as if there was he would not dare to give permission for its violation; therefore, it must be the chief was assuming to make law himself, and I served notice that we proposed to have not only this, but future meetings. Presently a policeman appeared and said he was sent to tell me I must stop talking. I said: "I might obey that order in some towns, but I certainly do not propose to obey it in Richmond, Va., within 200 feet of the church in which Patrick Henry took his life in his hands by standing for the right of free speech," and then asked how many in the audience would go my bond. A half dozen responded, but the officer, seeing we were not to be bluffed, suggested I go with him and see the chief. I replied that I did not feel any anxiety to see him; that if the officer wanted me to see him all that he had to do was to arrest me. Finally the policeman went off and returned with word we could go ahead. So we had the first test of the right of free speech in Richmond, with first blood in favor of the working class.

On Wednesday, when I went to Petersburg, I found nothing had been done, owing to diphtheria breaking out, so was disappointed in getting results hoped for. I have, however, some union men circulating a charter application, and the Richmond comrades have promised to go over and finish the work. It is only a question of time when a local is gotten there.

Went next to Lynchburg, and found old local was dead, but with information given me by Comrade Heck went to work. Was given opportunity to talk in Trades Union hall, a union meeting adjourning so that I could proceed. Got ten signers to application, and comrades are confident they will get many more. Went next to Roanoke, but it had rained two nights, and could not even hold outdoor meetings. Went next to Pulaski, where I organized a local with eight members."

The M. J. Healy Co-Operative Furniture & Carpet Co.

The Large Building S. E. Cor. Olive and Twelfth Sts.

I take great pleasure in announcing to our many friends belonging to organized labor, that the M. J. Healy Co-Operative Furniture & Carpet Co. are now open for business in the large building on the southeast corner of Twelfth and Olive streets, formerly occupied by the Missouri Glass Co. As per my promise made to the C. T. L. U. at the time they endorsed our proposition, we are employing union labor whenever it is possible to do so and you will find the shop store card of the retail clerks' at all times displayed conspicuously in our windows. Remember, no matter what other houses may tell you to the contrary, no store is a union store without having this card. This card applies to a store in the same manner as the barbers, butchers and bartenders in other organizations using a card displayed in their respective shops and places of business. True friends of organized labor should only patronize houses displaying this card. We also wish to say that there still remains a small amount of our capital stock at \$1 per share. Popular subscriptions in small lots will close October 10. We also wish to call your attention to the fact that with each certificate issued for \$1 or more entitles the holder of said certificate to a discount of 5 per cent on any and all purchases made at our store. The Missouri Trust Co. of this city are guaranteeing 8 per cent dividend on \$50,000 (worth of this stock) payable 4 per cent, every six months for the period of five years, upon all certificates from \$50 upwards. You can subscribe for your stock either here at the store or the Missouri Trust Co. Remember that the savings bank pays you only 3 per cent interest on your money per year. The Missouri Trust Co. guarantees to pay you 4 per cent, every six months for five years. In addition to this you will also share in all profits of the company, which will at least mean 20 per cent more to you in addition to the guarantee of the Trust Co.

If the union women and men of the city of St. Louis would subscribe \$1 each, (which is a very small amount), organized labor would then practically own and control the largest house furnishing houses in the United States. If you are not a partner in this great enterprise, do not put it off any longer but come at once. We have arranged it for you very nicely, that in case you should not have the full amount to pay for as many shares as you would wish to subscribe for, that you may pay part of it down and the balance a little later.

Hoping that you will give the matter the serious attention that it is entitled to, I beg to remain, Fraternal yours,

M. J. HEALY, President Co-Op. F. & C. Co.

Ex-President of the Retail Furniture Salesmen's Local 875 and Ex-Delegate to the C. T. L. U.

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.

(Continued.)

"And I tell you that under certain circumstances you would love even a rattlesnake, the loving fiber in man can not remain entirely inert. The human soul abhors a vacuum; observe attentively the most hardened egoist, and at last you will find, like a little flower among the stones, an affection hidden under a fold of his soul.

"It is a general rule, to which there is no exception, that man must love something. The dragoon who has no mistress loves his horse; the young girl who has no lover loves her bird; the prisoner, who can not in decency love his jailer, loves the spider that spins its web in the window of his cell, or the fly that comes down to him in a ray of sunlight. When we find nothing animate to absorb our affections, we love material objects—a ring, a snuff box, a tree, a flower; the Dutchman feels a passion for his tulips, and the antiquary for his cameos."

Just then Manette's husband came in with a fat eel in his basket.

"Machecourt," said Benjamin, "it is noon—that is to say, dinner time; suppose we make a dinner of this eel?"

"It is time to go," said Machecourt, "and we shall dine at M. Minxit's."

"And you, sergeant? Suppose we eat this eel?"

"For my part," said the sergeant, "I am in no hurry; as I am not going anywhere in particular, I spend every night at home."

"Very well said! And the respectable poodle, what is his opinion on this point?"

The poodle looked at Benjamin and wagged his tail two or three times.

"Well, silence gives consent: so, Machecourt, there are three of us against you; you must bow to the will of the majority. The majority, you see, my friend, is stronger than the rest of the world. Put ten philosophers on one side and 11 fools on the other, and the fools will carry the day."

"The eel is indeed a very fine one," said my grandfather, "and, if Manette has a little fresh bacon, it will make an excellent matelote. But, the devil! what about my writ? That must be served."

"Mark this," said Benjamin; "it will undoubtedly be necessary for some one to lend me his arm to escort me back to Clamecy. If you shirk this pious duty, I will no longer own you as my brother-in-law."

Now, as Machecourt was very anxious to continue as Benjamin's brother-in-law, he remained.

The eel being ready, they sat down at table again. Manette's matelote was a chef-d'oeuvre; the sergeant did not tire of admiring it. But the chefs-d'oeuvre of the cook are ephemeral; we scarcely give them time to cool. There is only one thing in the arts that can be compared to culinary products; I refer to the products of journalism; and even a stew can be warmed over, a terrine of foie gras may keep a whole month, and a ham may see its admirers gather about it many times; but a newspaper article has no to-morrow; before we reach the end, we have forgotten the beginning, and, when we have finished it, we throw it on our desk, as we throw our napkin on the table after we have dined. Consequently I do not understand how a man of literary value can consent to waste his talents in the obscure works of journalism; how he who might write on parchment can make up his mind to scribble on the blotting-paper of a journal; certainly it

must occasion him no small heart-break to see the leaves upon which he has placed his thought fall noiselessly with those thousand other leaves which the immense tree of the press shakes daily from its branches.

Meanwhile the hand of the cuckoo clock kept moving on, while my uncle philosophized. Benjamin did not notice that it was dark until Manette placed a lighted candle on the table. Then, without waiting for the observations of Machecourt, who for that matter was scarcely in a condition to observe anything, he declared that they had had enough for one day, and that it was time to return to Clamecy.

The sergeant and my grandfather went out first. Manette stopped my uncle at the threshold.

"Monsieur Rathery," said she, "see here."

"What is this scrawl?" said my uncle. "August 10, three bottles of wine with cream cheese; September 1, with M. Page, nine bottles and a plate of fish. God forgive me, I believe it is a bill."

"Undoubtedly," said Manette; "I see clearly that it is time to balance our accounts, and I hope that you will send me yours very soon."

"For my part, Manette, I have no account to render. It is an agreeable duty indeed to touch the plump white arm of a pretty woman like yourself."

"You say that to laugh at me, Monsieur Rathery," exclaimed Manette, thrilling with delight.

"I say it because it is true, because I think it," answered my uncle. "As for your bill, my poor Manette, it comes at a fatal moment; I am obliged to declare to you that I haven't the smallest coin at the present hour; but, stay, here is my watch; you will keep it until I have paid you. It is in the best possible condition; it hasn't been going since yesterday."

Manette began to weep, and tore up the bill.

My uncle kissed her on the cheek, on the forehead, on the eyes, and wherever he could find a place to kiss her.

"Benjamin," said Manette to him, leaning over to whisper in his ear, "if you need money, tell me so."

"No, no, Manette," my uncle answered quickly, "I do not need your money. The devil! that would be getting serious. To make you pay for the happiness you give me? Why, that would be an indignity; I should be as vile as a prostitute!" And he kissed Manette as he had done before.

"Oh, do not embarrass yourself, Monsieur Rathery," said Jean-Pierre, who just then came in.

"What, you were there, Jean-Pierre? Are you jealous, then? I warn you that I have a profound aversion for jealous people."

"Well, it seems to me that I have a good right to be jealous."

"Imbecile! you always take things wrong. These gentlemen have charged me to testify to your wife their satisfaction for the excellent matelote which she has made for us, and I was fulfilling the commission."

"There was a good way, it seems to me, to testify your satisfaction to Manette; and that was by paying her, do you understand?"

"In the first place, Jean-Pierre, we are not dealing with you; it is Manette who keeps this tavern; as for paying you, rest easy, I charge myself with the bill; you know that no one ever loses anything by me; and besides, if you are afraid of waiting too long, I will straightway pass my sword through your body. Does that suit you,

Jean-Pierre?"

And with these words he went out.

Up to this time Benjamin had only been over-excited; he contained all the elements of intoxication, without yet being intoxicated. But, on leaving Manette's wine-shop, the cold seized upon his brain and legs.

"Hello, there, Machecourt, where are you?"

"Here I am, holding on to the lappel of your coat."

"You hold me, that's good, that does me honor, you flatter me. You mean to say thereby that I am in a condition to sustain both my hypostasis and your own. At another time, yes; but now I am as weak as the most ordinary of men when he has remained too long at dinner. I have engaged your arm, I call upon you to offer it to me."

"At another time, yes," said Machecourt; "but there is a difficulty in the way; I can not walk myself."

"Then you have forfeited your honor, you have failed in the most sacred of duties; I had engaged your arm, you were to save yourself for both of us; but I forgive your weakness. Homo sum... that is to say, I forgive you on one condition: That you go directly for the town constable and two peasants carrying torches to escort me back to Clamecy. You shall take one of the officers arms, and I the other."

"But the constable has but one arm," said my grandfather.

"Then the valid arm belongs to me. The best that I can do for you is to allow you to hang on to my cue, and you must take care not to untie the ribbon. Or, if you prefer, get on the poodle's back."

"Gentlemen, said the sergeant," why look so far for what is close at hand? I have two good arms, which fortunately the bullet has spared, and I place them at your disposition."

"You are a brave man, sergeant," said my uncle, taking the old soldier's right arm.

"An excellent man," said my grandfather, taking his left arm.

"I charge myself with your future, sergeant."

"And I too, sergeant, I charge myself with it, although, to tell the truth, any charge at the present moment..."

"I will teach you to pull teeth, sergeant."

"And I, sergeant, will teach your poodle to be a bailiff's keeper."

"In three months you will be able to be a fakir at the fairs."

"In three months your poodle, if he behaves himself, will be able to earn 30 sous a day."

"The sergeant shall serve his apprenticeship by practising on you, Machecourt; you have some decayed old stumps that torment you; we will pull them out, one every two days, in order not to fatigue you, and when we have finished with the stumps, we will pull out your gums."

"And I will put my bailiff's keeper at the service of your creditors, old dead-beat. I will proceed to tell you in advance of the duties you will have to fulfil toward him. You must give him, in the morning, bread and cheese, or, in the season, a bunch of little radishes; for dinner, soup and boiled beef, and for supper a roast and a salad, though the salad may be replaced by a glass of wine. You will take care that he does not pine away in your hands, for nothing does so much honor to a debtor as a good fat keeper. On his side he must behave properly toward you; he has no right to disturb you in your occupations, to play, for instance, the clarinette, or sound the hunting horn."

"Meantime I offer the sergeant a residence at the house; you do not disapprove, do you, Machecourt?"

"Not exactly, but I am very much afraid that your dear sister will disown you."

"Oh, gentlemen," said the sergeant, "let us understand each other. Do not expose me to insult; for, I warn you, one or the other of you will have to answer for it."

"Rest easy, sergeant," said my uncle; "and, if the case occurs, you will have to address yourself to me;

for Machecourt doesn't know how to fight, except when his adversary gives him the sword and keeps the scabbard."

While thus philosophizing, they reached the door of the house. My grandfather was not anxious to enter first, and my uncle preferred to enter second.

To settle the matter, they entered both together, knocking against each other like two gourds carried at the end of a stick.

The sergeant and the poodle, whose intrusion made the cat growl like a royal tigress, brought up the rear.

"My dear sister," said Benjamin, "I have the honor to introduce to you a pupil in surgery and a * * *

"Benjamin is beginning to talk nonsense to you," interrupted my grandfather; "don't listen to him. Monsieur is a soldier sent us to be lodged and whom we met at the door."

My grandmother was a good woman, but something of a shrew; she thought that to talk very loud added to her importance. She had the greatest desire in the world to get angry, and all the more desire because she had the right. But she prided herself on her good breeding, being a descendant of a lawyer; and the presence of a stranger restrained her.

She offered the sergeant some supper. The latter having declined and for good reason, she bade one of her children take him to the neighboring tavern, with an order that breakfast be given him in the morning before his departure.

My grandfather always bent like a rush—peaceable, worthy man that he was—when he saw a conjugal storm brewing. Up to a certain point this weakness was perhaps excusable in him, inasmuch as he was always in the wrong.

He had clearly seen the clouds massing on his wife's wrinkled brow; and so the sergeant had hardly reached the threshold when he had gained his bed, into which he found his way as best he could. As for Benjamin, he was incapable of such cowardice. A sermon in five points, like a game of ecarte, would not have sent him to bed a minute before his time.

[To be Continued.]

HONOR THE DEAD HEROES.

Memorial Celebration in Mount Olive, Ill.

A memorial demonstration will be held at Mt. Olive, Ill., under the auspices of Local Union No. 728, U. M. W. of A., on Monday, October 12, 1903.

The miners of Mt. Olive, Ill., have set aside October 12, 1903, as memorial day in remembrance of the miners killed in the battle at Virden, Ill., October 12, 1898, and therefore will observe the day by appropriate memorial exercises in honor of the fallen heroes. All miners and friends of unionism are hereby invited to attend the demonstration.

Comrade G. A. Hoehn, of St. Louis, will be one of the speakers of the day. Mother Jones, Comrades Hanford and E. V. Debs have been invited.

ASK FOR UNION GOODS

Patronize All the Union Labels.

Union men and women, and all friends of Organized Labor should not forget to look for the union label before purchasing goods. Organized Labor is beginning to realize the importance of putting its trade-mark on every article which it aids in making. It practically makes every union man a member of a great co-operative society whose members trade with one another. The labor man or friend of union labor who buys a labeled article makes a market for union labor to that extent. As soon as manufacturers and dealers find that there is a special demand for labeled goods they will hunt for union labor to make these goods, thereby improving labor's conditions and assisting in the struggle for labor's emancipation from the system of wage slavery.

People's Fund and Welfare Association.

Eleventh and Locust Streets.

The secretary enjoyed the afternoon, on the 13th, for two reasons. The whole affair was conducted in an orderly, business-like way—and Mr. Debs made a good talk to the people—and the secretary made his acquaintance—this is a part of the second "reason."

Messrs. Baird and Maschmeyer were pleased, too, with what they saw and heard.

Mr. Roher left business long enough to show his hospitality to the members of the association, in attendance, and we all appreciated the kindness.

He and Mr. Steigerwalt waited on the ladies in a genuine Socialist way.

Mr. Arnold has promised to "be good" and come to meetings. Well, let him and all comrades remember the 22d inst. is regular association meeting.

Mr. Maschmeyer will continue the "Book of Job," as a study for class, at 3 p. m. Sunday.

At the Brotherhood meeting, 7 p. m., Col. T. Price will talk on "The Right Ideal of God's Reign on Earth." Mr. Lewis Fry will speak on the Bible at 8

o'clock. Everyone is invited.

At the Brotherhood meeting held in Boston, the 6th inst., Mr. E. P. Pressey was made director, Mr. H. Farwell secretary, and Mr. How Field agent. A committee, of which Mr. How is a member, was appointed to arrange for a meeting—World's fair delegation—in St. Louis, September, 1904.

Mr. Baird holds weekly meetings on Wednesday night and makes good talks. Mr. Dan Martin and Mr. Skaggs are here every Friday evening.

It affords the secretary great pleasure to say that all the good workers she saw, and know, at the picnic were members of the P. F. W. A., but Mrs. Konrad, Miss Konrad, Miss M. Kayser and the secretary consider Mr. Hoehn one of the best, for he gave us an introduction to Mr. Debs and an opportunity for a hand shake, and a kindly word from him.

Books unsold at the picnic were returned by Mr. Hildebrand, and money for those sold turned over to Mr. L. Kober. Mr. Hildebrand did not mind carrying the load of books when he thought of the "good of the cause."

ELLA C. KELLY, Sec.

A CHAPTER ON PARASITES.

By William R. Fox.

Furniture, clothing, shoes, and food are useful things. Workmen who make them are always set down as useful workmen. Yet there are circumstances under which the manufacture of these things serves a vicious purpose and therefore is useless—worse than useless.

To illustrate: Suppose a thousand workmen were hired by a highwayman to make furniture. From the proceeds of robbery he would pay them wages; then after the furniture was produced he would take an insane delight in ordering them to dump it into a devouring whirlpool, in which it would presently disappear. With their wages the workmen would purchase their support from other workmen, and the nefarious business would continue to flourish.

Suppose other bandits would produce garments and food on the same plan, paying their employees from the booty of public hold-ups, and maliciously destroying the completed product. You would say that such production availed nothing.

You would say that the bandit employers were intolerable nuisances.

You would be justified in saying that their workmen, living on the products of others, bought with the fruits of theft, were parasites.

Nay, more—I say that the workmen, on whose goods these workmen-parasites lived, were themselves useless to the full extent to which the labor of their hands went to sustain parasites so on in endless succession.

The above is no fancy sketch.

The capitalistic system has thousands of privileged overlords, who take perpetual toll from society, and with the spoil employ millions of working people to make furniture, garments, pictures, literature, yachts, palaces, and playgrounds for them, and have an innumerable horde of servants, sailors, soldiers, sportingmen, hotel-keepers, tradesmen, educators, and entertainers waiting upon them.

The labor of these underlings, exchanged with useful producers, would be useful; but, remunerated with funds that fraud and rapine grasped from honest toil, and serving only to strengthen and add prestige to a sys-

tem of world-wide piracy, its effect becomes more vicious than if all were engaged in the manufacture of furniture and their whole product, at the command of a bandit employer, were cast down the throat of a devouring whirlpool. Now sense the fact that these millions of parasites get their support by simply handing back to legitimate producers the sums that have been fleeced from them. Sense the further fact that, in so far as these legitimate producers furnish support to the parasites, they are simply parasite-feeders. This much of their labor is lost. It is thrown into the whirlpool.

Now calculate if you can—but it is incalculable—how many overlords and underlings there are. How many robbers, parasites, and parasite-feeders are sheltered within the earth-broad realm of capitalism.

It is safe to say that not one-third of those set down as workers are doing useful work and exchanging with useful workers.

A consideration of this will show that it is possible for capitalists to take 83 per cent. of the product of the really useful workers and not cause a perpetual panic. They could seize 95 per cent. and have never a panic, if they found a way to distribute the spoil among the host of parasites and parasite-feeders whose labor is being continually cast into the whirlpool of whim and luxury and power.

What is to hinder one powerful exploiter having 83 parasites and parasite-servers at his heels, all receiving support from 17 men who operate machines. Even these men work to no useful purpose (only in so far as they support themselves and families) for they are simply feeding leeches!

The fact is so clear to me that useful labor receives less than one-fifth of its product that I marvel that others doubt it. I maintain that it can be proven in a variety of ways. By leave of The Worker, I will, in future contributions, endeavor to outline the course of reasoning that makes me so positive in my conclusions on this disputed matter.

[Apropos of this article on the question of the division of product between capitalists and workers, which may be regarded as in some sense a reply to our editorials of July 12 and August 23, we have only to say at this moment that the proposition which Comrade Fox defends is not the proposition which we criticized. We protested against the use of the utterly false statement that, according to cen-

figures, the workers get back in wages only 17 per cent. of the wealth they create. As for the quite different proposition which Comrade Fox and some other critics support in reply—that, taking into account useless labor and various other factors, the workers do not enjoy more than 17 per cent. of their product—we do neither contest it nor admit it until we shall be told from what sources the figures are drawn. Further discussion of the subject we postpone for a week or two, merely asking our critics to be reasonable enough to grant that we are actuated by a desire to see accuracy take the place of reckless guesswork in our propaganda, not by any newly developed good will toward the capitalist system.—Editor of The Worker.]

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- 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.

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.

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Encouraging Event.

Last Sunday's picnic at Gross' park was an encouraging event in the Socialist movement of St. Louis. Never before have the Socialists of this city held such a magnificent demonstration. Fully five thousand people gathered to celebrate in honor of the Socialist press. From the early noon hour to midnight this great mass of people enjoyed themselves like the members of a good, great family, and the strangers, who, for the first time attended a Socialist festival, were pleasantly surprised by the excellent order which prevailed throughout the day. The spirit of Socialism and the love for REAL law and order permeated the gathering, and it is with pride that we report this fact. Indeed, the Gross park picnic was one of the finest labor demonstrations we have ever participated in.

We shall never forget the outburst of enthusiasm of the great mass of proletarians when Comrade Eugene V. Debs appeared on the platform to deliver the address of the day. It was not the howling of a crowd of voting cattle for a political heeler, but the outburst of revolutionary enthusiasm for the noble cause of labor and Socialism which Comrade Debs so ably and fearlessly represents.

The reader will find Comrade Debs' address printed on the front page of this paper. Induce your fellow workers to read the logical and convincing arguments. The time will soon come when there will be no park in St. Louis large enough to hold the crowds at our Socialist demonstrations and festivals.

To a considerable extent the success of last Sunday's festival was due to the hard work and sacrifices of our Socialist women, especially of the Women's Socialist club. These comrades had worked for months to assure the success of the festival, and last Sunday at the park these brave women were so overburdened with work that they did not find a minute's time to eat or rest. Still, it was this hard work that made them feel content and happy, because they saw that they had contributed their share to the success of the grandest Socialist festival ever held in the city of St. Louis.

"A Socialist President in 1908."

We hate illusionary and visionary methods of propaganda, because they naturally lead to deception, disappointment, confusion and dangerous reaction. We consider it a dangerous practice on the part of certain Socialist papers to inform the American wage workers that in 1908 we send a Socialist president to the White House. We consider it dangerous to our movement when Socialist papers go to the extreme and solicit five years' subscriptions, i. e., for the entire life time of American capitalism. According to these prophets the election of a Socialist president in 1908 means the end of the capitalist rule; consequently, every five years' subscription to one of these certain Socialist papers is equal to a death warrant on the capitalist system.

Our main object must be to call attention to the necessity of organizing the proletarian forces for the class struggle. We are not in a vote-catching contest with the old parties. We do not look up to our presidential candidate as a Moses to lead us out of the Egypt of wage slavery. And, after all, the election of a Socialist president would mean nothing less than the abolition of the United States presidency. The Socialist Party will do away with the office of the president—the dictator of the republic. A congress of the people will attend to the administration of the public affairs, and neither a millionaires' senate nor an expensive, superfluous presidency will have any right of existence.

We repeat: This "Socialist president in 1908" agitation is deceiving, misleading and injurious to the healthy development and growth of our party movement. If we can not arouse the wage workers to the realization of their present conditions and show them the necessity of economic and political organization of the working class on Socialist lines we might just as well admit the failure of our missionary work and leave the field of propaganda to others that live and fight in the present instead of dreaming of the remote past and the far-off future.

"FIFTY SOCIALISTS IN CONGRESS! SOCIALISTS ELECTED ON THE REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAMME of the Socialist Party!" This would be more in line with common sense and our tactics and programme than "A SOCIALIST PRESIDENT IN 1908."

Socialist Party Principles and Tactics.

Comrade Chas. Dobbs, of Louisville, Ky., contributes a very interesting article to the September number of The International Socialist Review, under the caption "A Review of Essentials." In concluding his review Comrade Dobbs says:

"History is irradiated by the example of men who have battled, and suffered if necessary, for the abstract ideal of justice. The Socialist movement to-day owes much to these men of education and ideals, but their usefulness is largely due to the promptness with which they apprehend the fact of the class struggle and the faithfulness with which they adhere to their perception of scientific truth.

"It would be idle to deny that there are differences in the Socialist movement to-day as to the wisdom of certain features of organization and methods of propaganda. It is unfortunate, of course, that these differences should bring from the adherent of this or that idea vigorous statement and heated report, but most of us philosophically recognize that we can't have perfection, even in debates between Socialists, in this sadly imperfect world of ours. However, we can insist that every proposition advanced for the good of the movement be judged according to its harmony with our fundamental principles and demand of all more than a mere lip recognition of the essentially proletarian character of our movement. The cry for "American methods for an American movement" is all right in so far as it takes into account our peculiar political conditions, but there can no more be a distinctive "American Socialism" than there can be an "American mathematics." American human nature is just like European human nature, and the law of economic determination rules in the United States just as surely as it rules in the countries of the old world. So the conclusion is irresistible that when the cry for "American methods for an American movement" is not merely an expression of the restiveness of the impatient recruit it is either disingenuous or the evidence of a chauvinism absurd in the light of our boasted internationalism.

"One sometimes hears the sneer that some Socialists are "afraid the movement will get too big," and there are proposals that the so-called "military character" of the movement be abandoned. Of course no one fears bigness when bigness means solidity, but we may well fear and fight against the bigness which represents mere hot air which will vanish at the prick of a pin. The so-called "military character" of the movement, in so far as that means a pledged and dues-paying membership, is our tower of strength, and proposals that the party "simply pledge to everybody, and to everybody alike, the collective ownership and democratic management of industry" is the crass Utopianism of a sanguine campmeeting exhorter who imagines the movement can be adequately supported by inviting the brethren to step up to the contribution box. We must have organization, and a well disciplined organization at that. We can't achieve or eat the fruit of victory with a mob. The Socialist Party organization, in giving to every member a voice in the discussion and settlement of questions of policy, cultivates individual initiative and that capacity for self-government which is showing many signs of atrophy under the so-called representative, but rather machine, system. A membership thus actively participating in party affairs is the strongest bulwark against the ever threatening political vampires—the tricksters, bosses and grafters—seeking a new and vigorous body whose blood they may suck. It has proved its efficiency by standing fast in many a storm that threatened to destroy the party, and there is no evidence of its incapacity to settle right present and future problems. There have always been well intentioned men who have thought they could do better for the people than the people could do for themselves, but that is the theory of benevolent despotism—of theocracy, not democracy—and we want none of it. We shall have—we already have—honest, astute and masterful men whose influence will intensify the effectiveness of our efforts, but it is a delusion to think that we are sheep without a shepherd, a helpless mass waiting for some Moses to lead us out of the wilderness. The working class must emancipate itself, and while it welcomes the assistance of all those "in sympathy with it," the Socialists at least entertain no delusions and must prepare for the work ahead as prudent, practical men."

We fully indorse the opinions expressed by Comrade Dobbs. To entertain utopian illusions would mean to deceive ourselves and to lead our movement to the rock of confusion and destruction.

The Dresden Congress and the Capitalist Press.

August Bebel, the leader of the Socialist Party of Germany, has suddenly fallen into dislike with the American capitalist press. Bebel, although about sixty years of age, is still the fiery revolutionary leader whose watchword reads: "No fusion, no compromise!" It is Bebel who takes the most radical stand on the important questions that come up at the Dresden congress. No wonder the capitalist papers call him the "autocrat," and are trying to belittle his work and misrepresent him. The only hope left for the capitalist politicians was that they might induce the Socialist movement into fusion and compromise, and thereby weaken the Social Democratic Party and deprive it of its revolutionary character.

However, these hopes are in vain. The army of the Social revolution will not compromise. Wage slavery must go, and the disappearance of the wage system will mean the end of the capitalist parties and of the servile capitalist press, which is poisoning the minds of the nations to-day.

The Lawyers and the Trusts.

The "Lawyers' union," known as the American Bar association, held their convention somewhere in Virginia, and aired their troubles in eloquent speeches and lengthy resolutions. That some troubles exist among the lawyers' fraternity may best be judged by the fact that out of the 100,000 lawyers of this country only about 10,000 are fortunate enough to have a somewhat lucrative position while the rest are "trying to make a living any old way."

The Miners' Journal, the organ of the Western Federation of Miners, speaking of the unemployed lawyers' fight against the trusts, makes the following appropriate remarks:

The lawyers have declared that they must settle the trust question of "the demagogues would." To whom did the lawyers refer when they used the word "demagogues?" Was it not the brainy and brilliant men who are marching in the van of the great labor procession, that is moving toward the hilltop of industrial freedom? The men who are burning the midnight oil in the ranks of organized labor studying the economic problem, are the "demagogues," in the opinion of a gang whose fees come from all the crimes that are committed under a civilization that fawns at the feet of a Dives and

EVERY WORKING WOMAN SHOULD READ LABOR.

throws the Lazarus in jail. Why have the lawyers denounced the trust? Simply because in its elimination of waste, in its economic management of commercial affairs, the trust has been able to dispense with the services of a horde of attorneys who are now feeling the pinch of poverty. The trust has skimmed the cream from the legal profession, and the doors have been closed to lawyers of mediocre ability. The lawyers who have denounced the trust, have been actuated by the fact that they are no longer on the payroll of the federated corporations. The lawyers who are out of a corporation job propose to tax the trust to death, by having the necessary character of legislation enacted; but they seem to forget that capital always has its powerful and well-paid lobby in the halls of national legislation, as well as in the chamber of every state legislature. If any bill should pass, either in congress or in any state legislature, affecting the interests of trusts, the magnates with millions can appeal to the courts, and as the courts are made up of lawyers who still have a lingering fondness for dollars, all such legislation as proposed by jobless attorneys will be gently laid to rest in an unconstitutional grave."

American Militarism.

If congress appropriates all the money Secretary Moody estimates the navy will need the national naval expense account for the fiscal year 1904-1905 will be more than \$100,000,000. The amount asked of congress last year was \$98,910,984.63, but only \$77,659,386.63 was appropriated. In 1902 \$78,101,791 was appropriated.

A Washington telegram contains the following detailed information from the war department:

"The navy is growing rapidly and requires more to sustain it than ever before. The coming session of congress promises to be marked by extremely important legislation. The increase of the fleet is, perhaps, first in importance. The authorization of five new battleships last year set a mark of intelligent progress (aside from the blundering of limiting the displacement of two of the ships to 13,000 tons), which President Roosevelt and Secretary Moody would like to see duplicated.

"The addition to the fleet may not be made up entirely of battleships. The navy department is giving earnest attention to the question of cruiser construction, and it is possible some departure from lines now followed in this type of war craft may be indulged in.

"The recommendations of Rear-Admirals Melville and Bowles for the construction of steam turbine scouts is practically certain to be indorsed by Secretary Moody, and to meet with favorable action by congress. The development of the navy has been marked by somewhat more rapid growth of the fleet than of the shore establishment, including naval stations and navy yards, coal depots and dry docks."

The American wage slaves may well feel proud of their capitalist government. On hundred million dollars a year for our capitalist navy! H'm! This is more than Roosevelt's friend, Kaiser Wilhelm, will ever get out of the German people's pockets.

One hundred million dollars a year for a machinery of murder and destruction! One hundred million dollars a year for a floating army whose sole mission it is to protect the interest of a class of American speculators, trust kings and financial highway robbers against the ruling industrial and commercial pirates of other countries. To secure the upperhand in the world's market for the capitalist corporations that exploit the American people these same American nation of wage slaves must put up \$100,000,000 a year for a navy.

What fools these mortals be! And the people of Europe will soon point their fingers at us and exclaim:

"Look to the United States! These sovereigns of so-called American citizens submit to a system of militarism that will soon be a much greater burden on the wealth-producing masses than the militarism of Prussia or Russia. What fools these mortals be—even in the so-called free republic of George Washington and Thomas Jefferson!"

No intelligent man or woman need be surprised at the rapid growth of the Socialist movement within the next few years. With a rough rider at the helm of government our American capitalist class will arrange a rough-riding show on the industrial and commercial field the like the world has never seen before. How long the millions of wage-slaving mules will stand this ride to certain social ruin and death remains to be seen.

Perhaps the mules will kick in time, throw the rough-riding parasites off their backs, stam pede and find their way into the fertile country, into the blooming fields of Socialism and economic emancipation.

The Militia and Its Mission.

Once more the state militia is being used as a means to crush organized labor. In the Cripple-Creek district the miners went on strike. The mining corporations asked for "protection," which was promptly granted by the governor of the state. Without hesitation the state militia was ordered to the strike region to "protect" the mine owners and assist in breaking up the strike. Early in the spring of this year Gov. James H. Peabody, in the face of protests from the mayor and council of Colorado City; in the face of a petition signed by over six hundred citizens by the same city, sent the state militia, at the expense of the state, to serve the interests of the United States Reduction and Refining Co., whose manager ignored and repudiated every reasonable request of his employes, and whose Baerism now is responsible for the strike in the Cripple Creek district. When the force of public sentiment of the people of the state forced the governor to recall the troops, a Gatling gun was left behind at Colorado City, commanding the property of the Mill trust, as a token of loyalty to the industrial despot, who has squeezed his wealth from the sweat, misery and degradation of the hovel-tenanted hundreds of ill-paid men, whose muscles for years have been coined into dividends for the soulless, tax-dodging "law and order" promoter.

The governor of the state had no ear for anyone except men whose economic interests demanded that organized labor must be subjugated in order that stockholders, coupon clippers, real estate sharks and usurers might receive regularly their monthly revenues, in the shape of rent, interest and profit.

The governor dispatched Brig.-Gen. John Chase, Lieut. T. E. McClelland and the attorney general of the state, N. C. Miller, as a commission to visit the Cripple Creek district, and make known to him the results of their in-

vestigations. The governor knew full well, e're the commission had departed for the Cripple Creek district what the nature and character of this report would be. It was a mere formality; a flimsy and miserable attempt to cloak his eagerness to serve the corporations. When the commission arrived in the district they became the absolute property of the Mine Owners' association and the Citizens' alliance, and not one of the three thousand men who are fighting a battle for justice were summoned to participate in the conference. The protest of the sheriff against sending the militia was swept aside, because the Mine Owners' association and the Citizens' alliance had declared that the sheriff had once been a miner, and held membership in the Western Federation of Miners, and it was decreed that his assertions must not have any weight with the two military officials and the attorney general of the state, who made up the commission.

The militia was sent into the district for the second time, because the miners would not go back to work. However, the prospects of winning the strike are more favorable than ever before, and the presence of militia will make the strikers more determined in fighting the battle to the bitter end.

The Colorado situation furnishes another example of the mission of the capitalist state militia.

Editorial Notes and Comments.

The man who goes to church on Sunday and skins his neighbors on Monday is on a par with the man who strikes for better conditions and votes for worse.—Referendum.

Don't cuss Parry. If you were half as conscious of your class interests as he is of his he would not be going round now telling of his contempt for you.—Terre Haute Toiler.

Eugene V. Debs can point his index finger straight at the capitalistic nose and tell the proprietor of said nose as many binding truths as any man in the world who is now fighting the battles of labor.—The Craftsman.

On the whole, Labor day was a field day for the Socialists. At over fifty celebrations Socialists were the exclusive orators. There the gospel of brotherhood was preached with hope and received with joy. Where capitalists spoke its hopelessness was emphasized by the utterances of its mouthpieces.—Chicago Socialist.

In the days of southern chattel slavery the poor negro to whom the chains became unbearable always had at least the chance of escaping to the north, where freedom waited. But the modern wage slave has no north to which to escape. It is all "south," and he can only be free by abolishing slavery.—Socialist Standard.

It goes without saying that the founders of this republic never dreamed of such a "national guard" as ours is to-day—the arming of clerks and fops to hold in check the great mass of the people for the benefit of a few money-bags. In those days (1783-89) there was no more a plutocracy than a proletariat in this country. Conditions were then entirely different.—V. L. Berger.

The danger to our American Socialist movement is not that it may array class against class. Our danger is that we may have a Socialist movement that is not class conscious; a Socialist movement that shall concede some identity or reconciliation of interest between labor and parasitism; a Socialist movement that shall accept the enthusiasms of discarded politicians or evangelists, or bow down to the wooden images of middle-class moralists.—Prof. Herron.

Samuel Gompers has sounded a note of warning about "labor carnivals," which should be heeded by organized labor. Too many of the so-called "labor carnivals" are nothing more or less than peripatetic bawdy houses, shameful and demoralizing to all concerned. Labor organizations are for nobler purposes than to give countenance to obscene and lascivious exhibitions, usually gotten up by a conscientless set of rascals, who use an organization as a mantle for their nefarious work.—United Mine Workers' Journal.

The price of coal is being put up. The Coal trust is holding up the public. A footpad, when he meets you on the road and demands your money or your life, takes the risks of his act; you also have some chance to get the best of him; he is an honorable man compared to the men who hide behind laws and demand the money of the poor or force them to freeze. The members of the trusts who rob the people are worse than any set of criminals that this country has yet produced. They say to people: "Starve or freeze, or give us your money." They should be outlawed. O! we won't do a thing to them when we Socialists get into power.—Appeal to Reason.

Things are getting serious for the plutes. Idaho Springs, Col. forbids Socialist speakers on the streets, and run 18 miners out of town for talking Socialism, as appears in their explanation of the affair. Now comes suits for damages against these good (?) citizens, in amounts of \$10,000, by each of 14 miners who had been told never to return. Now the Denver plutes have instructed their police to allow no Socialist speaking on the streets. Comrade Morgan was arrested and spent a night in jail. Later Comrade Southworth, editor of the Alliance, and Miss Johnson, associate editor, were arrested. All were released without fines, but the fun has only begun. The test is to be made to see whether the United States constitution can be ignored by a gang of petty whippersnappers at the instigation of a few priestly pirates. Things are beginning to hum. How will it be a year from now, when politics begins to get real warm?—The New-Time.

Organization, based upon the mutual economic interests of the working class, is the demand of the day.

Courage is needed and intelligence, and both will be furnished in abundance by the working class itself.

To work for wages, no matter how high, or how short the work-day, is to acknowledge a master and be at his mercy.

Let every intelligent workingman resolve this day to do his share to abolish the wage-system and emancipate the sons and daughters of toil.

While the capitalists are capitalizing, the industrial conditions are revolutionizing, the working class are organizing, the Socialist sentiment is crystalizing, and in due time the cooperative commonwealth will be materializing.

A Miner's Voice.

The Miners' Magazine contains the following item:

The laboring people have the power in their own hands to harness the Niagara of corporate despotism and make the nation an Eden, where the Adams and Eves of the human family can enjoy the sunlight of happiness and joy. The ballot box is the depository of a freedman's will and organized labor shall rise as a unit and sweep from political power the upholders and defenders of an industrial system that has put man upon his knees as a beggar for the right to live. The fight is on for industrial emancipation and the battle will continue until the last hard vestige of wage slavery is expelled from civilization that is reeking with the leprosy of dishonor and debauchery.

In our last week's issue the printer's devil played a little trick by making the number of Labor day paraders of the C. T. & L. U. 3,000, instead of 30,000. Grand Marshal Hoppenjon discovered the mistake, and it is our duty to make this correction.

SPECIAL ORGANIZING FUND.

The following contributions have been received since last report:

Local Cheyenne, Wyo.....	\$ 1 00
Local Oklahoma City, Okla.....	1 00
B. Berlyn, Chicago, Ill.....	5 00

Total to noon, September 12.. 12 00
Previously reported..... 962 02

Total\$974 02

Charters have been granted during the week to locals at Lynchburg, Pa.; Charlotte, N. C.; Charles, S. C.; Lonaconing, Md.; New Iberia, La.; Welsh, La.; Mermenton, La., and Charleston, W. Va.

What are the rank and file of the trades unions going to do about it? Forward with votes for the Socialist Party or backward to repeated defeat, idleness and want?

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.

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, 9169-504 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, 406-604 Market.....			2-4				
Candy-makers, 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 & Laml.....						1-3	
Carworkers, 14-604 Market.....	2-4						
Clayminers, 8503-5200 Shaw.....						1-3	
Clayminers, 9310-Beck & Morganford rd.....						1	
Chair Workers, 8-St. Louis.....				4			
Cigarmakers, 44-Walhalla.....						2-4	
Cigar Packers, 231-504 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, 148-2338 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, 59-1028 Franklin.....							
Electrical Workers, 189-Lightstone's.....							
Electrotypers, 86-Fraternal.....			2				
Engineers, 2-Fraternal.....							
Engineers, 43-Fraternal.....							
Engineers, 44-2702 St. Louis.....							
Federal Labor, 6482-324 Chestnut.....						1	
Fin. and Gilders, 41-504 Market.....	1-3						

	Sun	Mon	Tue	Wed	Th	Fri	Sat
Firemen, 6-1026 Franklin.....							
Firemen, 122-806 N. 14th.....						1-3	2-4
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, 53-Wentzel.....							1
Garment Workers, 67-Wentzel.....		2-4					
Garment Workers, 68-Wentzel.....							2-4
Garment Workers, 98-Lightstone's.....							1-3
Garment Workers, 106-Wentzel.....							1-3
Garment Workers, 243-Wentzel.....						1-3	
Garment Workers, 246-Wentzel.....							1-3
Glass Blowers, 5-901 Laml.....	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 (boller), 8523-2338 S. Broadway.....		2-4					
Helpers (molders), 7413-327 Geyer.....							1-3
Helpers (mch. blksm), 8463-Lightstone's.....							2-4
Helpers (nlesetters), 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					
Mallers, 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 (sign), 774-Lightstone's.....							
Painters (carriage), 204-1026 Franklin Ave.....							
Painters (glaziers), 513-S. E. Cor. 12th & Franklin Ave.....					1-3		
Paperhangers, 34-Lightstone's.....							
Pat'r'n Mkr's Assn-1310 Franklin.....		1-3-5					
Paper Box Mkr's, 8972-327 Geyer.....			2-4				
Paper Carrier, 5783-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), 886-Fraternal.....							2-4
Riggers, 8919-Harugari.....					1-3		
Sewer Laborers, 9151-3700 Easton.....				1-3			
Sheet Metal Workers, 247-1310 Franklin.....							
Ship Carpenters, 8283-B'wy & Laml.....						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, 335-907 N 22nd.....							
Shoe Workers, 346-2036 Franklin.....							
Soda Water Wkrs., 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 Wkrs, 1-Broadway & Laml.....							1-3
Steel & Iron Wkrs, 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 (frit.), 27-1026 Franklin.....							1-3
Teamsters (ice), 28-1026 Franklin.....				2-4			
Teamsters (pro.), 40-1026 Franklin.....					1-3		
Team (pkng. house), 42-1026 Franklin.....							1-3
Teamsters (furn.), 51-1310 Franklin.....					1-3		
Teamsters (bag.), 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 Wkrs, 80-5759 Manchester.....				2-4			
Tobacco Wkrs, 1-505 Park.....			2-4				
Trunk & Bag Wkrs, 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.....							
Woodworkers, 204-1310 Franklin.....					1-3-5		
Woodworkers, 221-20th & Dodier.....							

* Meetings every week

Fall and Winter Fashion Notes

IN THESE days of the short skirt we feel smarter and happier in the country than we have done in previous years. The trotteuse skirt can be so chic in tweeds and fine kilted plaids, especially in company with the short Norfolk coat. Some of these Norfolk coats have only two plaits back and front, and no waist-bands, but they are beautifully cut, and are quite short on the hips. I think, however, that I prefer the old style, with its leather band and general appearance of workmanlike neatness.

Smart folks are wearing a great deal of brown serge, as well as heather mixtures. Blue serge, of course, still holds its own. The ideal fishing costume is in a greeny mixture, but this is only becoming to fair women, although dark ones will persist in wearing it.

Sac coats are worn in town, but in the country, tight-fitting coat, or the Norfolk jacket caught in at the waist. So we may say that, once again, tailor-made frocks are showing the figure. Even the nealy stitched bolero has a

in the way of clothes. Discussions of the winter styles are the rule wherever dry goods men and dressmakers congregate. The continued vogue of 1830 modes, the revival of the severely tailored street frock, the success of the soft taffetas and of zibeines, the popularity of the red blues, running all through the dahlia, fuchsia, violet and mauve shadings. The increasing liking for high crowned hats—these are facts upon which all the authorities seem agreed.

The continuance of the 1830 ideas implies a host of minor conclusions.



The long shoulder must be obtained at all costs, and the fad will doubtless run into extravagant caricature. The tendency is not so much to obtain the required line by capes or cape collars after the fashion most in evidence this summer as to produce the effect by clever cutting of shoulder and sleeve.

Yokes of all shapes, but invariably coming down well over the top of the sleeve, are popular, and when a yoke is not applied, the bodice shoulder itself is cut in one with the sleeve top or cap, and the upper half of the arm-hole is entirely lost to view. To attain successful results by this method is not easy, and the "pelerine yoke" or shoulder is more likely to be attractive in fashion cuts than upon a wearer, but the dressmakers will soon learn the trick and doubtless atone for a few early failures by a multitude of later triumphs.

From underneath this extended shoulder piece the modish sleeve emerges in considerable fullness and swells into a pronounced puff or balloon about the elbow, or above. Also it is written that this fullness must not be allowed to droop and cling to the arm as it has done heretofore, but must stand out crisp and full above the long, close-fitting cuffs on the elbow turn-back cuff and frills. In some cases, the finest of wire—milliner's wire—is used to insure the desired result.

This sleeve is, perhaps, the most distinctive and novel feature of the new frocks, and it takes unto itself many eccentricities, but always there is the swelling outline in the neighborhood of the elbow and the fullness above the elbow; so the silhouette differs radically from that of last season.

The illustrations give ideas of the early winter models of many kinds. A study of them will show the diversity of styles for that season, and will demonstrate that there is still room for individuality in our gowns.

tendency to be tight-fitting. A trim appearance certainly has its charms for the country.

The new short skirts are nearly all cut plain over the hips, and all the fullness comes at the hem. Some are made with a separate kilted flounce put on invisibly under strappings of cloth or tweed. The old-fashioned idea of a short skirt was a skimpy concern, and most unbecoming to the majority of women, giving them the appearance of being insufficiently clothed. This is the fault, to my mind, of many of the linen frocks.

Now, with the advent of tailor-built coats and skirts we must consider the question of suitable shirts and blouses for there are many hot days when we can dispense with the coat. With the exception of white, a blouse of contrasting color is a mistake. For instance, with a brown serge skirt, what looks smarter than a brown taffeta or spotted foulard shirt? You can always add a white muslin turn-over collar and cuffs.

The country shirt is very important, and should be worn over a well-fitting slip. Above all, it should have a well-cut high collar.

But the seasons rush past us at a speed that cannot be lessened, and though we are now but at the beginning of autumn early winter will be upon us before we realize it, and so let us take a little preliminary peep at what the coming season will bring

The beautiful appearance of Labor in its large, new dress, caused the recipients to hold to it so fast that the secretary was unable to secure one until Monday morning to send away.

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

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

Socialism and the Negro Race.

(Resolution adopted by the Socialist Party in National Convention at Indianapolis, Ind., July 31, 1901.)

WHEREAS, The negroes of the United States, because of their long training in slavery and but recent emancipation therefrom occupy a peculiar position in the working class and in society at large;

WHEREAS, The capitalist class seeks to preserve this peculiar condition, and to foster and increase color prejudice and race hatred between the white worker and the black, so as to make their social and economic interests to appear to be separate and antagonistic, in order that the workers of both races may thereby be more easily and completely exploited;

WHEREAS, Both the old political parties and educational and religious institutions alike betray the negro in his present helpless struggle against disfranchisement and violence, in order to receive the economic favors of the capitalist class; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That we, the Socialists of America, in National Convention assembled, do hereby assure our negro fellow worker of our sympathy with him in his subjection to lawlessness and oppression, and also assure him of the fellowship of the workers who suffer from the lawlessness and exploitation of capital in every nation or tribe of the world; be it further

RESOLVED, That we declare to the negro worker the identity of his interests and struggles with the interests and struggles of the workers of all lands, without regard to race or color or sectional lines; that the causes which have made him the vic-

tim of social and political inequality are the effects of the long exploitation of his labor-power; that all social and race prejudices spring from the ancient economic causes which still endure, to the misery of the whole human family, that the only line of division which exists in fact is that between the producers and the owners of the world—between capitalism and labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we, the American Socialist Party, invite the negro to membership and fellowship with us in the world movement for economic emancipation by which equal liberty and opportunity shall be secured to every man and fraternity become the order of the world.

The Socialist Party aims to establish an industrial co-operative commonwealth which shall own all source of production and distribution, and in which every man, woman and child shall be an equal stockholder—an equal owner. Under this no able-bodied man could live off the labor of others. The Socialist Party is solely the party of the working man. Will you join us and hereafter vote for your own interests instead of your masters'?

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

One moment of liberty is worth an age of slavery.

H. SLIKERMAN,
Attorney at Law,
1015-16 CHEMICAL BUILDING,
N. E. Cor. 8th and Olive Streets.
Telephone, Kinloch, B-69.



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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Class Hatred by Object Lesson

The Worker

This week's news from Colorado is a fitting sequel to the news of a month ago.

Then, officials of striking unions at Idaho Springs were arrested on trumped-up charges of having conspired to blow up certain works with dynamite. We say "trumped-up" charges with perfect confidence, because the fact that the accusers did not dare to depend upon courts and juries to try the case is sufficient proof that they had no evidence against the accused. After the men had been held in confinement for a few days, a mob of business men, members of the Citizens' Alliance, took them from the jail one night and "ran them out town," with a warning that their lives would not be safe if they ever returned to disturb the blessed harmony between Capital and Labor. The unions appealed to Governor Peabody for protection and redress. He answered by referring them to the Sheriff who had deliberately surrendered his prisoners to the capitalist lynchers.

Now, it is the capitalists of Cripple Creek who have appealed to Governor Peabody for protection, for protection in the exercise of such lawlessness as was reported simultaneously with the Idaho Springs affair—hiring men from a distance under false pretenses, bringing them in to act as scabs without giving them any opportunity to find out the facts, keeping them under guard of thugs armed with Winchester as they passed from the locked cars that brought them in to the prison-stockade where they were to work. These facts have been reported in plain words in the "Post," a leading capitalist paper of Denver. It is for protection in such criminal methods of crushing labor organizations and so safeguarding profits that the mining capitalists appealed to the Governor. And he did not refer them to the Sheriff. He did not hesitate. He saw his "plain duty" before him and he acted strenuously in the service of the great god Profit that his class worships. He straightway sent militia to assist the private army of ruffians enlisted by the company in intimidating the discontented workers and preventing them from communicating with the unconscious and unwilling scabs.

And then President Roosevelt tells us that the real line of division is not between the rich and poor, not between the employers and the workers, but between the good employers and workers and the bad ones, and warns the toilers of this prosperous country, where justice is free to all and all are equal before the law, to pay no heed to the agitators who would set class against class. It is not words, but deeds, that count in the long run, Mr. President. You tell us that we enjoy equality and justice. But we see that workingmen may be kidnapped through fraud and compelled to work as scabs through force and that other workingmen may be taken from the hands of the law by rioters in broadcloth and that you shut your eyes to the fact, that you utter no word of protest though a governor of your own party aids and abets those crimes. You tell us to turn a deaf ear to the

agitators who talk of class interest. But can we remain blind and deaf and dumb when your partisans, sworn to enforce law and equal justice, brazenly pervert law and justice to the service of the capitalist class against the workers, and do it with your tacit consent?

"Gentlemen cry, 'Peace, peace!' but there is no peace," said Patrick Henry, a century and a quarter ago; and history justified him. To-day, not all the eloquence of our too wordy President can conceal the fact that, will we, nill we, the class war is here and must be fought out—fought out with arguments and ballots, if we Socialists may have our choice; fought out with bayonets and bullets, if the exploiters have their way. Roosevelt's harmony speech serves but to throw into a more glaring light, by contrast, the bitter facts that the workers of this land must face.

And they are facing them, resolved to master them. A hundred Labor Day platforms this year resounded to the many tones of resistance to capitalist tyranny where only a year ago the quibbles and evasions and apologies of old-party politicians were heard.

Could the capitalists and their statesmen but be moderately wise, they would pause in their mad career. But wisdom in a ruling class at the height of its power is a moral impossibility. Blind leaders of the blind, the Roosevelts and Peabodys are destined to fall into the same ditch with their patrons and masters.

And the Red Flag moves ever onward. The Arm of Labor holds ever higher the Torch of Knowledge to lighten the way. Our triumphs are lasting and our very defeats turn into victories. The army of the thinking and self-reliant workers is invincible, because to its hands are entrusted the highest interests of civilization and the ideal of human brotherhood.

It is reported from London that the introduction of Asiatic labor into the South African Rand is now practically assured. Joseph Chamberlain, says the "Evening Post" correspondent, "took a wise course and saved himself from attack by leaving the question to local decision" and that "authoritative news comes this week through a leading South African house, one of whose partners is on the Labor Commission, that its report will advocate the importation of Chinese labor as the only way of developing the agricultural as well as the mining resources of the country." Mr. Chamberlain is famous in England as being a politician of the American type. His way of leaving the question to "local decision" is certainly worthy of Mark Hanna, for it is to the decision of the capitalists, not the workers, of South Africa that the question was left. It is stated that the mining and agricultural employers prefer foreign colored labor to cheap white immigration, for colored indentured labor—that is, laborers under a contract virtually amounting to slavery—"will not affect the political balance." Cheap workers, unthinking workers, workers who do not "affect the political balance" are the sort that capitalists of every nation desire.

Their patriotism is bounded and inspired solely by their business interests. Whether by disfranchising their own fellow countrymen of the working class or by keeping them divided on lines of race or religion or trade or by importing competitors whose presence is a menace to social order, their one aim is to keep the workers weak and dependent. But the game that has been played so long and so successfully in its various forms is beginning to react against those who play it. The proposal to bring Chinese into South Africa is uniting the Dutch and the British workingmen against the capitalists of the Rand; and in the United States, the Negroes, the Japanese, and the Mexicans who have been used in the past to depress the conditions of labor are learning to organize and join the white workingmen in resistance. It is the experience of tyranny that points the way to freedom.

Our Esteemed Contemporaries

(and OTHERS)

Workers' Gazette, Omaha.

The "Workers' Gazette" would like to take this occasion to defend the Omaha Socialists against the charge of employing wrong tactics because they demand that a respectable majority of their party be wage-workers. This is the surest way yet suggested to keep the capitalists and their politicians from capturing or controlling the Socialist movement—a consummation that the latter are now figuring on all over the country. While it is true that some wage-workers under the influence of capitalists or their politicians may secure membership in the party, and while it is true that some farmers, business men and professional men who are class-conscious, because they know that capitalism does not afford them as much peace and prosperity as Socialism would, may be kept out of the party, it is the safest policy to pursue. If the class that is most materially interested in the success of Socialism cannot keep the movement clear from the adulterations and intrigues of political tricksters, there is no hope for it. However, there is nothing in such tactics that prevents any farmer, business man or professional man from voting the Socialist tickets that are nominated by the workers. They, as a rule vote the old party tickets that are nominated by the capitalists, after taking no part in controlling the ma-

chinery of the old parties. In this connection it might be advisable for us to say: Keep your eye on the capitalist or politician who tries to put the Socialists in an unjust light because they want to keep the movement clear from all unholy and entangling alliances.

Saginaw Exponent.

Henry Clews, the croaker of Wall Street, seems to think that the recent decline in the value of many trust securities presages the downfall of these great industrial combinations. The truth appears to be that the promoters of the trust, having got rid of all the inflated stock that the markets could absorb, are now engaged in the cheerful occupation of squeezing the water out of the securities.

Every time this process is repeated it means that hundreds, perhaps thousands of small investors have been separated from their savings, which go to pile still higher the millions of the plutocrats. By shrewd manipulations the prices of stocks are first boosted to the skies, when the suckers rush in to buy; then prices go down and the suckers sell out; but whether they are buying or selling, the capitalist manipulators win at every turn.

There is nothing in the flurries of the stock market to indicate that the trust is not here to stay. But when all the smoke clears away it will be found that the ownership of the great industries has been concentrated into fewer hands than before, and that the capitalist class has driven one more nail into its coffin. When the workers realize that they must become abject slaves of the trust or the owners of the trust, the choice will be neither difficult to make nor long delayed.

The Public.

Government by injunction is more than a preventive substitute for the penalties of criminal law, as Justice Brewer describes it. It is a device that originates not with the people but with the judiciary; one which has been adopted contrary to custom, even judicial custom, and without statutory sanction; one which enables judges to enact special legislation in their own discretion for each case as it comes before them; and one which deprives persons falsely charged with wrong going of at least five elementary rights—the right to an inquiry by a grand jury, the right to be confronted in open court with hostile witnesses and to cross-examine them, the right to know in advance the penalty they incur, the right to trial by jury, and the right to be tried only once for the same wrong.

The Arm and Torch is the emblem of Socialism on the official ballot in New York.

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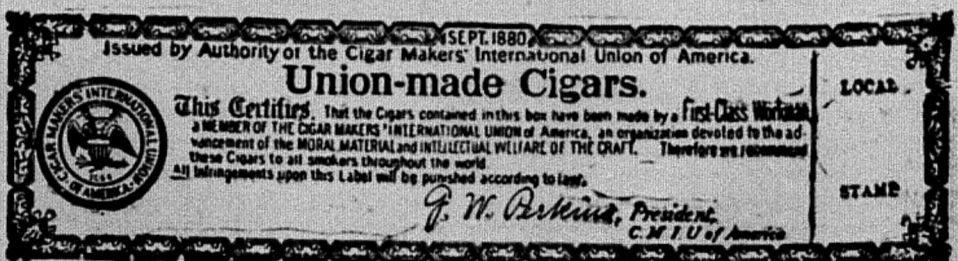
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THEY ALL HANG TOGETHER

By HORACE TRAUBEL

Everybody belongs to something. Nobody is a loose thread. Nobody can repeal the universe. You belong to every man. Every man belongs to you. You belong to history. History belongs to you. Do you dare come to me boasting of your individual rights? Have you any right that belongs to you alone? Has anybody else any individual right which he may use against your welfare? The social chain is continuous. It is endless. Or it is melted again to gas. No man can escape the universe. The universe can escape no man.

If I could anywhere break the continuity of history, of the dependence of one life on another, the whole fabric of society would fall to pieces. If you could in any way demonstrate the independence of a single atom in the physical world, all the globes of space would fall asunder. They all hang together. Or they are all together wrecked. The law of the universe is not the law of one. It is the law of all.

So, too, of the economic world. Men belong together. Values belong together. Labors belong together. Products belong together. Labor should not be quoted against labor. Value should not be rated against value. Result should not be inverted against result. The economic world belongs to unity. It belongs to harmony. Legitimate discord in any one of its strings and the perfection of its melody is annulled. All things in the economic world belong to all men. No thing in the economic world belongs to any man. It is good to get man free of property. It is better to get property free of man. Yet you do not in either case get the one free of the other by separating one from the other. You get them free by confederating them in a mysterious autonomy. For the line from man to property and back again from property to man must nowhere be broken or even mended. It must be able to evocate an infallible succession.

What is your life if lived alone? What is your hermitic income? You use that word society. But how can you speak of society if you live in a palace alone in plenty and surfeit while other men live in huts and starve? How can you speak of society if you contrive to separate your welfare from the welfare of the tramp? If you can anywhere break the line that leads from you to the starveling, from your million to my cent, you have destroyed society. There is only one enemy of society. That enemy is the man who would perpetuate society in fragments. The heart does not legislate for good and bad, for inferior and superior. It legislates for man. It does not legislate for exceptions. It legislates for the rule. The heart knows no exceptions. The heart sees to the edge of every crowd. It considers the interest of the last man as well as of the first. You dare to say society and starve any of its children? You dare to say society while you see so many overworked faces in the world? What does society mean to you? Your profit? No individual profit is honest. Social profit alone is honest. No gain can come to the individual alone. Gain can only come to the social whole. Gain for one is defeat even for that one. Gain for all is the only victory.

You ask me to sympathize with you when your stocks have gone down. Or when your mill yields you less profit. Or when your store is empty. Or when no editor will buy your articles. Or when your land has lorded you off the earth. But why should I sympathize with you? I could not sympathize with you without sympathizing against others. That would be blasphemy. Every personal loss is social gain. I want you to worry over

your losses. I will not worry over your losses. I see what they mean. You do not see what they mean. When you do see you will no longer worry. In the day when the person suffers his final loss, when the last atom of his property slips away, social chaos will have become social order, and no man will worry over the comings and goings of values.

You delude yourself. You think your good clothes have nothing to do with my patches. You think your rich meal has nothing to do with my poor grub. You think your overfat has nothing to do with my underthin. You think that heaven has nothing to do with hell. You are wrong. You can never cut one loose for the other. You imagine you could somehow balance yourself on the piece of a globe? That you could float the stars in angles? You must not cheat yourself with a solar counterfeit.

You are playing industrial experiments against fire. You are staking property against the law by which it has been evoked. That is why you will fail. You have tried to separate the producer from the thing he produces. You have tried to round a world of contradictions. You have cut your globe in two and tried to run it with their half circumferences in collision. You have tried to show that the healthy child you have raised in your suburban home has nothing to do with the sickly child I have raised down town on food and air too little and too poor to sustain life. But I tell you that that sick child is the other half of that well child. And that they have got to live together as parts of each other. And that neither one can be well alone or sick alone. You have got to make those two lives one life. You have got to rescue those two lives from contrast and restore them to likeness. You cannot send one to hell and the other to heaven and expect either of them to be saved.

ARMY OF THE UNEMPLOYED.

A Gilt-Edged Capitalist Organ Inadvertently Admits that It Exits Even in Prosperous Times and Exists for Capitalists' Benefit.

An interview in last Saturday's "Evening Post" gives the lie direct to the declaration of the prosperity-shriekers—including the "Post" itself—that "no man who is willing to work need be idle." The "Post" has an article on the refusal of the coal dealers of New York City to grant the demand of the teamsters for a free day on Labor Day. In the course of the article is an interview with "a member of one of the largest local concerns," who says:

"A strike of the coal teamsters would not, so far as I can see, be a very serious matter for the dealers. . . . We have both union and non-union drivers in our employ and A WAITING LIST LARGER THAN OUR WORKING FORCE, so it would not be at all difficult for us to replace any men who might go out on strike."

Even in an era of prosperity—as the present undoubtedly is, from the capitalist point of view—the army of the unemployed is a normal feature of our industrial system. This is as the capitalists wish it to be. They could not assure steady employment to all even if they were willing to, indeed; but certainly they would not if they could, for in the privation of the unemployed they find their best weapon for keeping the employed in subjection. That is why they so strenuously oppose reduction of hours, which would distribute employment among a larger number of men; and the same con-

sideration partly accounts for the systematic throwing out of "old men"—men over forty years of age, say—in many industries; for these men, while they are not as profitable to their bosses as younger and more vigorous ones, are still able to work for many years and it is an advantage to the bosses to have a large number of them eking out a precarious existence and fearing an old age of dependence and misery.

Conversely, these considerations should prevail upon labor organizations to make even greater efforts to reduce working hours and to protect the older men in their jobs than to get increased wages. Still more emphatically, these considerations should prevail upon all workingmen to agitate and vote for Socialism; for under Socialism, the public need instead of private profit being the motive of production, the workday would always be shortened whenever it was found that there was a surplus of able-bodied workers; and also, the workers receiving the full product of their labor, they would be able to provide for their old age without sacrificing all the interests of youth and manhood.

The Canadian Pacific announces "net earnings"—that is, profit or "graft" for non-producing stockholders and bondholders—of fifteen million dollars during the past year. And this is one of the roads that "positively could not afford" to give a slight increase of pay to the employees who were doing largely increased work, but could afford to spend large sums in the effort, by fair means or foul, to break up the Brotherhood of Railway Employees. Socialism would put that \$15,000,000 that the workers produced at the workers' service and do away with the cause of strikes and black-lists.

The children's right to the pleasures of childhood must be restored and protected.

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[Enlarged and with some truth put into it.]
My comrade, 'tis to thee
All look for liberty,
Ours is the prize.
Crushed by one knavery,
Sharing one slavery,
Strong in class bravery,
Let us arise.

We lead the exodus,
Freedom begins with us,
We are the van,
Let not the human race
Halt for our tardy pace;
Step to thy worthiest place,
Oh, laboring man.

Men of the Socialist mind,
Come ye, most swiftly kind,
With flags unfurled;
For while exploiters reign
Mercy cries out in vain;
Labor must seize the rein
And save the world.
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THE VIRILITY OF SOCIALISM

By PETER E. BURROWES

It has become regrettably common for Socialists and trade unionists to write up and speak up the difference between these two manifestations of the working class movement. The tendency of my own mind is to see them as one great unrest; of which Socialism is the political students' activity in the camp of labor, while in the union the workman is struggling with his daily physical discomforts, seeking temporary ease from the restraints and grosser injustices of wagery. Both of them, since the subject has become a dual proposition, constitute the organized unrest of labor as it goes on, now thinking out its general problems by the lamp of Socialism and now dealing with its daily difficulties by the walking delegate, until from these two corners of the triangle they unite on the third corner at the ballot box on the day of election.

As his everyday life, labor and occupation constitute the virility of a man, so does the union man's daily business struggle with the employer to get more for his labor and better treatment in the doing of it, make up the actual virility of the proletarian class, that is as a class struggling. Socialism is the intelligence and experience of the struggle as a whole, unionism is the virility with which each part resists its local and specific share of the evils coming from capitalism.

It is pleasant and congenial for the scholar to treat things historically because by this method all becomes documentary and the whole range of affairs is brought within book covers. The labor scholar sits down and translates or interprets many documents into his own now-to-be-written new document. The campaign and the strike are transferred from the city or the coal field to the page of chosen words. Each sentence subdivides and analyzes its predecessor and the two vital struggles bearing more or less, but generally more "less," resemblance to the battles that were fought become essays or editorials. The men that are in the virilities of the movement seldom become their own painters or historians, but remain by themselves as parts of the original subject or experience. What they both are to that picture or written composition trade unionism is to Socialism, if Socialism be not fighting in the ranks with the unions.

There is a man teaching navigation in the school who never goes to sea, and there is a man steering the vessel who went to his school. The schoolmaster is indeed valuable, but the men who buffet the storm are the virility of navigation.

Some people who persist in instituting contrasts between trade unionism and Socialism tell us that the union has more of selfishness and less of class-consciousness for its basic. They point out as illustrations of this how they, the unions, exclude even the children of their own class and craft from the privileges of apprenticeship; and how, without reference to its effects on the well-being of other workmen, each union fights singly for its own betterment. This is charging the unions with a burden of consequences that is neither morally nor logically theirs. For, though it be true that the success of a part is not now necessarily the success of the whole, it follows not therefore that no sufferer shall lift a hand until that hand lifted shall ensure an equal release to all other sufferers. What movement of amelioration in all this broken world can wait passively for the arrival of such a supreme and auspicious moment? What branch of the distinctly Socialist activity can or does wait to consider all the back waves that break upon the neighboring shores from its own progress? This objection to the limited success of the trade's efforts would, if generally applied, paralyze

all resistance to local evil and would call a halt on all our own Socialist activity at the ballot boxes until we had secured internationality to begin with.

Two things are essential to an international Socialist success: viz., the virility and the experience of local resistances; and these two are supplied by the limited success or by the unlimited failures of the striking unions. Shall we blame them for supplying us with our virility and experience? Shall we blame them for teaching us how to succeed?

To say that Socialism is scientifically true is well enough, to believe it so is well enough, but to mingle it with, run it upon and prove it through the virilities of labor's inter-electional struggles and then up to the ballot boxes is better still. Socialism must forever remain an economic or political preaching until it is running on the hot shining rails of the workmen's daily struggle with their masters.

The reproach of selfishness against the trade unions should not stand among those who accept Socialist philosophy. Selfishness is the one attribute of human nature that must remain forever at school, and let us congratulate ourselves that in the case of the workman it has learned enough to step away from the unit worker to that bigger unit, the trade union; nor blame the unions for not having grown quicker than their own experience.

As to that other objection that they are less class-conscious than we are on behalf of the whole proletariat, I would say rather that the consciousness which they possess is the consciousness that we lack; while the consciousness which we possess is that which they lack; that in fact one is complementary of the other, and until they meet and mingle in the same movement we can have no Socialist commonwealth. It is in their struggle that we find the true materialistic basis for our own theory and criticism provoking to political action.

It has been a further complaint against the spirit of the unions that they are immorally clannish. The case of a recent financial delinquent is pointed out, where the union, whose confidence he abused, preferred to suffer in silence and shield the offender rather than by exposing and punishing him to bring shame and reproach upon their organization. So far as regards this willingness of theirs to suffer from robbery and wrong for the sake of silence in the face of their enemies, I consider it a good example of that virile class-consciousness which we on the theoretical and political side of the labor movement could do with a lot more of. Had there been more of that keep-your-soiled-linen-at-home kind of class-consciousness among us, some of the undignified and damaging episodes of the old "split in the party" would not be still dangled before us at the street corners. It is a rudimentary cohesiveness which, if largely spread through the proletariat, would mean early death to capitalism. I look upon the trade union consciousness differing from that of the Socialist class-consciousness as one of kind and not of degree, but of a kind which is bound to develop or evolve into the virile consciousness of the whole proletarian class of all nations, and it is upon that evolution we are all waiting. And let it be remembered that the few fallen walking delegates who have appeared in some trade unions and whose fall has been blared abroad with delighted exultation and malice by the press trumpeters of the capitalist class are by no means sui generis, that it is their rarity alone which affords the cormorants a sensation. On the contrary, every case of them is the case of a politician fallen from the dirty nest of one of the two old parties into

the union. The bad walking delegate has been generally a good Democrat or Republican caught in the act of contaminating with the morals of the Crokers and Quays the clean and simple activities of the trade unions.

If we ask ourselves what are the people in the unions, and then proceed to consider them apart from the unionist phase of their existence, we are face to face with the naked virility of Socialism.

Money and machinery are capital only while engaged in the operation of setting this man to work at the production of wealth, and withholding from him a portion, more or less, of what he produces. It is in its power of continuing this operation that capitalism has become the incubus of civilization. By its ability to expropriate, re-issue or reserve this man-stripping product the class on top dominates every other interest in society. That which has been taken away from this lower fellow and leaves him naked constitutes the instrument of oppression with which capitalism holds up the entire community, from the white headed senator down to the infant laborer in the mills of the South. If the naked virility before us could clothe himself with his own product there would be no capital and no capitalism. The priest, the doctor, the lawyer, the physician now turn their backs upon the naked laborer and their faces and their open hands to the capitalist, not because they despise the one and love the other; but because the other possesses all that they want and must have to live upon. They are not philosophically considering the source from whence that power of satisfying came; they only see it where it is, in the hands of the employer, and take off their hats, and lay their souls down to the man in possession.

If the class represented in the per

son of the naked man could be imagined as all falling sick for a week there would not be one dollar of capital in all the world for one entire week; for it is thus, in the act of labor robbery, by setting men to work in order to possess themselves of that fraction of the product known as retained wages that the capitalist class, with its scepter of surplus value, controls the world.

Turning a moment from high capitalism to the various other degrees of that economic species, we have many specimens. But from the man who hires a child out of the orphanage to work on his farm at a few cents a day, producing dollars during certain seasons of the year, to the gentleman who employs the professional producer of commodities in the modern factory all the year round to the tune of dollars by the million it is a question of degree and not of kind. This gentleman is the well dressed naked virility of capitalism and while this Achilles and Agamemnon strive, all the other odds and ends of the two camps have nothing to do but remain seated in awful hush pending the issue of the great conflict which is vicariously theirs. By these odds and ends I mean, on the capitalists' side, the half denuded middle class in the various branches of trade and politics, the victims of their own virility. For these the days of initiation are gone, they are as powerless to devise their own business as they are to support a separate party. They are doomed to be Republicans, either in name under Roosevelt or in fact under Cleveland or Bryan. The group which holds the wage plunder that flows back into the daily exploitation of the naked virility of labor is that which economically commands the whole of its own camp of the Philistines, Republican and Democratic, and to that group shall

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all their interest and loyalty go, for their victory is one. Whosoever has economic intelligence enough to get outside of the Republican or Democratic party; or workman's virility enough to be cast outside of the whole existing system of American politics, those refusing to be of either, or of any of those revolving satellites of the live dollar known as reforms, must of necessity rally around the virility of labor as it stands class-conscious and fighting for its life in the Socialist Party. The weapon of the ballot with which alone he fights, foot to foot with his economic lord, constitutes the ultimate weapon of these two virile giants.

The unions very naturally occupy most of the public attention in connection with the struggle between the new aristocracy and the new poverty; not because they are the largest part of exploited labor; but because they are its most virile part. The weaklings of the entire class therefore cannot but see expressed in it their own timid discontent. Others, deeply immersed in a sense of their own unworthiness, having the lowliness of a church training still upon their souls, shudder at the thought of approaching any rise of wages ensuing, and they refuse to join the unions, preferring to get rich with their masters, or at least in their masters' way, becoming scabs themselves or employing scabs until they can sneak into the middle class. Besides these and other artisans with prosperous proclivities who eschew the aspirations of labor and prefer the savings bank, there are large numbers necessarily unorganized and perhaps indifferent because they do not happen to occupy the very place where the lightning strikes their class. They may be clerks, agents, body servants, drivers, sailors, fishermen, farmers' hands, etc., who cannot, or perhaps would not organize and fight as the trade unions do; willing and eager to resist they may be but not able to do so on the economic lines of the union. The hardest part of their mental growth was to become conscious of the fact that they and the union men are of the same class and that the fellows who man the unions are the virile men of that class, grown ripe in city proletarian experience and its realized need of resistance by organization. They recognize the historic virility of the wage-slave class as unionized, they follow them as fighters and if they can join them nowhere else they join them at the ballot-box for Socialism.

There are multitudes of these people of the underfoot world, conscious of subjection and helplessness under the capitalistic system, who care little for the city proletarian and his ways, who do not want to live in his streets, nor drink his beer, nor join his unions, who nevertheless may, and do, become class-conscious with him in the wider way. They formerly asked with some acerbity: Why should the cause of our deliverance be run in the name and under the flag of the proletariat? Peened up in one great economic enclosure, they looked around in vain for any other section among them whose separate deliverance involved the whole deliverance; and they see that through the proletarian gate alone the beleaguered city must march out in political unity; and so they become class-conscious in the Socialist way. It is as if a number of persons were being run over and trampled under foot by some gentlemen in a chariot and the crowd menaced could stop the mad career of these destructive gentlemen only by cutting the traces of the horses—the proletarian horses—with which the chariot cannot go.

It is not because of the wisdom of their methods heretofore, but because of their virility and their priority in fight, because capitalism begun with them, and derives all its sustained power out of their exploitation; not by merit of procedure but by the election of events precedent has the class of men who now form themselves into trade unions become the virility of Socialism. They are the elder branch of our slave family, the full-blooded type

historically ordained by natural revolt to embarrass capitalism first and then by more intelligent revolt to lead us all out through the ballot-boxes to Socialism.

PHYSICAL INFERIORITY CAUSED BY POVERTY.

Startling evidence of the physical deterioration engendered by the factory system is afforded by the recently issued "Memorandum by the Director General, Army Medical Service, on the physical unfitness of men offering themselves for enlistment in the army." When reference has been made to the appalling proportion of rejections among would-be recruits the comforting suggestion has always been made that this fact only shows that the great bulk of the physically fit are too well employed to offer themselves for the army, and it is only the wastrels and ne'er-do-wells who do so. Unfortunately, this optimistic conclusion is disposed of by the fact that it was precisely when men were throwing up their employment and flocking to the colors that the disproportion between those offering and those accepted was most noticeable. In the memorandum before us we are informed that "every year, a table is published, in the Army Medical Department report, which classifies the recruits examined according to their previous occupations." The table for 1900 is given. This shows that of 52,022 "laborers, servants, husbandmen, etc.," inspected, 15,025 were rejected, or 288.82 per thousand; of 11,971 manufacturing artisans—weavers, clothworkers, etc.—3,478, or 290.54 were rejected; and the proportion of rejected in 5,950 shopmen and clerks was 1,826, or 306.89 per thousand while of "mechanics employed in occupations favorable to physical development—smiths, carpenters, masons, etc.," there were 2,923 rejected out of a total of 11,201, or 260.96 per thousand. These figures show that while the bulk of our soldiers are drawn from the unskilled labor class, it is not that class, but those employed in shops and factories which show the largest percentage of rejections. The whole memorandum makes instructive reading, and should prove to any impartial mind the physical deterioration of the working class of this country; and this at a time when, as the author says, "the teaching of public health statistics would appear to show that progressive improvement of the national health has steadily followed the improved conditions of life which have been brought about by the advance of sanitary knowledge and its practical application;" and there are any number of "facts which would seem to indicate that the physique of the well-to-do classes, at least, is improving rather than deteriorating." This is undoubtedly true of the well-to-do, but that only shows the evil effects of capitalism more clearly, and places the deterioration of the masses of the people in a more startling light.—London Social Democrat.

JAPANESE SOCIALISTS AGAINST JINGO FEVER.

A much discussed subject in the American press as well as in Continental papers is the predicted war between Russia and Japan in Manchuria. The war-spirited Japanese are too enthusiastic in discussing the subject. There is a real jingo craze. The Japanese papers are filled up chiefly with the Manchurian affairs every day. This war fever is not only among the ignorant classes, but many university professors support the war policy. Seven professors of the Imperial University of Tokyo expressed the opinion lately that Japan must fight with Russia, but after examining their reasons carefully it is not difficult to find them merely sentimental. On this ground the conservative Viscount Tani criticized them severely, holding that Japan is not financially able to carry on such a war. While the majority of the people seem to be, for the time,

with the jingoes, there has appeared another strong opposition force among the Japanese Socialists. They are very calm in their tone, with not a bit of sentimentalism, and they seem to represent, to a great extent, the thoughtful public of Japan.

The latest number of the "Socialist" of Tokyo contains an article by Denjiro Kotoku, a prominent member of the Socialist Party and editor of the "Yorozu Choho," an influential daily. Mr. Kotoku declares that war is neither necessary nor advisable. The practical and effective way for the Japanese to check Russian aggressions in Manchuria, he argues, is not to waste men and money in fighting, but to settle the country with industrious emigrants. The difference in financial power, which would make a conflict of arms against Russia hopeless, he illustrates by the fact that while Russia was constructing the great Trans-Siberian Railway, 2,700 miles long, Japan was not even able to complete 200 miles of line in Korea. The war with China in 1894 cost Japan two hundred million yen; and war against Russia would demand more than twice as much; and even then triumph would be improbable. The Chinese war was a dear experience and the Japanese ought not to forget the lesson so soon. "La gloire! la Japon!" is the cry all over excited Japan today. But sentimentalism has never been an effective force in history and it will not be in this case.

It is a remarkable sign of progress in the Empire to see such strong opposition in the face of frantic military enthusiasm, which was not the case in 1894. Japanese advancement is shown by this open dissent to the so-called patriotic sentiment that has swept over the country.

SOCIALISM IN JAPAN.

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 Katakayama, 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 translation 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 articles on Socialism.

ONLY A MATTER OF WORDS.

The merchant calls it profit,
And he winks the other eye;
The banker calls it interest,
And he heaves a cheerful sigh;
The landlord calls it rent,
As he tucks it in his bag;
But the honest old burglar,
He simply calls it swag.
—The New Time.

GAINS IN BADEN.

At Löviach in Baden the Social Democrats secured a very large majority in the elections to the Citizens' Committee in the electors of the third class. Similar successes are reported from other places in Baden. As the Landtag elections take place this autumn this ought to be a good omen. In the meantime the National Liberals are making great efforts to unite all the Liberals against the Socialists. The Social Democrats are not alarmed by this, however. We can always welcome a coalition of our enemies.

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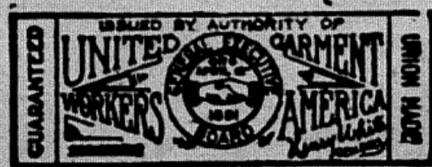
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M. W. Wilkins, under date of August 30, reports his work in Washington as follows: August 16, 17 and 18 addressed meetings at Bucoda, Ramier and Yelm, respectively, the latter place being the only one having a local, which is 12 years old. As South Union addressed a large crowd, all farmers, and organized a local of five at Hoquiam, and left the comrades enthusiastic. Following this, had at Aberdeen what the local comrades said were the two best meetings ever held there. Same at Montesano, where comrades said no speaker had ever excited the same interest. Revived interest in local at Elma, where comrades were discouraged, but extra benches had to be put in hall to accommodate crowd. At Oakville held largest meeting I ever had in town of same size, and organized with nine members. At Winlock organized with five members, and expect to do the same at Chehalis.

Wilkins' financial report for August shows: Expenses—Salary, \$93; hotel, \$11.60; railroad fare, \$8.65; miscellaneous, \$6.72; total, \$118.37. Receipts, \$134.01. Surplus, \$14.64.

W. L. Dewart reports on his Maryland trip, to fill dates made by Goebel, as follows: "Started at Cumberland, August 25, addressing first Socialist meeting ever held there. The meeting was successful, and a local should soon be organized. At Mt. Savage had a large meeting, and while the town is said to be full of Socialists, they are not quite ready to join the party.

Rain fell at Frostburg, but the miners' band turned out, and we had a large crowd, as was also the case at Lonaconing, another large mining town. At all my meetings I called attention to the necessity for signatures to the petition to place the Socialist Party on the official ballot." Financial

report: Expenses—Salary, \$10.50; hotel, \$8.50; railroad fare, \$11.54; miscellaneous, \$2.05; total, \$32.59. Receipts, \$5.25; cost to national office, \$27.34.

Comrade Wm. A. Toole, of Baltimore, will give two weeks during September to working in Maryland, where conditions are such that special attention must be given to get a state organization formed.

Mrs. Ella Reeve Cohen reports having meetings in Delaware for Comrades Goebel, Hanford, Taylor, Moore and Long, and visiting personally Wilmington and Newcastle in the interest of organization at a total cost to the national office of \$20.58, apportioned as

follows: Railroad fare, \$12.55; postage and telegrams, \$2.55; hall rent, \$4; literature, \$1.50.

John M. Ray is in North Carolina, and Harry M. McKee in Arizona, but reports of their work have not yet been received.

BEN HANFORD'S TOUR.

Ben Hanford will close his work in Ohio on September 17, at Hamilton, and will then fill dates in Indiana arranged by State Secretary Oneal, as follows: September 18, Jeffersonville; 19, Evansville; 20, Terre Haute; 21, Indianapolis; 22, Richmond; 23, Marion; 24, Connersville; 25, Alexandria; 26, Peru; 27, Huntington; 28, Ft. Wayne; 29, Elkhart.

Hanford will begin in Illinois October 1, and remain in that state for two weeks. An extended report of Hanford's meetings will be given later.

George E. Bigelow is meeting with opposition from the newspapers in Kansas. One of them says: "He is what might be called a fine speaker. He was fluent and musical in voice, attractive in appearance. All of which gave him the greater power to deceive, and he is a good lecturer, but wonderfully illogical."

Another paper says: "As an orator Mr. Bigelow has few equals, and he is, to all appearances, a gentleman, but we are no more of a Socialist than we were before. The people are now satisfied with present conditions."

Bigelow himself reports: "At Abilene I spoke to the farmers in the streets in the afternoon, with about 75 present, and in the evening had a fairly interesting meeting, with about 150 present. There being no meeting arranged at Acme, I stayed over and spoke again at Abilene. We have some splendid comrades here.

"At Minneapolis I spoke on the street in the afternoon, and in the courthouse in the evening. This is a small place, and my audience was numbered accordingly. I next went to Salina, speaking there four times in three days. I found a splendid band of comrades there, all local Socialist workers. At Lyons there were no arrangements made for me, so I rustled around and finally had a meeting with about 100 present. I secured a number of names to application cards, and an organization should soon result.

"As McPherson I spoke to 125 the first night, although a band concert and church festival were running in opposition to me. At Galva had a small meeting in the afternoon, and seemed to make favorable impression. In evening Comrade Baldwin drove me to Canton, where I had a good meeting and found enthusiastic workers for Socialism. I spoke four times at Hutchison, and a dozen new names were added to the local. At Wichita, on September 7, I had the best meeting since coming into Kansas. At Eldorado found no arrangements, but found some comrades, and spoke to about 100 in the afternoon."

Comrades along the line report favorably upon Bigelow's work, and prophecy good results from his tour. His financial report from August 17 to 31, inclusive, shows: Expenses—Salary, \$45; hotel, \$6.26; railroad fare, \$9.60; miscellaneous, 65 cents; total, \$61.40. Receipts, \$43.36; leaving cost to national office, \$31.40. Seventeen meetings were held.

Goebel began in Tennessee at Knoxville, on September 4, and afterwards visited Harriman, Nashville and Memphis, beginning in Arkansas, September 14, under direction of State Secretary Perrin, for 11 dates. Comrades Hall, of Newport News, and Chapelle, of Richmond, wrote in high praise of Goebel's work. Goebel's financial report for July 20 to 31, inclusive, shows: Expenses—Salary, \$36; hotel, \$4.08;

railroad fare, \$23.06; miscellaneous, \$5.61; total, \$68.72. Receipts, \$34.95; cost to national office, \$33.77. Addressed 13 meetings, organized two locals.

A few men are great now because the great mass are small.

The children of to-day will be the men and women of the future.

The struggle is as righteous as ever prompted men to do and dare on field of battle.

Socialism means the exaltation of the whole and not the aggrandizement of individuals.

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

We never hear of Capital day, not because capital has no day, but because every day is Capital day.

The struggle in which we are now engaged will end only when every day is Labor day.

Stomachs will not be abolished under Socialism, but the owner of one will have to work in order to fill it. The man who has eaten his bread in the sweat of other men's brows will go out of business as a parasite. Many willing workers seldom have a square meal under capitalism.

Have you read and do you understand the platform of the Socialist Party? It will inform you as to the position of the Socialists. It is the definition of Socialism, and if you are a wage-worker you should study it. When you understand it the attempts of the enemies of labor to fool you will fail.

PATRONIZE ALL Union Labels.

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 to 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."

As it is much more difficult to unlearn than to learn, we should be certain a statement is true before accepting it.

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

The free and universal education of every child, the proper books, clothing, food and entertainment supplied at public expense is of itself alone an all-sufficient commendation of Socialism and conclusive proof of the fidelity of its pledge of absolute equality.

You can make it grow only by introducing it and its cause to the wage earners of St. Louis. Don't wait till someone asks you "to help Labor grow." Every reader should get his fellow workers to subscribe. A postal from any reader will bring the paper to his friend at once and a collector a few weeks later.

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's hall, Broadway and Elm street. DAVID ALLAN, Secretary.

SOCIALIST WARD CLUB MEETINGS.

First Ward—First and third Fridays, 4449 Penrose street, Wm Young, secretary.

Second Ward—Third Thursday, 811 Hempstead street, C. E. Arnold, secretary.

Seventh Ward—Third Tuesday, 1522 South Eleventh street, Wm. R. Guiber, secretary.

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

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

Tenth Ward—Every Thursday, 3734 Oregon avenue, Ed. Ottesky, secretary.

Eleventh Ward—Third Friday, 7119 South Broadway, Wm. Holman, secretary.

Twelfth Ward—Second and Fourth Thursday, 2632 McNair avenue, Otto Bitterlich, secretary.

Thirteenth Ward—First and last Thursday, 2632 Caroline street, Otto Thursday, 2632 Caroline street, Wm. F. Crouch, 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. Webking, 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 F. Ablng, secretary.

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

Seventh Ward South Branch—Second Tuesday, 5371 North Market street, Chas. Kaemmerer, secretary.

Comrades! Frequent only such places where your Organ, LABOR, is on file, and Patronize such Business Firms Which Advertise in LABOR.