

ST. LOUIS LABOR

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Workingmen of All Countries, UNITE!

You Have Nothing to Lose But Your Chains, and A WORLD TO GAIN!

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Machinists in Convention

President O'Connell Opens the Gathering at Druids' Hall...Addresses of Welcome by Local Representatives of Organized Labor.

The International Association of Machinists, with delegates present from every state in the Union, from Canada, Mexico, Porto Rico and Panama, opened its twelfth convention at Druid's Hall last Monday. Nearly 100,000 machinists are represented by this organization. Eugene Sarber, representing District No. 9, called the assemblage to order, and greeted the delegates as follows:

"Officers and delegates to the machinists' 12th convention, including our worthy sisters of the Ladies' Auxiliary: This movement is indeed the marking of a milestone in my life, as I hope it will be in the lives of all present. The opportunity to welcome a convention of the International Association of Machinists can come to one of its 100,000 members only once in two years and to any member hardly more than once in a lifetime. Realizing the greatness of this gathering and the vast importance its deliberations will be to both the industrial and financial interests of the world.

"Here a word to those delegates among you, who, if any are as unfortunate as myself in this respect, do not let your fear of bad grammar, or unpolished speech, silence your voices on the floor of this convention. More honor is due the man who, in his uncouth way, with words misplaced and improperly pronounced, raises his voice for that which he knows to be right and against that which he knows to be wrong, than is due the greatest orator who uses his ability in behalf of wrong.

"In conclusion, I wish to inform the delegates that St. Louis is strictly a nine-hour town for machinists, with a legal half-holiday on Saturday, and we expect the delegates to work full time, as there is no time limit on pleasure we are not particular as to what time you start or especially at what time in the morning you stop."

Others Welcome Delegates.

President Owen Miller of the Central Trades and Labor Union then was introduced and spoke of the importance of the machinist in the history of the world. Coming down to modern times, Mr. Miller declared that nation which has the best machinists generally has been the most successful, and said that the wonderful success of Japan can be attributed to the training which her machinists received from the American mechanics. He welcomed the delegates to St. Louis.

Secretary David Kreyling of the central body also welcomed the delegates in behalf of the united labor organizations of the city, as did Secretary Harry Blackmore of the Building Trades Council. Several other local representatives of unions wished the machinists God-speed in their work.

President James O'Connell, responding to the many greetings, thanked the representatives of the other trades for their kindly sentiments expressed, and at noon the first session adjourned for the day. The delegates were taken to Lemp's brewery in the afternoon in trolley cars, and the real work of the meeting began Tuesday.

Annual Report of President O'Connell.

The report of President James O'Connell is a very comprehensive one, and deals with many questions pertaining to the craft. Of the machinists' organization its head says:

"The International Association of Machinists is today one of the largest and most influential organizations of labor in North America, so that no machinist need apologize for being a member of our association. The days of discrimination against machinists for joining our organization have almost passed into oblivion.

"A more intelligent understanding of our rights, duties and objects, with a view of taking advantage of increasing opportunities in an intelligent and business-like manner, has demonstrated, not only to the employer and the public the justice of our cause, but proven to the men of our craft that our organization is their staunchest supporter and friend."

On the trade union movement in general, Mr. O'Connell says: "The trade union is a form, a machine, a means to an end. The question, therefore, is the end in view. What are we trying to accomplish? Being a believer in evolution as a law of growth and universal law, I find that moral equality, or religious equality, if you please, found its expression in the Reformation, which has since unfolded itself more and more until it produced in some countries by slow stages, in others by revolution, that political equality which, while it is yet unfinished or incomplete, still is struggling onward with more or less success in different countries, but wherever the equality of all men before God is at all understandingly held there can be but one result, namely, success in its own field and extension into the industrial life of the people. If we are religious and political equals, then it would be an absurdity to hold that we should not be socially and industrially so."

Taking up the question of politics in the unions, President O'Connell says:

"It seems plain to me that we must first be industrial and then political, and not vice versa, but this by no means prevents us from being political where we can, and indeed it appeals to me that we should meet as a trade union tonight, attending strictly to our affairs as such, and meet at some other time to discuss the political phase of the movement, because mixing the two together has so far resulted unsuccessfully.

"I am, therefore, after years of experience, more fully convinced than ever that our industrial improvement can best be taken care of through our trade union movement, and the political side of the question looked after through our political organizations, the trade union being first and foremost in our minds at all times; the political organizations a secondary consideration."

As to the financial status of the organization the report says: "I was anticipating great pleasure in being able to report to this convention that we had passed the \$200,000 mark in our Grand Lodge bank account. Owing to the large number of strikes in which our members are involved, greatly increasing our weekly pay roll, I am only able to state that on July 1 we had a total cash balance of \$148,224.50."

The report shows that the total amount paid for strike benefits from April 1, 1891, to July 1, 1907, was \$1,212,108.40.

Since the union began paying death benefits in 1898 there has been a steady increase in the amount paid each year, the total for the entire period being \$150,776.10.

According to figures compiled by the international president, there were 136 strikes in the trade from July 1, 1906, to July 1, 1907. Many of these strikes were in small shops scattered throughout the country.

"Our membership is becoming very active in securing the eight-hour workday. This subject will undoubtedly receive much attention during our convention," the report says.

"We all agree that eight hours is the natural and rational allotted time for men to work daily. The inauguration of the shorter

workday is being persistently fought by the employers of labor, and in no particular trade that I know of is the opposition so bitter as in that of the machinists.

"In discussing this question we must not lose sight of the practical side of the proposition, nor be swayed by sentiment or prejudice of any kind. We must figure out the matter from a business and practical basis if we have in mind a movement in the direction of the eight-hour day to be started with a view to its enforcement at no distant date."

Relative to the length of workdays in railroad service the report says: "I am convinced that if a date is set far enough ahead and properly prepared for in advance, the nine-hour day can be established on all railroads without incurring any great liability either in strikes or financial loss. I am not favorable to attempting the shorter workday by piecemeal in the railway service or any other particular branch of our calling."

The report concludes with advice to the delegates as follows: "Do not permit enthusiasm or resentment to direct your efforts, but let that reason and intelligence which you possess lead you in your work of mapping out a policy which will carry us on to success if followed out.

"Be practicable, reasonable and just in your conclusions, and this association will go forward accordingly."

PROGRAM OF ENTERTAINMENT.

The local convention committee prepared the following program for the entertainment of the delegates:

Monday Afternoon, Sept. 9.

Trolley trip to Lemp's brewery, leaving Southern Hotel at 1:30 p. m.

Tuesday Evening, Sept. 10.

Gayety Theater, leave Southern Hotel at 7:30 p. m.

Thursday Evening, Sept. 12.

Trip to Forest Park Highlands, leave Southern Hotel at 7 p. m. Market street cars direct to destination.

Saturday Afternoon, Sept. 14.

Trolley trip to Anheuser-Busch brewery, leave Southern Hotel at 1:30 p. m.

Sunday Afternoon, Sept. 15.

Boat excursion to Montezano; steamer City of Providence leaves wharf, foot of Olive street, at 1:30 p. m. Delegates to leave Southern Hotel at 12:30 p. m. This will be complimentary to the delegates and all members of the organization, including the Ladies' Auxiliary, who desire to attend. Committeemen will be on the levee and distribute tickets to members on presentation of due book or card.

Monday Evening, Sept. 16.

Open mass meeting at Druid's Hall, 8 p. m.

Tuesday Evening, Sept. 17.

Trolley trip to Creve Coeur Lake. "Moonlight Cars" leave Southern Hotel at 7 p. m. A pleasant ride of 22 miles in the country.

Wednesday Evening, Sept. 18.

Banquet to the delegates, Druid's Hall, at 8:30 p. m. The Grand Lodge headquarters are at the Southern Hotel.

REPORT OF TUESDAY AFTERNOON'S SESSION.

Delegate Warner of New York Unseated by Convention.

After a bitter fight, which lasted during part of Tuesday morning and all of the afternoon session, George Warner, a delegate to the International Machinists' convention from New York, who had been accused of receiving \$10,000 a year from the Erie Railroad for his services in preventing strikes among the railroad employes, was unseated. After hearing Warner's defense, many of the delegates, in explaining their votes, said that while they were convinced that he was not guilty of the charge, yet they opposed his participation in the convention because he was a financier rather than a working machinist.

Warner, the deposed delegate, admitted very frankly that he, for a considerable time, did receive quarterly payments of \$2,500 from the railroad, but says that it was not because of his prominence in the labor movement, but to secure his political influence against the Erie canal. He also admitted that the money was used to further the canal project, and that, in his own words, "he gave the railroad the double cross."

He further declared that the present fight is made upon him by the Socialist faction in New York, which he has fought vigorously for many years.

Tuesday morning's session of the convention at Druid's Hall opened with the report of the Committee on Credentials, which declared that all the delegates who had presented credentials were entitled to seats. At this point it was moved and carried that the convention go into executive session, and the fight upon the personnel of the New York delegation was begun. For technical errors in their election, Hugh Reilly of New York and Robert Reilly of Newark, N. J., were unseated, and Edward Hourigan of New York, whose right to a seat was contested, was confirmed. Hourigan is the leading spirit in the fight against Warner.

These matters took but a short time, and then the real fight commenced when it was moved that George Warner be declared ineligible. The matter occupied an hour or more of the morning session and practically the entire afternoon session, which was extended an hour and lasted from 2 until 6 p. m. The only other business transacted was the appointment of committees by President O'Connell.

When seen at the Southern Hotel after the close of the session, Warner said: "I intend to remain in the city, because I can be as useful out of the convention as in it. My colleagues still have the nine votes of the delegation, and I can work outside. I am interested in a number of matters, and I have a large number of personal friends among the delegates.

"This is an old fight between the Socialists and the anti-Socialists. I have been fighting these people tooth and nail for years, and I am not through yet. In the New York unions there is an organization known as 'The Borers from Within,' composed of Socialists, and they devote their energies to controlling the locals. They have succeeded in controlling most of the twenty machinists' unions. For a number of years I was business agent of our union, and succeeded in beating the Socialists.

"About three years ago, when J. C. Stuart became general manager of the Erie Railroad, through the change in control, he found that I was on the pay rolls of the company for \$2,500 a quarter. He wanted to know why I received it, and I told him that he had no more right to know than the elevator boy—that I was dealing with the men that hired him. That was the last payment that I got."

NOTICE!

Owing to the unsettled state of affairs in the county, the joint picnic of the 6th, 8th, 10th and 12th Ward Socialist Clubs, at Bartold's Grove, has been called off. Purchasers of tickets can have their money refunded by applying to party selling same.

THE COMMITTEE

What Is Socialism?

Not a Political Patent Medicine, But an Accurate, Scientific Forecast, Promising the Extension of Common Ownership, With "The Co-Operative Commonwealth of the World as an Ideal."

By WILLIAM HARD, in The Reader Magazine

It is now only about seventy years since the word "socialism" made its first bow to the world in the columns of a newspaper published in England. It is only sixty years since Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels issued "The Communist Manifesto," which, without irreverence, may be called the Socialist Sermon on the Mount, and which concluded with the exhortation: "Workingmen of all countries, unite." It is only forty years since Karl Marx wrote his fundamental book, the classic book of modern Socialism, "Capital."

Yet today there is a Socialist party in every civilized country. In France there are two Socialists in the Cabinet, namely: M. Briand, the minister of worship, and M. Viviani, the minister of labor. In Germany the Socialist party has polled three million votes. In England many of the labor members of the House of Commons are avowed Socialists. In the United States the Socialist vote is approaching the half-million mark. There are twelve Socialist aldermen in Milwaukee. Altogether the Socialist voters of the world today, less than eight decades after the first appearance of the word "socialism," number more than seven million. If these seven million men are insane, the world is indeed in a sad case.

Moreover, no reference is here made to the untold millions of voters who are in favor of such "socialistic" propositions as municipal ownership of street cars and compulsory insurance of workmen. No reference is here made to persons like the Progressives in England, who are turning the English municipalities into owners and operators of gas plants, electric lighting plants, greenhouses, cemeteries and milk wagons. No reference is here made to the countless citizens of all countries who give their approval to that gradual extension of governmental activity to which Sir William Vernon-Harcourt was alluding when he made his famous remark to the effect that "We are all Socialists now." The seven million Socialists above mentioned are straight Socialists. They vote, not for incidental experiments in public ownership, but for the whole co-operative commonwealth.

What do they mean by the co-operative commonwealth? This might seem to people outside the party to be a fairly important question, but it appears to be the least of the troubles of the Socialists themselves. The co-operative commonwealth, they admit, would necessarily imply a tremendous extension of the area of common ownership. But common ownership is not the most striking feature of modern orthodox Socialism. Many people think it is, but they are generally committing the argumentative error which the logicians call barking up the wrong tree. The essential doctrine of modern orthodox Socialism is the control of the powers of government by the working class, or, at any rate, the recognition of the working class as an important element in the control of those powers.

The Fundamental Object.

In Germany today the government owns the railroads. Are the Socialists elated? Not at all. In Chicago, Dunne, the late mayor, attempted to secure municipally owned street cars. Did the Socialist party cast its votes for Mayor Dunne? By no means. And why? Because the government of Germany and the government of Chicago are today, according to the Socialists, business men's governments, capitalist governments, "bourgeois" governments. It is necessary that these governments should be changed toward being workmen's governments, "proletarian" governments" before common ownership will be of any great value to the community at large.

In Socialist slang, the capitalist class is called the bourgeoisie and the working class is called the proletariat. The fundamental object of the Socialist party is the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the power of the proletariat. The inevitable consequence, of course, will be that many industries, if not all, will be transferred from private hands to the hands of the community. The indispensable preliminary is that a class-conscious proletariat shall vote itself in a control, complete or partial, of the powers of government.

Business Man vs. the Workingman.

It will be seen that, compared with the Scientific Socialist, the Utopian Socialist was a mild and harmless being. The Utopian Socialist was more or less satisfied if he was allowed to retire in peace to Brook Farm or New Harmony, or some other communistic community in which he might live in common with his fellow Utopians. The Scientific Socialist refuses to retire. He stays in the world in order to capture it. He is not a monk. He is an evangelist. And his object is a Socialist planet.

The avenue to the Socialist planet will be through class conflict. This is not a libel on modern Socialism. It is a definition of it. According to the modern Socialist all human history since the introduction of private property has been a series of class struggles. All progress has been made through class struggles. And classes are formed on economic differences. As long as there are economic differences there must be classes and class struggles. This is Marx's famous materialistic conception of history.

Economic differences are the important differences. Changes in human society are caused by the conflicts engendered by these differences, and not by sentiment or by philanthropy. In the French Revolution and in similar revolutions in other countries the business class revolted against the feudal class and overthrew it. The business class was prompted by its self-interest. Today the working class, prompted by its self-interest, is about to overthrow the business class.

As long as economic differences remain, these conflicts are inevitable. But when once the working class has elevated itself to power and has abolished economic differences, there will be no further possibility of the formation of classes. There will then be only one class—the working class.

This, crudely, is the Marxian doctrine of the class struggle.

Neither Unlettered Nor Unwashed.

It might be supposed that a doctrine which claimed so much for the working class was the direct product of the factory or the forge. Yet the direct contrary is the fact. Socialism, both Utopian and Scientific, came not from the factory, but from the library; not from the forge, but from the study. The Socialist party is the most bookish political party that ever existed.

The first great Socialist in England was Robert Owen. At the age of 19 Mr. Owen was manager of a cotton mill that employed 500 hands. Later on he became one of the most successful manufacturers in all England. He was very rich. He read many books and wrote several. There was not much of the ignorant, discontented workingman about him.

Following Owen, on toward the middle of the nineteenth century, came the Christian Socialists. They were Utopians of the most abandoned type, being religious as well as visionary. They are con-

sequently much despised by many of the violently economic Scientific Socialists of the present day. Their most distinguished leader was Charles Kingsley, clergyman, scholar, and author of "Alton Locke," "Westward Ho" and "Hypatia." There was nothing unwashed about him.

Since the dawn of Scientific Socialism in England the best-known English orthodox Socialist has been Henry Mayers Hyndman. Mr. Hyndman was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge. He began life as a correspondent for the Pall Mall Gazette.

Over against the orthodox Socialists in England stand the Fabians. The main difference between the two groups seems to be that the Fabians permit themselves to look pleased when a municipality begins to own and operate an electric lighting plant, while the orthodox Socialists regard a municipal plant as a rather poor reason for any relaxation of the countenance. The most famous member of the Fabian group is that wild, rough workingman, Bernard Shaw, author of "How He Lied to Her Husband." The next most famous member is Sidney Webb, a lawyer, a civil service official, educated at the City of London College, and afterward a member of the Senate of the University of London.

The only other English Socialist who has any reputation outside of England is Keir Hardie, who is a pretty unorthodox Socialist, but who is a bona fide workingman in the ordinary sense of the word. It can not be said, however, that he has added anything to the doctrines of Socialism, and our present discussion is concerned with the leaders of Socialist thought. We are looking at the men who have made Socialism what it is.

When we cross the channel from England to France, we still remain in the atmosphere of books. We also remain in a middle-class environment.

The three most distinguished names in French Socialism before the foundation of Marx were Fourier, Saint-Simon and Blanc.

Fourier was the son of a merchant. He spent his whole life in mercantile pursuits, writing incidentally but voluminously.

Saint-Simon was a noble by birth, a colonel in the French army, and at one time extremely wealthy. His complete works fill nineteen volumes.

Louis Blanc was first a clerk, then a private tutor, then a journalist.

Since the Utopians were displaced by the Scientific Socialists in France, the best-known leader of the French Socialist movement has been Jean Jaures. M. Jaures taught philosophy at Albi and at Toulouse, and is one of the three or four most finished orators in French public life.

If the opponent of Socialism is looking for unlettered and uncouth proletarian monsters among the great men of Socialism, or if the partizan of Socialism is looking for bona fide factory hands, impressed with the wrongs of their class and eager to fight its battles, the search in both cases will end in the same disappointment.

Marx and Lassalle.

Karl Marx himself is no exception. He was the greatest of German Socialists, and the greatest of all Socialists. He was of Jewish birth. He was educated at the Universities of Bonn and of Berlin. Early in life he became an editor. After he left the continent for England he spent studious and industrious years in the British Museum. He was a man of noble character, enduring extreme poverty for the sake of his economic and literary work. His devotion to his wife was one of his most touching qualities. When he lost her, one of his friends truly remarked: "Well, then, Marx himself is dead, too." Karl Marx was a middle-class scholar of immense attainments. His Socialism was the result not of ignorant resentment, but of long-continued application to his studies.

The man who shares with Marx the honor of starting the German Social Democratic party on its spectacular career was Ferdinand Lassalle. This brutalized workingman was the son of a rich Jewish silk merchant. He was destined to commerce, but he eluded destiny and became a fascinating combination of scholar and knight errant. Going to the University of Berlin, he devoted himself to philosophy, philology and archaeology, pursuits which may be safely recommended to the proletariat. He interrupted his studies, however, in order to devote himself to the rescue of the Countess von Hatzfeldt, who was being badly treated by her husband. After eight years of effort the countess secured a legal separation. Lassalle then returned to his studies and wrote a book called "Das System der erworbenen Rechte," which Savigny said was the greatest legal work written since the sixteenth century. This expropriated outcast also wrote another book called "The Philosophy of Heraclitus the Obscure." Finally, however, he threw his whole energy into wonderful feats of Socialistic agitation among the workmen of Germany. His end was as romantic as his life. He perished in a most feudal and unproletarian way in a duel.

No attempt is here made to deny the fact that the Socialist party is a working class party. It undoubtedly is. The vast bulk of its membership is drawn from the working class. Especially is this true if the Socialist definition of the word "proletarian" be adopted.

What Is a "Proletarian?"

A "proletarian" is a person who derives his income from the labor of his hands or of his brain; and not from the ownership of capital; who lives on a wage or a salary, and not on rent, interest or profits. This rule might create some doubts in the case of a man who derived five hundred dollars a year from being a carpenter and five hundred dollars from being the owner of rented house and lot. Such a man might have to be analyzed by a social assayer before he could be sure in which direction he ought to become class-conscious. According to the Socialists, however, the dubious cases are rare, and are becoming rarer. Taking men by and large, they either depend upon their capital or else upon their labor. Those that depend upon their labor are proletarians.

In this sense, of course, the Socialist party is overwhelmingly a party of proletarians, despite such exceptional instances as the Countess of Warwick and young Mr. Phelps-Stokes of New York.

But the point here made is no attack upon the unblemished proletarian character of the Socialist party as a whole. All that is here said is that the foundations of Socialism were laid by men whom the non-Socialist is in the habit of regarding as members of the middle class. These middle-class men laid the foundations and asked the working class to stand on them. Socialism has been no spontaneous outburst of working class ideals. In that respect it differs from trade unionism. Trade unionism came from the workers themselves, and it is officered and operated by them. Socialism has always included a considerable proportion of middle-class people, and its great men have arisen from a distinctly middle class environment.

Some Amiable Inconsistencies.

In the executive committee of the Socialist party of America there are seven members. One used to be a coal miner and is now a speaker and lecturer and writer; one is a lawyer, one is a publisher, one is a country merchant, one is a cigarmaker, one is an assistant editor, and one is an editor, writer and scholar.

Victor Berger, of Milwaukee, the most successful Socialist politician in America, is a thorough scholar, a profoundly cultivated man, once a school teacher, now an editor.

Mr. A. M. Simons, one of the seven members of the executive committee of the Socialist party of America, is the editor of the International Socialist Review. He was a student at the University of Wisconsin. He there became a specialist in economics. He is undoubtedly a proletarian, because he derives his income from the labor of his brain. But he has an admirable brain. He could have made a much larger income by working for the capitalist papers. Why didn't he do it? Why did he devote himself to the service of the Socialist party? Can it be that Mr. Simons is actuated by sentimental motives? Can it be that he is a lover of his fellow men, that he is a philanthropist? It is a thought to shudder at. Yet one can see no mercenary reason why Mr. Simons should edit Socialist magazines and make Socialist speeches. The fact is that Socialists of the Simons type are most deeply-dyed hypocrites in the world. To hear

them talk, you would think that there was nothing in the world but a selfish antagonism between classes. They know, of course, and would cheerfully admit, that there is a great deal more than that in every age of the world's history. But their surface talk is all of economic differences, and of class antagonism, and of inevitable conflicts, and of the necessity of a self-asserted self-interest on the part of the working class. They also talk about the absolute inevitability of the co-operative commonwealth. And yet they forsake their personal interests, and toil and pinch and go without sleep and work themselves to the bone in order to stick a spur into the sides of the inevitable, and in order to assert the self-interest of the men and women and children who are working in the factories of the world!

Well, if it were not for these amiable inconsistencies the world would be a sad place.

There is also the case of Otto McFeely. Mr. McFeely had a good, safe job on the Chicago Evening Post. Then came the Chicago Daily Socialist, an experiment, a precarious experiment. It was the height of romanticism for Mr. McFeely to leave the Post and take the managing editorship of the Socialist. No one thought that the Socialist would last a year. Yet McFeely took the chance. He couldn't afford it, but the working class, including Mr. McFeely, must make an assertion of its self-interest against the capitalist class. There you have a designing demagogue! Mr. McFeely is a dangerous character. And, really, he is. When any idea can claim such loyalty from so many people, it is likely to make some stir before it is extirpated.

But it is time to turn from the prospective triumph of the proletariat to the ideas which the proletariat will advocate when it once has the power to do so.

What Will He Do?

To begin with, nobody need fear that he will have to eat his dinner at the same table with all the other people in his ward. So far as the modern Socialist party is concerned, the individual family may continue to enjoy the possession and the use of its own private individual dining table to the end of time. Modern Socialism is not Utopian Communism. Modern Socialism proposes that we shall produce in common. It does not propose that we shall consume in common.

Some Socialists there are, of course, who seem to be animated by an overpowering desire to serve cosmic meals in a bihemispheric dining room at chronometric intervals to a harmonious human family. But we can not find space for all the vagaries of all the persons who have ever chosen to call themselves Socialists, any more than a man who was writing an article about Christianity in a Thibetan magazine could find space for all the vagaries of all the persons who have ever called themselves Christians. We shall confine ourselves to the Socialist party as a party. And that will be about enough.

The Socialist party, then, has no designs upon the family dining room, or upon the family piano. The co-operative commonwealth would no more interfere with the way in which its members might choose to dissipate their incomes than the postoffice department now interferes with the methods employed for that same purpose by its clerks. At present the postoffice clerk saves up his income for about three weeks, buys some furniture, marries a nice girl, rents a flat, moves into that flat, and shuts the door on the rest of the world. So far as the Socialist party is concerned, the clerk who is employed in the oil department of the co-operative commonwealth may adopt the same policy without let or hindrance.

It can not be too clearly understood that the Socialist party says absolutely nothing about the way in which a man shall consume the product of his toil. He may throw it into the sea. He may spend it on the ladies of the theater. He may devote it to a private kitchen, a private wife and a set of private children, just exactly as at present.

Marriage and Female Suffrage.

The next topic is marriage. Here, again, so far as the modern Socialist party is concerned, a man may do what he pleases. Except that the Socialist party demands female suffrage and the economic equality of men and women (whatever that may mean), it says no more about marriage than the Republican party or the Democratic party. A man's domestic troubles may still be his own in the co-operative commonwealth. Socialism does not propose to tear the wife from the bosom of her husband or the child from the breast of its mother. It has nothing to say on such points.

One may suspect, of course, that if every woman had a full opportunity to earn her living there would be more women who would depart from the hearthstones of brutal and inconsiderate husbands. But the defenders of matrimony surely do not claim that women ought to be bound to their husbands by a need of bread and butter. Such a claim would be a denial of all that is sacred in matrimony. In the co-operative commonwealth, just as in the present capitalistic world, a man and a woman may live together and rear their children in common just as long as they please.

As with marriage, so with religion. According to all Socialist platforms, religion is a private matter. The present antagonism between Socialism and the Church, an antagonism which is as stupid as it is obvious, would require a whole separate article for its elucidation. But in spite of this antagonism the Socialist party distinctly says in all its public utterances that it is a purely political and economic movement, and that it has absolutely nothing to say about a man's religious convictions.

In the matter of education a similar principle must be announced. There can be little doubt that the Socialist party would demand an extension of the present period of compulsory education. But it has no intention of taking new-born babes away from their parents and suckling them in centrally located baby factories. Here, as elsewhere, the Socialist party must not be loaded with the burden of all the mental efforts of all its irresponsible members.

Spend But Not Earn as You Please.

In education, in religion, in marriage, in the distribution of private incomes, the Socialist party advocates no noticeable deviations from present policies. The Socialist party is concerned only with politics and with economics; with the democratic phases of politics and with the productive phases of economics. In concerning itself with the productive phases of economics it confesses that it is interested in the way in which people shall earn their incomes. It also confesses that it is not interested in the way in which people shall spend their incomes. You may spend your income as you please, but in earning your income, in doing your daily work, you will be an object of concern to the co-operative commonwealth.

It has already been remarked that the triumph of the proletariat and the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth would be followed by an extension of the area of common ownership. The question is: How wide would that extension be?

Socialism and the Farmer.

To begin with, would common ownership be extended to the farms? Would all the farms in America be owned by the community? This question puzzles the Socialists themselves. They give no definite answer to it. Karl Marx expected that all the small farms would be gathered into large farms, just as all the small factories would be gathered into trusts. But agriculture has not proved so amenable as has industry to the predictions of the Socialist philosophers. While consolidation has proceeded with an accelerated pace in the domain of the great industries, it has remained sadly true that the farms of the world have continued to be owned in small, individual, separated parcels.

This being the case, it does not seem likely that any attempt could be made to transfer farm lands to the control of the community. Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx's bosom friend, said long ago that "if the public powers came into our hands we should not think of expropriating the little peasant." And, only the other day, Victor Berger, of Milwaukee, proposed an alliance between the proletarian and the farmer on the basis of the idea that the common ownership of the trusts would be equally advantageous to the farmer owning his own farm and to the socialized workingman employed by the socialized state.

The Fate of the Trusts.

This brings us to the one thing that the Socialist party would

undoubtedly do. And that one thing is, of course, quite large enough to satisfy the ambition of any one party. If the Socialist party should gain control of the United States at the next election, it would undoubtedly proceed to transfer all the great industries from the ownership of private individuals to the ownership of the community. This program would include particularly the industries in which the process of consolidation has gone to the furthest extreme, as well as any other industries for which Congress could find time.

There would be no doubt about the fate of Standard Oil or of the International Harvester Company, or of the National Biscuit Company, or of any other so-called trust. The consolidated or trustified interests would be the first to lose their heads. Other industries would follow in the order of their degree of trustification. Any industry that wishes to elude Socialism would do well to keep away from the hands of trust-forming promoters. The order of precedence on the way to the executioner's block is, first, the trust; second, the ordinary big business; and, third, the small business.

Sidney Webb says: "No reasonable Socialist thinks it possible for the state immediately to take over the grocer's shop." Of course, Sidney Webb is a Fabian Socialist, and not quite so fierce as a real orthodox Marxist. Yet his statement represents the case pretty exactly. As Vandervelde, the Belgian Socialist, says: "History proceeds from personal property to capitalist property, and from capitalist property to collective property." The grocer's shop, like the farm, is still personal property. Socialism is not essentially interested in it. The big industry, however, and, in an even greater degree, the trust, has ceased to be private property, and has become capitalist property. That is, it has ceased to represent an individual, personal, private enterprise, and has come to represent an intricate, stock-jobbing, widely-owned, closely-controlled industrial monopoly, or semi-monopoly. With such industries Socialism is closely concerned. It proposes to take them over, either by confiscation or by purchase.

Shall the big industries of the world be confiscated to the community, or shall they be purchased? That might seem to be an interesting question, but the Socialists have reached no decision about it. Karl Marx often expressed the opinion that the cheapest way would be to purchase them. Much will depend upon the attitude of the capitalists themselves. If they resist to the appoint of annoyance, they may expect severe measures.

What, then, is the conclusion of the whole matter? Why, this: Socialism is an assertion to the effect that the working class will gain a more or less complete control of society, and will institute a program of common ownership which will begin with the trusts and the great industries, and which will proceed toward other industries to a more or less indefinite degree. The essential fact will be the emergence of the working class. The consequent fact will be the extension of common ownership. And the ideal in view will be the co-operative commonwealth of the world.

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Twenty Years Ago Crime of Nov. 11 '87

Reasons for Pardoning Fielden, Neebe and Schwab

By JOHN P. ALTGELD, Governor of Illinois

At the opening of the Haywood trial in Boise, Idaho, the "Chicago Anarchist Case" was repeatedly mentioned as a parallel with this Western Conspiracy case. The younger elements in the Socialist Party and Trades Union Movements are not acquainted with the "Chicago Tragedy," and numerous requests have reached our office for some detailed information about the exciting events of 1886-87. It is impossible to publish a complete history of the case in the columns of a weekly paper. In looking over our old books and pamphlets we found a copy of a valuable document, namely, "Reasons for Pardoning Fielden, Neebe and Schwab, by Governor John P. Altgeld, of Illinois." This pamphlet contains the plainest and most concise presentation of the so-called "Chicago Anarchist Case," beginning with the great Eight Hour Movement and the Haymarket Riot of May 4, 1886, to the legalized murdering of Spies, Parsons, Engel and Fischer on November 11, 1887. Fielden, Neebe and Schwab were sentenced to life imprisonment in the state penitentiary in Joliet. We may add the information that Fielden is today making a living for himself and family on a little farm somewhere in Nebraska. Neebe is engaged in business in Chicago, while the poor, learned old Michael Schwab died of consumption several years after the pardoning by Gov. Altgeld—the result of eight years' imprisonment and sufferings.

We hereby publish Gov. Altgeld's "Reasons for Pardoning" in full. It will run in five or six issues of **St. Louis Labor**, and we request our comrades and friends to read the great document most carefully. Remember that the Haywood-Moyer-Pettibone case was simply another attempt to enact a tragedy like the one of November 11, 1887.

EDITOR OF ST. LOUIS LABOR.

VI.

CHIEF OF POLICE EBERSOLD'S STATEMENT.

Ebersold was chief of the police of Chicago at the time of the Haymarket trouble and for a long time before and thereafter, so that he was in a position to know what was going on, and his utterances upon this point are therefore important. Among other things he says:

"It was my policy to quiet matters down as soon as possible after the 4th of May. The general unsettled state of things was an injury to Chicago.

"On the other hand, Capt. Schaack wanted to keep things stirring. He wanted bombs to be found here, there, all around, everywhere. I thought people would lie down and sleep better if they were not afraid that their homes would be blown to pieces any minute. But this man Schaack, this little boy who must glory or his heart would be broken, wanted none of that policy. Now, here is something the public does not know. After we got the anarchist societies broken up, Schaack wanted to send out men to organize new societies right away. You see what this would do. He wanted to keep the thing boiling, keep himself prominent before the public. Well, I sat down on that, I didn't believe in such work, and of course Schaack didn't like it.

"After I heard all that, I began to think there was perhaps not so much to all this anarchist business as they claimed, and I believe I was right. Schaack thinks he knew all about those anarchists. Why, I knew more at that time than he knows today about them. I was following them closely. As soon as Schaack began to get some notoriety, however, as he was spoiled."

This is a most important statement, when a chief of police who has been watching the anarchists closely says that he was convinced that there was not so much in all this anarchist business as was claimed, and that a police captain wanted to send out men to have other conspiracies formed in order to get the credit of discovering them and keep the public excited, it throws a flood of light on the whole situation and destroys the force of much of the testimony introduced at the trial.

For if there has been any such extensive conspiracy as the prosecution claims, the police would have soon discovered it. No chief of police could discover a determination on the part of an individual, or even a number of separate individuals, to have personage revenge for having been maltreated, nor could any chief discover a determination by any such individual to kill the next policeman who might assault him. Consequently, the fact that the police did not discover any conspiracy before the Haymarket affair shows almost conclusively that no such extensive combination could have existed.

As further bearing on the question of creating evidence reference is made to the following affidavits:
State of Illinois, County of Cook—ss.

Jacob Mikolanda, being first duly sworn, on oath states, that he took no part in the so-called May troubles of 1886; that on or about the 8th day of May, 1886, two police officers, without a warrant or without assigning any reasons therefor, took this affiant from a saloon, where he was conducting himself peacefully, and obliged him to accompany them to his house; that the same officers entered his house without a search warrant, and ransacked the same, not even permitting the baby's crib, with its sleeping occupant, to escape their unlawful and fruitless search; that in about a month after this occurrence this affiant was summoned by Officer Peceny to accompany him to the police station, as Lieutenant Shepard wished to speak to me; that there without a warrant this affiant was thrown into jail; that he was thereupon shown some photographs and asked if he knew the persons, and on answering to the affirmative as to some of the pictures, he was again thrown into prison; that he was then transferred from one station to another for several days; that he was impounded by a police captain and assistant state's attorney to turn state's witness, being promised therefor money, the good will and protection of the police, their political influence in securing a position and his entire freedom; that on answering that he knew nothing to which he could testify, he was thrown back into jail; that his preliminary hearing was repeatedly continued for want of prosecution, each continuance obliging this affiant to remain longer in jail; that eventually this affiant was dismissed for want of prosecution. JACOB MIKOLANA.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 14th day of April, A. D. 1893. CHARLES B. PAVLICEK, Notary Public.

Vaclav Djmek, being first duly sworn, on oath states that he knows of no cause for his arrest on the 7th day of May, A. D. 1886; that he took no part in any of the troubles of the preceding days; that without a warrant for his arrest, or without a search warrant for his premises, the police entered the house on the night of the 7th day of May, 1886; that on being requested to show by what authority they entered, the police heaped abuse upon this affiant and his wife; that the police then proceeded to ransack the house, roused this affiant's little children out of bed, pulled the same to pieces,

carried away, this affiant's papers and pillow slips, because the same were red; that on the way to the police station, though this affiant offered no resistance whatever and went at the command of the officer peacefully, this affiant was choked, covered by revolvers and otherwise inhumanly treated by the police officers; that for many days this affiant was jailed and refused a preliminary hearing; that during said time he was threatened, and promised immunity by the police if he would turn state's witness; that the police clerk and officer Johnson repeatedly promised this affiant his freedom and considerable money if he would turn state's witness; that on his protestations that he knew nothing to which he could testify, this affiant was abused and ill treated; that while he was jailed this affiant was kicked, clubbed, beaten and scratched, had curses and abused heaped upon him and was threatened with hanging by the police; that this affiant's wife was abused by the police when she sought permission to see this affiant. VACLAV DJMEK.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 14th day of April, A. D. 1893. CHARLES B. PAVLICEK, Notary Public.

I will simply say in conclusion on this branch of the case that the facts tend to show that the bomb was thrown as an act of personal revenge, and that the prosecution has never discovered who threw it, and the evidence utterly fails to show that the man who did throw it ever heard or read a word coming from the defendants; consequently it fails to show that he acted on any advice given by them. And if he did not act on or hear any advice coming from the defendants, either in speeches or through the press, then there was no case against them even under the law as laid down by Judge Gary.

FIELDEN AND SCHWAB.

At the trial a number of detectives and members of the police force swore that the defendant, Fielden, at the Haymarket meeting, made threats to kill, urging his hearers to do their duty as he would do his, just as the policemen were coming up, and one policeman swears that Fielden drew a revolver and fired at the police while he was standing on the wagon and before the bomb was thrown, while some of the others testified that he first climbed down off the wagon and fired while standing by a wheel. On the other hand, it was proven by a number of witnesses and by facts and circumstances that this evidence must be absolutely untrue. A number of newspaper reporters who testified on the part of the state said that they were standing near Fielden, much nearer than the police were, and heard all that was said and saw what was done; that they had been sent there for that purpose, and that Fielden did not make any such threats as the police swore to, and that he did not use a revolver. A number of other men who were near, too, and some of them on the wagon on which Fielden stood at the time, swear to the same thing. Fielden himself swears that he did not make any such threats as the police swore to, and further, that he never had or used a revolver in his life. But if there were any doubt about the fact that the evidence charging Fielden with having used a revolver is unworthy of credit, it is removed by Judge Gary and State's Attorney Grinnell. On November 8, 1887, when the question of commuting the death sentence as to Fielden was before the governor, Judge Gary wrote a long letter in regard to the case in which, in speaking of Fielden, he among other things, says: "There is in the nature and private character of the man a love of justice, an impatience at undeserved sufferings. * * * In his own private life he was the honest, industrious and peaceful laboring man. In what he said in court before sentence he was respectful and decorous. His language and conduct since have been irreproachable. As there is no evidence that he knew of any preparation to do the specific act of throwing the bomb that killed Degan, he does not understand even now that general advice to large masses to do violence makes him responsible for the violence done by reason of that advice. * * * In short, he was more a misguided enthusiast than a criminal conscious of the horrible nature and effect of his teachings and of his responsibility therefor."

The state's attorney appended the foregoing letter beginning as follows: "While endorsing and approving the foregoing statement by Judge Gary, I wish to add thereto the suggestion * * * that Schwab's conduct during the trial and when addressing the court before sentence, like Fielden's, was decorous, respectful to the law and commendable. * * * It is further my desire to say that I believe that Schwab was the pliant, weak tool of a stronger will and more designing person. Schwab seems to be friendless."

If what Judge Gary says about Fielden is true; if Fielden has "a natural love of justice and in his private life was the honest, industrious and peaceable laboring man," then Fielden's testimony is entitled to credit, and when he says that he did not do the things the police charge him with doing and that he never had or used a revolver in his life, it is probably true, especially as he is corroborated by a number of credible and disinterested witnesses.

Again, if Fielden did the things the police charged him with doing, if he fired on them as they swear, then he was not a mere misguided enthusiast who was to be held only for the consequences of his teachings, and if either Judge Gary or State's Attorney Grinnell had placed any reliance on the evidence of the police on this point they would have written a different kind of a letter to the then executive.

In the fall of 1887 a number of the most prominent business men in Chicago met to consult whether or not to ask executive clemency for any of the condemned men. Mr. Grinnell was present and made a speech in which in referring to this evidence he said that he had serious doubts whether Fielden had a revolver on that occasion or whether indeed Fielden ever had one.

Yet in arguing the case before the supreme court the previous spring much stress was placed by the state on the evidence relating to what Fielden did at the Haymarket meeting and that court was misled into attaching great importance to it.

It is now clear that there is no case made out against Fielden for anything that he did on that night, and, as heretofore shown, in order to hold him and the other defendant for the consequences and effect or having given pernicious and criminal advice to large masses to commit violence, whether orally, in speeches or in print, it must be shown that the person committing the violence had read or heard the advice, for until he heard or read it he did not receive and if he never received the advice it can not be said that he acted on it.

VII.

STATE'S ATTORNEY ON NEEBE'S INNOCENCE.

At the conclusion of the evidence for the state the Hon. Carter H. Harrison, then mayor of Chicago, and Mr. F. S. Winston, then corporation counsel for Chicago, were in the court room and had a conversation with Mr. Grinnell, the state's attorney, in regard to the evidence against Neebe, in which conversation, according to Mr. Harrison and Mr. Winston, the state's attorney said that he did not think he had a case against Neebe and that he wanted to dismiss as to him, but was dissuaded from doing so by his associate attorneys, who feared that such a step might influence the jury in favor of the other defendants.

Mr. Harrison, in a letter, among other things, says: "I was present in the court room when the state closed its case. The attorney for Neebe moved his discharge on the ground that there was no evidence to hold him on. The state's attorney, Mr. Julius S. Grinnell, and Mr. Fred S. Winston, corporation counsel for the city, and myself were in earnest conversation when the motion was made. Mr. Grinnell stated to us that he did not think there was sufficient testimony to convict Neebe. I thereupon earnestly advised him, as the representative of the state, to dismiss the case as to Neebe, and if I remember rightly he was seriously thinking of doing so, but on consultation with his assistants and on their advice he determined not to do so lest it would have an injurious effect on the case as against the other prisoners. * * * I took the position that such discharge being clearly justified by the testimony would not prejudice the case as to the others."

Mr. Winston adds the following to Mr. Harrison's letter:

March 21, 1889.

I concur in the statement of Mr. Harrison; I never believed there was sufficient evidence to convict Mr. Neebe, and so stated during the trial. F. S. WINSTON.

In January, 1890, Mr. Grinnell wrote a letter to Gov. Fifer, denying that he had ever made any such statement as that mentioned by Mr. Harrison and Mr. Winston; also that he did believe Neebe guilty; that Mr. Harrison suggested the dismissal of the case as to Neebe, and further that he would not have been surprised if Mr. Harrison had made a similar suggestion as to others, and then he says: "I said to Mr. Harrison at that time substantially that I was afraid that the jury might not think the testimony presented in the case sufficient to convict Neebe, but that it was in their province to pass upon it."

Now, if the statement of Messrs. Harrison and Winston is true, then Grinnell should not have allowed Neebe to be sent to the penitentiary, and even if we assume that both Mr. Harrison and Mr. Winston are mistaken and that Mr. Grinnell simply used the language he now says he used, then the case must have seemed very weak to him. If, with a jury prejudiced to start with, a judge pressing for conviction, and amidst the almost irresistible fury with which the trial was conducted, he still was afraid the jury might not think the testimony in the case was sufficient to convict Neebe, then that testimony must have seemed very weak to him, no matter what he may now protest about it.

When the motion to dismiss the case as to Neebe was made, defendants' counsel asked that the jury might be permitted to retire while the motion was being argued, but the court refused to permit this, and kept the jury present where it could hear all that the court had to say, then when the argument on the motion was begun by defendants' counsel the court did not wait to hear from the attorneys for the state, but at once proceeded to argue the points itself with the attorneys for the defendants, so that while the attorneys for the state made no argument on the motion, twenty-five pages of the record are filled with the colloquy or sparring that took place between the court and the counsel for the defendants, the court in the presence of the jury making insinuations as to what inference might be drawn by the jury from the fact that Neebe owned a little stock in a paper called the Arbeiter Zeitung and had been seen there although he took no part in the management until after the Haymarket troubles, it appearing that the Arbeiter Zeitung had published some very seditious articles with which, however, Neebe had nothing to do. Finally one of the counsel for the defendants said: "I expected that the representatives of the state might say something, but as your honor saves them that trouble, you will excuse me if I reply briefly to the suggestions you have made." Some other remarks were made by the court, seriously affecting the whole case, and prejudicial to the defendants, and then, referring to Neebe, the court said:

"Whether he had anything to do with the dissemination of advice to commit murder is I think a debatable question which the jury ought to pass on." Finally the motion was overruled. Now, with all of the eagerness shown by the court to convict Neebe, it must have regarded the evidence against him as very weak, otherwise it would not have made this admission, for if it was a debatable question whether the evidence tended to show guilt, then that evidence must have been far from being conclusive upon the question as to whether he was actually guilty; this being so, the verdict should not have been allowed to stand, because the law requires that a man shall be proven to be guilty beyond a reasonable doubt before he can be convicted of a criminal offense. I have examined all of the evidence against Neebe with care and it utterly fails to prove even the shadow of a case against him. Some of the other defendants were guilty of using seditious language, but even this can not be said of Neebe.

PREJUDICE OR SUBSERVIENCY OF JUDGE.

It is further charged with much bitterness by those who speak for the prisoners that the record of the case shows that the judge conducted the trial with malicious ferocity and forced eight men to be tried together; that in cross-examining the state's witnesses he confined counsel for the defense to the specific points touched on by the state, while in the cross-examination of the defendants' witnesses he permitted the state's attorney to go into all manner of subjects entirely foreign to the matters on which the witnesses were examined in chief; also that every ruling throughout the long trial of any contested point was in favor of the state, and further, that page after page of the record contains insinuating remarks of the judge made in the hearing of the jury and with the evident intent of bringing the jury to his way of thinking; that these speeches, coming from the court, were much more damaging than any speeches from the state's attorney could possibly have been; that the state's attorney often took his cue from the judge's remarks; that the judge's magazine article recently published, although written nearly six years after the trial, is yet full of venom; that, pretending to simply review the case, he had to drag into his article a letter written by an excited woman to a newspaper after the trial was over, and which therefore had nothing whatever to do with the case and was put into the articles simply to create a prejudice against the woman, as well as against the dead and the living, and that, not content with this, he in the same article makes an insinuating attack on one of the lawyers for the defense, not for anything done at the trial, but because more than a year after the trial when some of the defendants had been hung, he ventured to express a few kind, if erroneous, sentiments over the graves of his dead clients, whom he at least believed to be innocent. It is urged that such ferocity or subserviency is without parallel in all history; that even Jeffries in England contented himself with hanging his victims, and did not stop to berate them after they were dead.

These charges are of a personal character, and while they seem to be sustained by the record of the trial and the papers before me and tend to show that the trial was not fair, I do not care to discuss this feature of the case any farther, because it is not necessary. I am convinced that it is clearly my duty to act in this case for the reasons already given, and I, therefore, grant an absolute pardon to Samuel Fielden, Oscar Neebe and Michael Schwab this 26th day of June, 1893. JOHN P. ALTGELD, Governor of Illinois.

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THE EDITOR OF LABOR welcomes and appreciates any recommendation or co-operation from any comrade or sympathizer tending to improve our paper, both as to its contents and its appearance.

SOCIALIST VOTE OF THE UNITED STATES.

1888	2,000
1896	36,000
1900	122,000
1904	408,000

SOCIALIST VOTE OF THE WORLD.

1867	30,000
1877	494,000
1887	931,000
1893	2,585,000
1898	4,515,000
1903	6,285,000
1906	over 7,000,000

NOTICE!

Owing to the unsettled state of affairs in the county, the joint picnic of the 6th, 8th, 10th and 12th Ward Socialist Clubs, at Bartold's Grove, has been called off. Purchasers of tickets can have their money refunded by applying to party selling same.

THE COMMITTEE.

Our Intellectuals

An American comrade, who for several years has been living in Europe, in a private letter to the editor of St. Louis Labor, makes the following interesting remarks:

"Comrade Kaemmerer's visit here, two days ago, has afforded us great pleasure. It is a treat to talk with such a sober and bona fide workingman. Such an occasion we have quite seldom. Most comrades who call on us belong to the 'intellectuals.' Quite a number of these are an offset to the material parvenus in as much as they are mental upstarts and braggarts. It is often painful to listen to their self-centered talk, and to find them to be more akin to autocracy than to consistent democracy and communism. A six months' training as factory hands would be most beneficial to most of our 'intellectuals.' And, besides, they are badly in need of a course in matter-of-fact logic. The former experience would involve a better conception of actual conditions and of the necessity of constructive work, such as you in St. Louis and the comrades in Milwaukee are doing; and the latter would convince them soon of the 'handful' of knowledge which they command and which requires modest co-operation with other workers in the great 'division of labor.' In short: they would soon come 'off the perch' of undue self-importance."

The Real Trouble

Race Riots in British Columbia; Japanese and Chinese and Hindus stoned and mobbed!

Strike Riots in Antwerp, Belgium, caused by imported British strike breakers taking the places of striking longshoremen and sailors!

Native workmen in Japan demonstrating against the importation of Chinese coolies!

Roumanian Socialists and Trade Unionists protesting against the importation of foreign labor under government protection to take the places of Organized Workmen!

Organized Labor in British South Africa protesting against the employment of Chinese coolies in the gold mines!

What does all this really mean? Does it mean race hatred? Or national prejudice? Or religious fanaticism?

Nothing of the kind! It means a feature in the great struggle between Capitalism and the Labor movement.

Don't be deceived by the cries: Down with the Chinese! Down with the Japanese! Down with the Dagoes! Get down to the real issue, to the cold, hard facts underlying these "race riots" and similar troubles.

Everywhere these troubles involve the question of cheap unorganized labor versus the better paid Union labor.

American and Canadian capitalists are interested in swamping the Pacific coast with cheap labor, irrespective whether it comes from the states east of the Rocky Mountains or from Japan or China. The moment the labor market is overcrowded it becomes easier for Capitalism to fight Organized Labor and lower the general standard of living of the American working class.

Since the capitalist industry in Japan is developing most wonderfully and the Japanese wage workers show a disposition to organize and demand better conditions of employment we find the capitalists of Japan inviting the Chinese coolies to the "land of flowers."

In South Africa British Capitalism is fighting the Labor move-

ment by importing Chinese coolies by the tens of thousands.

In Belgium, where the workingman's standard of living is very low, we find Capitalism importing the scum of British labor to break the strikes of the Belgian union men.

In our own Southern States we find that the moment the factory lords are prevented by law to exploit little children ten or twelve hours a day, they will invite "foreign labor" to save their capitalist prosperity. The Southern cotton manufacturers would only be too anxious to have Oriental coolie labor, but the law spoils their game.

If by these "race riots" some kind of a foreign war could be brought about our capitalists would rejoice, just the same as they welcomed the Cuban and the Filipino war.

War means business, and business is the life of Capitalism! But China and Japan are tough propositions to handle. The Japanese are not as loud-mouthed as some of our American jingoes, but they are fighters. To attempt to fight them might be rather expensive business. China and Japan represent a population of six hundred millions. We want them to wear American cotton goods and eat Chicago embalmed beef. Hence we can not treat them like bankrupt little Spain.

The Capitalist world is in the midst of a crisis. Uncle Sam, John Bull, Kaiser Bill, France, Russia and Japan are competing for the "World's Market." Eastern Asia is being rapidly industrialized and commercially revolutionized, and with her inexhaustible resources and her abundance of cheap home labor Asia is fast becoming the great peril of American and European Capitalism. "Cheap labor" is the last straw whereby the capitalists of America and Europe hope to save themselves.

But Organized Labor of all countries will take a hand in this fight for the "World's Market," and ere long Socialism will appear as the leading world power.

We call the attention of our readers to the resolution on Emigration and Immigration passed by the Stuttgart International Socialist Congress; the important and interesting document, which contains most valuable information, will be found in full in another column of this paper.

Observations

SOCIALIST BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS at the Labor Book Department, 324 Chestnut street.

A MCKINLEY MONUMENT costing \$100,000 was dedicated in Buffalo, N. Y., last week. Only \$100,000!

HERMON F. TITUS has reopened his Reform-Revolution discussion in the Seattle Socialist. May he succeed in clearing his own mind on the subject!

CLARENCE DARROW has returned to Idaho to defend Steve Adams and to prepare for the Pettibone trial, which is said to open some time in October.

OUR COMRADES AND FRIENDS are requested to read carefully the appeal from Los Angeles in behalf of the Mexican revolutionists, which appears in this week's St. Louis Labor.

THE ST. LOUIS COMRADES' attention is called to the general meeting of Socialist Party Local St. Louis, to be held Sunday, Oct. 13, for the purpose of passing on the revised constitution.

THE COMMERCIAL TELEGRAPHERS' strike is still on and may continue for some time. Organized Labor everywhere should support this young militant organization, not only morally, but financially.

WE HAVE JUST RECEIVED the following note, which will explain itself: New York, Sept. 10.—Arrived in New York harbor safe and well. Have made the trip from London to New York in less than six days. Greetings. Otto Kaemmerer.

ONE THOUSAND MINERS KILLED in one year in the state of Pennsylvania. This is the official statement of Mr. James Roderick, Chief of the Department for Mining, contained in his annual report for 1906, which has just been published in Harrisburg.

OUR OWN MILITARISM. The Washington government has ordered all American citizens residing outside the United States that the must register with the consulate once a year. This is done for the purpose of keeping an eye on all Americans eligible to military duty under the Dick law.

OUR READERS' ATTENTION is hereby called to the important resolutions adopted at the recent International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart, which are published in full in this week's St. Louis Labor. The resolution on Trade Unionism, which was passed by almost unanimous vote, is in perfect harmony and accord with the policy of the Socialist Party of the United States and persistently advocated in the columns of this paper.

WM. RANDOPH HEARST, the owner of the Hearst newspaper trust, proposes to open an anti-trust campaign for the presidential election. Wm. Jennings Bryan will soon reopen his trust-busting work. Meanwhile the Democratic legislatures of the country, and the Democrats in Republican legislatures, and the Democrats in Congress will continue to co-operate with their Republican colleagues in faithfully serving the trust and corporation interests.

NOW FOR SENATOR BORAH. Theodore Roosevelt's most desirable citizen, United States Senator Borah, will be placed on trial in Idaho by Sept. 23. The senator and prosecuting attorney in the Haywood case is charged with conspiracy to defraud the Federal government by securing illegal entry of timber lands. Hon. Borah will be defended by Attorney Hawley, the leading prosecuting attorney in the Haywood case.

THE FREE BRIDGE MOVEMENT presents another illustration of capitalist honesty in politics. After the people of St. Louis, by an overwhelming majority, decided in favor of building a free bridge a corporation House of Delegates, backed by a Terminal Railroad corporation mayor, do all in their power to delay, or, if possible, prevent the building of the bridge. Before election the politicians are lickspitting with the citizens; after election they think like Vanderbilt: The public be damned!

NOW THE LEWIS case will be reopened by the United States Circuit Court. Lewis, the publisher of The Woman's Magazine, the Farmers' Home Journal and other publications, was deprived of the second class mail privilege for some of his papers, but has kept up the fight ever since, which cost him enormous sums of money. While Lewis has influential business men on his side, there seems to be a more powerful capitalist corporation line-up against him. Not only are the daily papers opposed to him, but also the banks and trust companies.

SEVENTEEN PASSENGERS WERE KILLED and fifty injured last week in a collision on the Central Illinois Traction Co.'s lines, near Charleston, Ill. As a result of this catastrophe, and expecting many damage suits, the above mentioned railway corporation, and the Mattoon City Railway Co. went into receivership. The two companies are controlled by the same men and work together, E. A. Potter, of Mattoon and Chicago, being president of each line. Judge Peter Grosscup, of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in Chicago, is the principal stockholder in the two companies.

THAT EARLE SENSATION! The Social Democratic Herald writes: The capitalist press seems to have seized on a, to them, rich morsel in the case of a man named Earle, an artist and "Socialist," who so far as a newspaper straining after sensations can be believed, discovered after being married some time that he really loved another woman, whom he says was intended for him by fate before either of them were born—this sort of a claim is supposed to emanate from a Socialist! As a matter of fact the man Earle is unknown to the Socialist movement, if indeed he is not entirely a capitalist press invention.

WATCH THE CAPITALIST PRESS! During the last few days the daily papers published sensational news sent out by the Western Union and Postal telegraph companies, to the effect that the Chicago union telegraphers had advised their colleagues at work under union contract to quit work and break the union agreements already entered into. We are informed by the St. Louis headquarters of the striking telegraphers that the above news was circulated by the corporations for the express purpose of discrediting the cause of their striking employes, and that the latest Chicago strike petition was circulated by agents of the telegraph companies.

THE ST. LOUIS TIMES published an editorial on "Contracts and Honor" in connection with the lying reports about the Chicago telegraphers breaking their union contracts. Since Hon. John Schroers is one of the proprietors of the St. Louis Times, and since that gentleman, in a most dishonorable manner, broke his contract with the St. Louis Workingmen's Publishing Association in 1897, he should at least have tact and decency enough not to philosophize on "Contracts and Honor" in the editorial columns of his latest publication. Mr. Schroers cares as little for the sacredness of a contract bearing his signature as the Czar or Russia cares for the honor involved in the breaking of the Russian constitution which bears his own signature. Never throw rocks while sitting in a glass house!

HOW LITTLE LEGAL PROTECTION the American railroad employes enjoy can be seen by the following case reported in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat: Judgment of \$6,000 given to Marshall Ora Conway, a brakeman, against the St. Louis, Kansas City & Colorado railroad, for the loss of a foot, by a jury in a state court, was reversed by Judge Philips on the United States Circuit Court of Appeals bench. Conway was thrown from the pilot of an engine and his foot crushed off. Judge Philips scored Conway for carelessness, as he termed it, in allowing himself to be thrown from the engine. He also took occasion to refer to the habit indulged in by most persons of taking unjustifiable risks in boarding moving cars and crossing in front of rapidly moving cars and trains. Judges Hook and Sanborn concur in the reversal.

NOW THE COUNTRY IS SAFE! The Business Men's League guaranteed the balance needed to make up the amount of \$100,000 required for construction and the purchase of the site at Manchester and Grand avenue. Col. E. J. Spencer announced this fact to the officers of his regiment at the temporary armory at No. 2900 Locust street. The plans will be completed within a few days and on Sept. 14 bids will be called for. On Sept. 15 the regiment will take possession of the property upon which the armory will be built. On that date the various companies will parade upon the grounds and appropriate exercises will be held. The regiment will receive a new regimental flag and a garrison flag will be placed upon the premises during the day. Three cheers for the new armory and for capitalist militarism!

CZARISM IS DANCING its bloody dance of death. New anti-semitic massacres are reported from various parts of Russia. That this murderous work is done with the knowledge and sanction of the Czar's government is generally admitted. The refusal of the second Duma to deliver up 55 of its members accused by the government of being involved in a plot against the Czar, precipitated, it will be remembered, its violent dissolution on the 16th of June. Seventeen persons, men and women, have been tried for participation in the alleged plot, which was believed to have been discovered May 15. Dispatches assert that though three of the accused have been condemned to death, three others to eight years' penal servitude, and others to exile, "yet no one really believes there was any real plot of assassination. It shows the reactionary party still has the upper hand in Russia."

THE "LABOR-DAY RIOT" in San Francisco is commented on by the New York Worker as follows: Perhaps it may be well to anticipate some caustic denunciations of the "riot" reported from San Francisco on Labor Day, as it is the usual custom for capitalist dailies to use the slightest disturbance of this kind to discredit the working class. If violence did occur and a number of people were hurt, it is certain from the news accounts of the affair that a street railway official ran a non-union car close to the assembled people. Railway officials are shrewd enough to understand the value of a riot to them when facing a strike and know how to provoke one as well. From the press reports that is just what took place, and the company officials can well afford to conceal their satisfaction behind an affected air of injury. The trick has been played often, both by capitalist officials and hired detectives, which simply means that capitalist interests rely on force and violence when pressed hard by the workers for better conditions.

THE WHOLESALE slaughter of people of the railroads under Uncle Sam's sanction and protection is merrily going on. Official figures have just been published in England giving a summary of railway accidents in Great Britain during the year 1906. In one year the English railways were able to report that not a passenger had been killed on any road. There is no such remarkable record now. Last year on the British railways 59 passengers were killed in train accidents and 108 passengers were killed and 1,949 injured by accidents other than those of wrecked trains. In the whole British railway service in 1906 the killed numbered 1,169 and the injured 7,212, which is a little above the average of the last ten years. The showing in the United States is far worse in comparison. In the fiscal year ended June 30, 1906, 4,225 passengers and employes were killed on railroads in this country, and 66,709 injured. In the first three months of the present year the train accident casualty list was 421 passengers killed and 4,920 injured, while rail-

way accidents of all kinds for the same time caused the death of 1,293 and injuries to 19,270. According to these figures, the monthly slaughter of passengers in this country is 140, while in England the monthly average is five. Commenting on these figures, the Globe-Democrat remarks: "These statistics are important in a high degree, with an application to every one who travels by railway. Something must be wrong here when the British run their trains with fourteen times as much safety to passengers as is the case on American lines."

THE SADDEST NEWS that comes from Russia was that of the capture and execution of the brave Matuschenko, who led the mutiny on the Russian battleship Kniaz Potemkine in the summer of 1905. Matuschenko was the deciding factor in that famous revolt which resulted in hoisting the Red Flag on a modern battleship for the first time and using her guns for a proletarian cause. When the sailors wavered in their decision he urged them on and led the revolt. The sailors had suffered much from the tyranny of the officers as well as from the rotten food on which they were fed. After running out of provisions the battleship was finally abandoned in Roumanian waters. Matuschenko escaped and made his way to New York, returning last July to Russia, where he organized a revolutionary group in Odessa. Here he was shadowed by government spies who finally effected his arrest and execution last week. No braver or better loved figure ever ascended the scaffold in Russia than Matuschenko, the leader of the Potemkine revolt.—The Worker.

WHY IS IT THAT IN ITALY, in Rome, where the most powerful church on earth has had its general headquarters for many centuries, the same church has utterly failed to secure and enjoy the confidence and sympathy of the people? Why these anti-church demonstrations of the Italian people? Read history and you will find the answer to these questions. Look to the Giordano Bruno monument on the Campo di Fiore in Rome, and the plain inscription thereon will give you the answer! Bruno, the man of science, the apostle of Humanity! burned alive at the stake by order of the Church! Look at the ignorance and poverty of the Italian people—the inheritance of centuries, and you will find the answer! Don't blame the Socialists of Italy for the one thousand years of sins and crimes committed under the absolute rule of an almighty Church! Neither blame the masses of the Italian people! They have good reasons for indignation. There is a general desire among the nations of the world to free themselves from the rule of darkness and superstition of the middle ages.

ANOTHER HORRIBLE MINE DISASTER is reported. Probably more than 200 men are cut off from the surface by flames which followed the explosion in the Las Esperanzas mine in Mexico, and unless assistance is given them soon all may perish. Relief parties have worked night and day, but have made no headway against the flames. It is estimated that 27 miners were killed and at least 130 injured. The explosion, which is believed to have been caused by fire damp, occurred at a time of day when the mine was filled with workmen, and the escape of those not injured was remarkable. Some of the men brought to the surface were badly mutilated and will die. This is the second calamity to occur at the Las Esperanzas mine, and great excitement prevails there. The surviving miners are in an ugly mood, and the officers and the buildings of the miners are being guarded against possible violence. The men responsible for this sacrifice of human life are the speculators of the Col. Green type, whom Gov. Folk of Missouri is now trying to assist in the persecution of the Mexican revolutionists, Villareal, Saarabia and others.

THE CROWN PRINCE OF SWEDEN returned to Europe. His visit to this country was a rare treat for our American money aristocracy in Newport and Coney Island. Let us have a king, a royal court after the Louis Quatorze or Marie Antoinette fashion! How we love Prince Henry, the Crown Prince of Sweden, and other royal parasites who visit our shores! The Globe-Democrat reports the following in its editorial columns: "The Newport set which a few weeks before the prince's arrival had entertained a monkey as guest of honor at a dinner, has now extended a like courtesy to our royal guest. The prince, however, loses nothing from the fact of being entertained as guest of honor by the same people who entertained a monkey a short time before. Between the prince and the monkey, as guests of honor at Newport, there have been other guests of honor not as worthy as either the monkey or the prince to hold that post. The prince brought to the post the grace of a gentleman born and bred. The monkey brought to it a dignified silence which was without offense to politeness. Between prince and monkey there have been others who, without birth, breeding or silence, have brought us only shame."

MODERN PROGRESS in transportation is illustrated as follows by a capitalist daily: On Saturday of this week the largest ship afloat, the Lusitania of the Cunard line, will leave England on her first run across the Atlantic. The event is of unusual interest to the world, for the vessel so far exceeds any other in size and power that it is fairly entitled to be called phenomenal. It is just a hundred years since Fulton's Clermont steamed up the Hudson at the rate of five miles an hour, much to the surprise of the river experts of the time, who looked upon Fulton as a visionary. The Clermont and the Lusitania sharply mark the contrasts of a century in steam navigation. Fulton's boat was 133 feet long, with an engine of 19 horse-power. The Lusitania's length is 785 feet and her horse-power 68,000. Fifty years ago the steamship Great Eastern, 700 feet long, was discarded as a freak giant without practical utility. Her horse-power was 8,000, or less than one-eighth that of the new Cunarder. The Lusitania's tonnage is 38,000, with a depth of 60 1-3 feet. On her trial trips she made a fraction over 26 knots or about a land mile in two minutes, establishing the fact that she is the swiftest as well as largest ship on the ocean.

OSCAR S. STRAUS, Secretary of Commerce and Labor and one of the former moving spirits in the Civic Federation, was recently a visitor to Salt Lake, Utah. While in the metropolitan city of Utah the secretary was feasted by the governor at the expense of the state. The secretary made a speech, and in the course of his scattered and desultory harangue he imitated, like a parrot, the example of his political chief, Emperor Teddy, and scored the Western Federation of Miners because this organization failed to become as gentle as a cooing dove under the dictum of the class of privilege that steal coal lands, rob children of school funds and raise "yellow dog" funds to debauch elections and stuff ballot boxes. Straus belongs to a race of people that have suffered persecution and wrong, and through tyranny and oppression have been forced to seek shelter under the flags of almost every nation upon earth. But this pompous Israelite, made haughty and arrogant through political recognition, would become a despot and compete with Czar Nicholas in writing his name upon the pages of history as a cold-blooded monster. It is hoped that the governor of Utah gave our Hebrew brother a mess of pork while a guest of the Mormon city.—Miners' Magazine.

NOTICE!

Owing to the unsettled state of affairs in the county, the joint picnic of the 6th, 8th, 10th and 12th Ward Socialist Clubs, at Bartold's Grove, has been called off. Purchasers of tickets can have their money refunded by applying to party selling same.

THE COMMITTEE.

JEWISH SOCIALIST DAILY SUPPRESSED.

News received by members of the Jewish Bund in New York also states that the Jewish Daily "Volkszeitung," of Vilna, the only Jewish daily Socialist paper published in Russia during the last year and a half, was suppressed Monday. The paper was published by the Jewish Bund and the police had endeavored to locate the printing plant during this period with no success. But that there will soon be another paper to take the place of the "Volkszeitung," the fortitude and courage of the Bund in the past gives ample evidence.

The World of Labor

"In Union There Is Strength! United We Stand; Divided We Fall!"

THE UNIONS OF COOK COUNTY.

Secretary Alexander McDonald of the Associated Building Trades has issued the 1907 directory for Chicago and Cook County. It shows that there are 628 labor unions in the county and that there are 290,000 employes enrolled in labor organizations. Of these 55,000 are building employes, 20,000 belong to the railroad brotherhoods, 30,000 are independent and 185,00 are affiliated with the Chicago Federation of Labor. Of the latter 15,000 are women, represented in 15 locals.

CANADIAN LABOR CONGRESS.

The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada will meet in annual session at Winnipeg, Sept. 16. The most important questions will be that of immigration and the attitude of the unions toward political action. There has been a large Hindu and Japanese immigration into Canada of late years, and it has become a serious problem for the workers, especially in western Canada. General elections to the Dominion Parliament are expected in 1908, and there is considerable dissatisfaction with the attitude of the Liberal and Conservative parties that control legislation.

WHY INJURE UNION LABOR?

A union cigar costs no more than a non-union cigar. A union cigar is made by a fairly-paid journeyman and under favorable sanitary conditions. A non-union cigar is generally the product of cheap labor and may be the product of filthy houses and disease-breeding dens that would not be conducive to the sale of the goods could they but be seen by the consumers. Remember the blue label!

THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN CUBA.

Havana, Cuba, Sept. 9.—The Building Trades of Havana have declared a strike which may cause considerable inconvenience to the general business. The clerks of Havana have just opened their headquarters in one of the finest buildings in the city. Organized Labor all over the island seems to be waking up, and even among the clerks there is a strong desire to become a factor in the Proletarian movement.

PICNIC OF COMMERCIAL TELEGRAPHERS.

More than 1,500 attended the picnic of the striking telegraphers at Ramona Park last Sunday afternoon and evening. Among the features were a baseball game between the Postal and the Western Union teams, racing, pole vaulting, swimming and other athletic events. The Western Unions won the ball game. Speeches were made by officials of the local union, including President A. L. Ewing and Chairman Malachi Doyle. Representatives from the Chicago headquarters of the union also spoke. The strikers brought their families and a lunch was served during the afternoon. Proceeds go to the general strike fund. Members are highly gratified over the result.

THE BRITISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS.

Bath, England, Sept. 3.—The British Trade Union Congress is meeting here with over 500 delegates in attendance. Between thirty and forty members of Parliament are delegates, and all sections of the workers, conservative and radical, are represented. Variety actors, stage employes, the Musicians' Union and Artists' Protective League are represented for the first time as trade unions. United political action by the working class will be one of the chief questions before the congress. The chairman, Mr. Gills, dwelt on this subject at length, and it was emphasized in the parliamentary committee's report. There is considerable difference of opinion as to the best plan of political unity.

BETTER SAFEGUARDING OF UNION FUNDS.

The Indianapolis Union says: The disclosure that the secretary-treasurer of the Milk Wagon Drivers' Union of Chicago was short to the amount of \$20,000 came with a chilling influence on the members of the teamsters' organization. Camp, the embezzler, denied that he had done anything criminal; but an examination disclosed that he had had two bank books and that he had been carrying on his peculations for something over four years. It was only by accident that his shortcomings were discovered. Members of the union are now recalling that within the last five years other treasurers of as many different teamsters' unions have "gone south" with the funds. And it will be granted that all will agree with the expressed opinion of a member of the organization that it was up to the local teamsters' union to take action looking to a better safeguarding of their funds.

STRIKING GIRLS VICTORIOUS.

The Harvey Silk Co. of Scranton, Pa., has signed an agreement with its striking girl employes, and so far as this plant is concerned the trouble is a thing of the past. The agreement runs for two years, and was signed in conjunction by a representative of the textile workers' organization and the American Federation of Labor. With the signing of the agreement 700 operatives returned to work at Scranton, Forest City, Olyphant and Mayfield on 54-hour week, and a half hours less on the week than had prevailed previous to the strike. The union is recognized and provisions are made for arbitration of differences in the future. The settlement of the Harvey mills has attracted the attention of other mill proprietors, and six of these have asked for a conference with the union. Probabilities are that the trouble in the silk industry, which has spread throughout the entire East, will be adjusted before a great while, and that the conditions of the workers will be greatly improved.

A SERMON ON THE LABOR PRESS.

It is universally admitted that improvements in the condition of the masses can be accomplished only by the development of intelligence and thought in the ranks of labor. The causes that prevent workingmen from sharing fairly in the wealth they produce must be studied and thoroughly understood before there can be any permanent improvement in the condition of those who toil. It must be seen at a glance that a newspaper, published from week to week, discussing labor questions of current interest, from the standpoint of a worker and a seasoned union man, of one of the oldest and best unions in the land, must necessarily be of the greatest possible advantage to the cause of labor. Such a paper not only disseminates knowledge of the proper character, but stimulates workers to thought and activity in their own behalf. The daily press, with the rarest exceptions, can not be depended on to render proper service to the workers in the way of educating them up to their rights or even to tell the truth where the interests of capital are involved. Daily newspapers are always owned and controlled by men who, if not always in sympathy with capital and its methods, are at least fearful of offending it, and therefore can not be expected to furnish information or arguments in defense of labor and its rights. It is the policy of a daily newspaper to side with the wealthy and powerful, openly or covertly, in every contest in which labor engages in defense of its rights or for the betterment of its conditions, and to always be careful that it subserves the interest of capital and not labor. It is not necessary to enlarge on the point or to cite examples to prove the correctness of our assertion. Every intelligent union man knows that as well as we do. All this might be changed whenever labor so wills it. It is only necessary for labor to learn to stand by its friends as staunchly as the corporations stand by theirs. That's all. But until that day comes there will exist a necessity for distinctly labor papers. Workingmen have two ways of supporting their labor papers—by subscribing for it themselves and by patronizing men who use its advertising columns. There can

be nothing more vital to your interest, no duty is more incumbent on you than that you protect, foster and sustain it.—Labor Leader.

TRYING TO SETTLE TELEGRAPHERS' STRIKE.

Washington, Sept. 9.—President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor left here today for New York to confer with President Small of the Telegraphers' Union concerning a proposition to settle the strike. Officials of the Telegraphers' Union here today sent to President Small the following telegram: "Samuel Gompers requests you to meet him in Pennsylvania Station, Twenty-third street, New York side, at 6:30 this evening, and to bring Organizer Herman Robinson with you. Mr. Gompers will have a proposition to make to you, and we urge that you give it most serious consideration, and if possible bring the strike to an honorable termination." The nature of the proposition which President Gompers has to make is not known. Charles H. Neill, commissioner of labor, will leave tonight for New York. He expects to go to Oyster Bay tomorrow on some business with President Roosevelt, the nature of which is not disclosed, except that it has nothing to do with the strike of the telegraphers. It is likely that on his return to New York from Oyster Bay Commissioner Neill may have a conference with the officials of the telegraphers.

MISSOURI BOOT AND SHOE WORKER UNION.

We read the following in the local daily papers: Twelve hundred employes in the Atlantic and Pacific boot and shoe factories of the Friedman-Shelby Shoe Co. were placed on a nine-hour schedule, following the demands of the Independent Boot and Shoe Workers' Union of America made on August 1 to the boot and shoe manufacturers of St. Louis. The wage demand of the union has already been in effect in the Friedman-Shelby factories, and the question of apprentices is to be taken up later. The former schedule was ten hours. The remaining factories that received the ultimatum, the Brown Shoe Co., the Hamilton-Brown Shoe Co., the Peters Shoe Co. and the Roberts, Johnson & Rand Shoe Co., have taken no action on the demands. Representatives of these companies said that probably nothing would be done in regard to the demands. William H. Shelby, vice president of the Friedman-Shelby Co., said that his company, in meeting the request of the union for a reduction in the working hours of the employes, was acting independently of other manufacturers. "While our company is a member of the St. Louis Boot and Shoe Manufacturing Association," said he, "our factory superintendents are not members of the superintendents' organization upon which, I understand, the settlement of the union's demands devolves." The ultimatum of the Shoe Cutters' Local of the Independent Boot and Shoe Workers' Union gives the various companies until Sept. 18 to meet the demands or arbitrate.

PERSECUTION OF ROUMANIAN TRADE UNIONS.

Among the actions taken by the International Socialist Congress recently held in Stuttgart, Germany, was the unanimous adoption of the following resolution concerning the persecution of the labor movement by the Roumanian government:

Resolution:

The International Socialist Bureau has been informed by the Roumanian delegation that the Roumanian government has adopted a policy of extermination towards the people of the town and country districts. After having killed thousands and thousands of peasants who had been forced to make revolt by the regime of unlimited exploitation and oppression, the government is now attacking the working class organizations, the trade unions and Socialist societies, and strives to outlaw them by wholesale arrests and condemnations to exile; and as it is not only foreign workers who are expelled from the country, but also an entire category of Roumanian citizens, the Jew workmen of Roumania, who are not considered subjects of any other country, and are now on foreign soil, have, therefore, no national protection and are rejected from these foreign countries. That this odious persecution is contrary to all the laws of humanity and in opposition with the international obligations of the Roumanian government, and that finally this policy of savage persecution constitutes an act of defiance against the international proletariat whose interests are identical. The Bureau therefore proposes that the Congress should express, at one and the same time, its good wishes and all encouragement for the Roumanian proletariat in their struggle to acquire its rights; and also protests indignantly against the odious policy of the Roumanian government. At the same time it urges the Socialist deputies of the different parliaments to ask that the Roumanian government should fulfill its obligations towards the different categories of citizens of Roumania, which the international treaties have placed under its protection. Further, the Congress recommends the workers of the different countries not to accept the invitations made by the Roumanian employers; for at the first sign of solidarity they may show towards their Roumanian fellow workers, they will be pitiously expelled from the country. The Congress also calls upon the Roumanian delegation to present a memorandum giving full details of cases submitted to the Bureau.

CONCERNING DEBS' UNION MEMBERSHIP.

We find the following in the Appeal to Reason: Editor Appeal—Please answer the following questions: Is it true that Comrade Debs has been reinstated by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and is now a member of that organization? Was he ever expelled from that organization? Was he "turned down" by a Federal Labor Union at Terre Haute at the instance of the A. F. of L. executive on the ground that he was not a wage worker? The Social-Democratic Herald of the issue of Aug. 24 contains an editorial paragraph in which the above statements are made, and I want to know the truth about them.—J. A. Bennett. We are authorized by Comrade Debs to answer the foregoing questions as follows: He has not been reinstated by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and is not now a member of that organization. Certain of its grand officers and many of its members have urged him to again become a member, the present grand master proposing to issue a special dispensation for that purpose, but the offers have been respectfully declined. He has never been expelled from any organization. He voluntarily withdrew from the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen at a regular meeting, under protest from the entire membership. He was never "turned down" by a Federal Labor Union at Terre Haute nor by any other union at any time or place. He was unanimously accepted as a member of the Federal Union at Terre Haute and held his membership in that body until it surrendered its charter and passed out of existence. He has not since been a member of any union affiliated with the A. F. of L.

You Help the Cause of Labor by Buying Only

Union Label Bread

Always Insist that the

Union Label

...is on...

EVERY LOAF YOU BUY

Does Gov. Folk Know of This?

The Mexican Government and the Copper King, Col. Green, Inaugurate a Campaign of Kidnaping and Persecution in the United States.

In last week's St. Louis Labor we published the following item: GOVERNOR FOLK issued a requisition on the governor of California for Villareal, the Mexican reformer and editor of an anti-Diaz publication. Villareal is charged with having criminally libeled Col. W. C. Greene, the copper king of Mexico, the same brute who caused the massacre of poor wage-workers in his Mexican mines. What business has the governor of Missouri to assist the capitalist corporation kings and semi-barbarian rulers of Mexico in their murderous work? Villareal was connected with La Regeneration, a Spanish weekly published in St. Louis. President Diaz, the capitalist corporation protector and president of Mexico, has been anxious for years to get hold of Villareal. It is about time to put the lid on this kind of democracy.

Last Saturday we received the following resolutions from Los Angeles, Cal., which throws a little more light on the latest move of Governor Folk of Missouri to get Villareal into the hands of Col. Greene's tools in St. Louis—the same tools who were instrumental in suppressing Villareal's paper. St. Louis capitalists are very much interested in the "industrial development of Mexico," hence they will do anything and everything to help Tyrant Porfirio Diaz and Col. Greene.

RESOLUTION.

Whereas, On June 30 of this year in the city of Douglas, Ariz., instigated and promised to be paid by the Mexican consul, Mr. Antonio Maza, American officials forcibly kidnaped and delivered to the Mexican rurales, Manuel Sarabia, a political refugee from Mexico, arrested on the trumped-up charge of murder;

Whereas, An indignant people of said city obtained through prompt action the return of said Manuel Sarabia by the government of Mexico, denying the charge of murder sworn to by said Mexican consul, and furthermore obtained the arrest and prosecution of said consul and American officials by the federal grand jury;

Whereas, On Aug. 23 of this year in the city of Los Angeles, under mild pressure of the Mexican consul, Mr. Lorenzo, and through the direction of the Furlong professional man-hunting detective agency of St. Louis, without any warrant or order of court or extradition papers, the American officials of the municipal police force, Messrs. Talamantes and Rico lured from fulfillment of regular duties by greed for a slice from the blood money placed as rewards upon the heads of arrested parties by the Mexican government for purely political offense, illegally arrested and unlawfully kept incommunicado the political refugees of the junta liberal, Messrs. Ricardo Flores Magon, Antonio Villareal and Librado Rivera, detained them upon detective warrant, sworn out three days after illegal arrest, charging "resistance to officers" under circumstances which made resistance not only a right, but a civic duty, holding the three men by legal technicalities to gain time, the attempt at direct kidnaping having been foiled by the prompt action of the local Socialists, until the governor of this state may grant extradition under charge of libel or any other old thing;

Whereas, Attorney for the prosecution carelessly admitted in court the fact of being in the hire of the Mexican authorities, and

Whereas, It is a strange coincidence that at the time of said arrest, or shortly after, there arrived in this city:

(1) The ambassador of Mexico to the United States, Mr. Farique Creel, whose "libel" charges imprisoned in Guadalajara, Mex., our comrade, Ramon Morales, editor of "El Obrero Socialista," holding him without trial or formal accusation contrary to the constitution of Mexico.

(2) Also Col. W. C. Grene, the copper autocrat, who owns over four million acres of land and its inhabitants in Mexico, the ruthless enemy of organized labor, the man behind the slaughter of hundreds of unarmed workingmen in Cananea, as evidenced by documents at the hands of the Western Federation of Miners, the man who is charging the libel against the imprisoned men for having stated facts in Mexico which had been published broadcast in these United States unchallenged by the same Greene, because in the United States writers can not so easily be shot in the back on transfer from prison to prison, or Orchardized to the gallows as shown in the Haywood acquittal;

(3) And also just previously there arrived the Polish soldier of fortune or Landsknecht of the Mexican government, serving as its political executioner, leader of the former outlaws, the present mounted police force known as Rurales, Mr. Kosterlitzki, all to be banqueted by an American citizen and feudal lord of copper in Mexico, had the coup against the brains and soul and heart of the Junta Liberal of Mexico, the political refugees in question, been successful;

Whereas, From these recent happenings and the accompanying strange, hardly accidental, coincidences, it seems pre-eminent that at the bottom of the whole outrage is standing Greene and his copper interests by the power of his immense land holdings and mining monopoly in Mexico, directly or indirectly using the Mexican government, or employing and remuneratively tempting its representatives in this country and private man-hunting institutions in Mexico, the United States and Canada and corrupting by promises of prizes of blood money officials and officers in states and municipalities by luring and abetting them into neglect of their duties to this country and into treacherously serving the interests of an alien country in open violation of the rules and regulations of their offices which they had sworn to uphold; be it

Resolved, That the Socialists and sympathizers of Los Angeles and citizens of these United States on Sept. 1, 1907, in mass meeting assembled in Burbank hall, protest emphatically against such introduction of Mexican justice and Colorado mine owners' methods for Cananea purposes into this state of ours;

Resolved, That we protest vigorously against the treason committed by officials and officers of American municipalities by serving, as proved in Douglas, Ariz., against promised monetary reward, the interests of an alien country instead, in accordance with their oath of office, of protecting the citizens of this country from the ever-increasing wave of private or commercial criminal assault, big or small holdups, wholesale and retail thievery sweeping this country.

Resolved, That we protest in indignation against the arrogant overstepping of authority, the attempts of bribery and corruption of American officials indulged in by the official representatives of the Mexican government, as evidenced in Douglas, Ariz., a government whose emissaries did not even shrink from following a Mexican writer, Dr. Ignacio Martinez, into the United States and from murdering him foully in cold blood because he dared speak the truth;

Resolved, That we call upon the municipal, state and federal courts to proceed unflinchingly and vigorously against such officers and officials as are found guilty or under suspicion of violation of their oath of office in serving the interests of an alien government instead of those of their own country, by illegal violence or legal trickery, thus doing for blood money promised, or in expectation of getting such under cover.

Resolved, That we call upon the federal authorities, in accordance with the constitution of these United States, immediately to set free the political refugees, Ricardo Flores Magon, Antonio Villareal and Librado Rivera, arrested without warrant or authority under no charge of felony upon mere detective talk and consular suggestion, and illegally detained in the city of Los Angeles, Cal., deprived of their liberty under gauzy fictitious charges admittedly manufactured for political ends.

Resolved, That we pledge our moral and financial aid to the three imprisoned men, and that we call upon all liberty-loving citi-

zens of these United States, and especially upon labor, to do likewise towards financial and moral aid by calling protest meetings, by passing resolutions and by contributing to the defense funds; because the imprisonment and persecution of the said men is but the result of the first struggles of awakening Mexican labor against a government farming out to the highest bidder the self same labor, its product and the nation's resources, farming it out to the American mining kings, who are our uncrowned kings, and the fight of Mexican labor is our fight;

Resolved, That we call upon the national secretary of the Socialist Party of this country and upon the secretary of the International Socialist Bureau in Brussels, Belgium, to assist us in the struggle for the freedom of the imprisoned men by submitting appropriate resolutions of protest and adequate plans of succor to all organizations of labor in the political as well as the economic field.

Editor St. Louis Labor—The defense committee elected by the local is composed of Comrades Clarence Reilly, attorney at law; A. R. Holston, attorney at law; Rev. Frank I. Wheat, Rafael R. Carmona, Alfred G. Sanftleben.

The defense is in the hands of Attorneys Job Harriman and A. R. Holston. Contributions to be sent to the address of Rev. Frank I. Wheat, 810 South Flower street, Los Angeles, Cal. Per order of Committee.

The Trade Union Resolution

Adopted by the International Socialist Congress Held at Stuttgart, from August 16 to 24, 1907.

The following resolution on the relations between the Socialist Parties and the Trade Union Movement was adopted at the International Socialist Congress held at Stuttgart, Germany, during the week of August 16 to August 24.

The vote was 122½ in favor of the resolution, and 18½ against it.

RESOLUTION ON RELATIONS BETWEEN TRADE UNIONS AND THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

To enforce the proletariat completely from the bonds of intellectual, political and economic serfdom, the political and the economic struggle are alike necessary. If the activity of the Socialist party is exercised more particularly in the domain of the political struggle of the proletariat, that of the unions displays itself in the domain of the economic struggle of the workers. The unions and the party have therefore an equally important task to perform in the struggle for proletarian emancipation. Each of the two organizations has its distinct domain, defined by its nature and within whose borders it should enjoy independent control of its line of action. But there is an ever-widening domain in the proletarian struggle of the classes in which they can only reap advantages by concerted action and by co-operation between the party and trade unions.

As a consequence the proletarian struggle will be carried on more successfully and with more important results if the relations between the unions and the party are strengthened without infringing the necessary unity of the trade unions.

The Congress declares that it is the interest of the working class of every country that close and permanent relations should be established between the unions and the party.

It is the duty of the party and of the trade unions to render moral support the one to the other and to make use only of those means which may help forward the emancipation of the proletariat. When divergent opinions arise between the two organizations as to the opportunism of certain tactics they should arrive by discussion at an agreement.

The unions will not fully perform their duty in the struggle for the emancipation of the workers unless a thoroughly Socialist spirit inspires their policy. It is the duty of the party to help the unions in their work of raising the workers and of ameliorating their social conditions. In its parliamentary action, the party must vigorously support the demands of the unions.

The Congress declares that the development of the capitalist system of production, the increased concentration of the means of production, the growing alliances of employers, the increasing dependence of particular trades upon the totality of bourgeois society would reduce trade unions to impotency if, concerning themselves about nothing more than trade interests, they took their stand on corporate selfishness and admitted the theory of harmony of interests between Labor and Capital.

The Congress is of the opinion that the Unions will be able more successfully to carry on their struggle against exploitation and oppression, in proportion as their organizations are more unified, as their benefit system is improved, as the funds necessary for their struggle are better supplied, and as their members gain a clearer conception of economic relations and conditions and are inspired by the Socialist ideal with greater enthusiasm and devotion.

The Congress invites all the trade unions that accept the conditions laid down by the Brussels Congress of 1898, ratified by the Paris Congress, 1900, to be represented at the International Congresses and to keep themselves in relation with the International Socialist Bureau. It charges the latter to enter into relations with the International Secretariat of Trade Unions at Berlin so as to exchange information respecting working class organization and the workers' movement.

The Congress directs the International Bureau to collect all documents which may facilitate the study of the relations between trade organizations and the Socialist parties in all countries and to present a report on the subject to the next Congress.

The above resolutions were presented by Comrades Beer, Seliger, Smitka, Hanusch (Austria), C. Legien, R. Schmidt, K. Kautsky, W. Pfannkuch (Germany), L. de Brouckere, E. Ansele (Belgium), A. C. Lindblad (Sweden), C. M. Olsen (Denmark) Teszarsz (Hungary), Nemeec (Bohemia).

Prof. De Leon and his S. L. P. and I. W. W. delegates voted against the resolution. De Leon himself moved the following joint S. L. P.-I. W. W. resolution, which received but 18½ votes:

THE S. L. P.-I. W. W. RESOLUTION:
Whereas, the integrally organized industrial organization of the working class is the present embryo of the Commonwealth of Labor, or Socialist Republic, and foreshadows the organic form of that commonwealth, as well as its administrative powers;

Whereas, Craft unionism, wherever capitalism has reached, untrammelled, full bloom, has approved itself what the plutocratic Wall Street Journal of New York hailed it, in hailing the Gompers-Mitchell American Federation of Labor, "The bulwark of capitalist society," that bred the officialdom which the American capitalist, Mark Hanna, designated as his "Labor Lieutenantship," therefore be it

Resolved, First, That "neutrality" towards trades unions, on the part of a political party of Socialism, is equivalent to "neutrality" toward the machinations of the capitalist class;

Second, That the bona fide, or revolutionary, Socialist movement needs the political as well as the economic organization of Labor, the former for propaganda and warfare upon the civilized plane of the ballot; the latter as the only conceivable physical force with which to back up the ballot, without force all ballot is moonshine, and which force is essential for the ultimate lockout of the capitalist class;

Third, That, without the political organization, the Labor or Socialist movement could not reach its triumph; without the economic, the day of its political triumph would be the day of its defeat.

Without the economic organization, the movement would attract and breed the pure et simple politician, who would debauch and sell out the working class; without the political organization, the movement would attract and breed the agent provocateur, who would assassinate the movement.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY (AMERICA).

COAL MINERS' DISTRICT NO. 6 DONATES \$500 TO TELEGRAPHERS.

The United Mine Workers of the Sixth sub-district in the state of Illinois held a special convention, which opened its sessions at East St. Louis on Wednesday, Sept. 4. This district is the largest soft coal miners' district in the country. It extends over St. Clair, Madison, Macoupin, Washington, Clinton, Bond, Montgomery, Randolph and Monroe counties. In its district are 53 local unions, whose membership exceeds that of any district in the jurisdiction of the U. M. W. of A.

T. L. Lewis, national vice president, addressed the convention and urged the delegates to study the political phases of the labor movement. A committee from the St. Louis striking telegraphers appealed to the delegates for financial assistance. The telegraphers were well received and assured that the coal miners would act favorably. The convention's work was finished Friday. One of its last acts was to vote \$500 to the telegraphers of St. Louis and Delegates Comrades Germer and Hayes to tender the amount. This was done after brief addresses to the telegraphers Friday night by Hayes and Germer. The invincibility of labor with all branches of industry organized and the great strategical value of a strong telegraphers' union to the workers in the great industries like coal mining, was pointed out by the speakers.

Our Book Department

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Socialism, Labor, Science and Nature

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WORK—	What's So and What Isn't, paper, 10c.....	50

The above is only a partial list of books kept in stock. A complete line of pamphlets and leaflets always on hand, also Socialist Party buttons. Books sent postpaid on receipt of above prices. Office open from 8 a. m. to 9 p. m., daily. LABOR BOOK DEPT., 324 Chestnut St., St. Louis, Mo.

Socialism vs. Emigration and Immigration

Resolution Adopted by the International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart, Aug. 16 to 24, '07.

The International Socialist Congress held in Stuttgart during the week of Aug. 16 to Aug. 24 passed the following Resolution on Emigration and Immigration:

The Congress declares: Immigration and emigration of workingmen are phenomena inseparable from the substance of capitalism as unemployment, overproduction and underconsumption of the workingmen, they are frequently one of the means to reduce the share of the workingmen in the product of labor and at times they assume abnormal dimensions through political religious and national persecutions.

The congress does not consider exceptional measures of any kind, economic or political, the means for removing any danger which may arise to the working class from immigration and emigration since such measures are fruitless and reactionary; especially not the restriction of the freedom of migration and the exclusion of foreign nations and races.

At the same time the congress declares it to be the duty of organized workingmen to protect themselves against the lowering of their standard of life which frequently results from the mass import of unorganized workingmen. The congress declares it to be their duty to prevent the import and export of strikebreakers.

The congress recognizes the difficulties which in many cases confront the workingmen of the countries of a more advanced stage of capitalist development through the mass immigration of unorganized workingmen accustomed to a lower standard of life and coming from countries of prevalent agricultural and domestic civilization, and also the dangers which confront them from certain forms of immigration.

But the congress sees no proper solution of these difficulties in the exclusion of definite nations or races from immigration, a policy which is besides in conflict with the principle of proletarian solidarity.

The congress, therefore, recommends the following measures:

- I. For the countries of immigration:
 1. Prohibition of the export and import of such workingmen who have entered into a contract which deprive them of the liberty to dispose of their labor power and wages.
 2. Legislation shortening the workday, fixing a minimum wage, regulating the sweating system and house industry and providing for strict supervision of sanitary and dwelling conditions.
 3. Abolition of all restrictions which exclude definite nationalities or races from the right of sojourn in the country and from the political and economic rights of the natives or make the acquisition of these rights more difficult for them. It also demands the greatest latitude in the laws of naturalization.
 4. For the trade unions of all countries the following principles shall have universal application in connection with it:
 - (a) Unrestricted admission of immigrated workingmen to the trade unions of all countries.
 - (b) Facilitating the admission of members by means of fixing reasonable admission fees.
 - (c) Free transfer from the organizations of one country to those of the other upon the discharge of the membership obligations towards the former organization.
 - (d) The making of international trade union agreements for the purpose of regulating these questions in a definite and proper manner and enabling the realization of these principles on an international scope.
 5. Support of the trade unions of those countries from which the immigration is chiefly recruited.

- II. For the country of emigration:
 1. Active propaganda for trade unionism.
 2. Enlightenment of the workingmen and the public at large on the true conditions of labor in the countries of immigration.

In view of the fact that emigration of workingmen is often artificially stimulated by railway and steamship companies, land speculators and other swindling concerns through false and lying promises to workingmen, the congress demands:

Control of the steamship agencies and emigration bureaus and legal and administrative measures against them in order to prevent that emigration be abused in the interests of such capitalist concerns.

III. Regulation of the system of transportation, especially on ships. Employment of inspectors with discretionary power who should be selected by the organized workingmen of the countries of emigration and immigration. Protection for the newly arrived immigrants, in order that they may not become the victims of capitalist exploiters.

In view of the fact that the transport of emigrants can only be regulated on international basis, the congress directs the International Socialist Bureau to prepare suggestions for the regulation of this question, which shall deal with the conditions, arrangements and supplies of the ships, the air space to be allowed for each passenger as a minimum, and shall lay special stress, that the individual emigrants contract for their passage directly with the transportation companies and without intervention of middlemen. These suggestions shall be communicated to the various Socialist parties for the purpose of legislative application, and adaptation as well as for the purposes of propaganda.

Resolutions on Woman Suffrage

Submitted to Recent International Socialist Women's Congress in Stuttgart.

The demand for woman suffrage arises from the economic and social transformation caused by the capitalist system of production, especially, however, from the revolutionizing of woman's labor, of her position and her mind. It is by its nature a consequence of the bourgeois democratic principle, which calls for the setting aside of all social distinctions that do not rest on property, and proclaims in the sphere of public as well as of private life the complete legal equality of all adults as a right of personality. For this reason woman suffrage has always been demanded by individual thinkers in connection with every struggle which the bourgeoisie ever took up for the democratization of political rights as a necessary condition of their political emancipation and class rule. Efficient force as a demand from the masses has, however, first accrued to it from the increasing number of women who have to earn their living, and especially owing to the numbers of the female proletariat who have been drawn into the modern industry. Woman suffrage is necessarily bound up with the economic emancipation of woman from the household and her economic independence of the family on the strength of her activity as an earner.

From the standpoint of principle the active and passive suffrage means for the female sex, as a whole, the recognition of their social maturity; from the practical point of view it means to obtain political power, so as to remove the legal and social hindrances which stand in the way of the development of woman's life and activity. But owing to the class antagonisms, which are just as influential in the world of women as that of men, the value and main object of the suffrage is different for women of the different classes. The value of the suffrage as a weapon in the social struggle is in inverse proportion to the size of the property possessed by the individual and the social power conferred by that property. Its principal object differs, according to the class position: it is either the complete legal

equality of the female sex, or it is the social emancipation of the proletariat through the conquest of political power for the purpose of abolishing class rule and bringing about the Socialist society which alone affords a guarantee for the complete emancipation of woman as a human being.

In consequence of the class antagonisms between women, the bourgeois woman's development does not march united, with closed ranks and the highest development of force, in support of universal woman suffrage. The proletarian women, consequently, must rely on their own strength and on that of their class for the conquest of their full political rights. The practical needs of their struggle for emancipation, together with their historic insight and sense of justice, make the proletariat the most consistent champion of the complete political emancipation of the female sex. The Social-Democracy, as the political fighting organization of the class-conscious proletariat supports, therefore, woman suffrage both in principle and in practice. The question of woman suffrage gains increased importance as the class war increases in severity. In the ruling reactionary parties the tendency grows to strengthen the political power of property by the introduction of a limited woman suffrage. The limited woman's suffrage is not so much to be looked on as the first step to political emancipation of the female sex, as far more the last step in the social emancipation of property. It emancipates woman not as a personality, but as the bearer of a certain income and property, and thus becomes in effect a plural suffrage for the propertied classes, leaves large numbers of the proletariat women without political rights and in consequence does not mean the political equality of the entire female sex. For the proletariat the necessity grows of revolutionizing the minds and of placing their adult members, without distinction of sex, well armed in the front of the battle. The fight for universal woman suffrage is the best means of making the situation serve the interest of the proletariat's struggle for emancipation.

In accordance with these considerations the first International Conference of Socialist Women declares:

The Socialist woman's movement of all countries repudiates the limited woman's suffrage as a falsification of and insult to the principle of the political equality of the female sex. It fights for the only living concrete expression of this principle: the universal woman's suffrage which is open to all adults and bound by no conditions of property, payment of taxes, or degree of education or any other qualifications which exclude members of the working class from the enjoyment of the right. They carry on their struggle not in alliance with the bourgeois Women's Righters, but in alliance with the Social Parties, and these fight for woman's suffrage as one of the demands which from the point of view of principle and practice is most important for a complete democratization of the suffrage.

The Socialist Parties in all countries are bound to fight with energy for the introduction of woman suffrage. Consequently their fight for the democratization of the suffrage in the legislative and administrative bodies in the state and commune must especially be fought also as a struggle in favor of woman suffrage, and this demand they must raise in their propaganda as well as in Parliament, and insist on it with all their power. In countries where manhood suffrage is already far advanced or completely achieved the Socialist Parties must take up the fight for universal woman's suffrage, and with that naturally put forward all the demands which remain in order to obtain complete citizenship for the male proletariat.

It is the duty of the Socialist woman's movement in all countries to take part in all struggles which the Socialist Parties fight for the democratization of the suffrage, and that with all possible energy, but also to see that in this fight the question of the universal woman suffrage is insisted on with due regard to its importance of principle and practice.

THE SOCIALIST WOMEN OF GERMANY.

II. That as all Socialist recognize that the freedom of women must include both economic as well as political freedom before it can be complete, every effort should be made by Socialists to assist the Woman's Suffrage, the Women's Trade Union and the Women's Co-operative movements in their respective countries and to arouse the workers in all these movements to the necessity for uniting together for the realization of Socialism.

WOMAN'S LABOR LEAGUE, ENGLAND.

III. That the women of the Socialist and Labor movement, standing especially for the protection of home and family and believing that the interests of the different countries are identical, and not antagonistic, urge that strong efforts should be made to spread anti-military feeling and to promote international fraternity.

IV. That this Conference urges the adoption of a system whereby necessitous mothers shall receive monetary assistance at the time of the birth of children, and whereby mothers with children dependent upon them shall receive continued adequate support to enable them to attend to their children without having to work for wages.

THE WOMEN'S LABOR LEAGUE.

Missouri Socialist Party

HAS YOUR LOCAL arranged for one of Goebel's dates? If not, see that the matter is acted on at the next meeting.

LOCAL ST. LOUIS wants Goebel for two dates; Milan and Mountainview each want a date. Who is next? Talk quick or you may get left.

THE SOCIALIST AND LABOR PRESS has become a powerful factor in the great struggles for the improvement of labor's condition and labor's emancipation.

SECRETARY MOSER of St. Joseph reports the death of Comrade Anton Suter, one of their best workers. Comrade Suter was born in Switzerland and, like many other comrades from Europe, was among the most active workers, and an ardent Socialist.

JASPER COUNTY comrades will have Goebel for at least eight or ten days. Secretary Gibben writes that they have a committee appointed to arrange meetings all over the county. The prospects are improving every day, and Jasper County will soon be in good shape again.

COMRADE CALL says he expects to be in Missouri in December. This comes just right. In November Goebel will get to work and wake things up generally and the locals will be in better shape to make a rousing success of Call's dates in December. This lecture, "The Concentration of Wealth," ought to draw well in any of the larger towns.

THE MONTHLY REPORT of Local St. Louis County is sent in by Secretary Tschirner, and he adds the following: "Our county movement has progressed very satisfactorily during August, and that in more ways than one. Local Ferguson has distributed 300 copies of the 'Darrow Special,' contributed \$8 to the National Campaign Fund. Individual members of our local have also reported the sale of eight Appeal cards during the month. Local Weston, on account of its favorable location, will shortly loom up strong with new applications. A number of our comrades, who are also members of the Modern Woodmen, have carried on excellent propaganda in the Woodmen camps of Ferguson, Brentwood and Maplewood in the form of 'debates.' The first debate, in Maplewood, was on the subject of 'Woman Suffrage.' The one in Ferguson covered the uncertainty of existence under capitalism in its relation to the 'certainty' of life insurance and its benefits. Our next debate takes place at Brentwood on Sept. 10, and the subject of discussion is entitled, 'Resolved, That Machinery Has Been a Great Benefit to the Human Race!' All subjects selected are calculated to give the widest range for the discussion of Socialism, and, thus far, our arguments have proven invincible.

STATE SECRETARY, OTTO PAULS, 324 CHESTNUT ST., ST. LOUIS, MO.

National Committeemen.		Secretaries.	
G. A. Hoehn, 324 Chestnut st.	St. Louis	Claude Walker	St. Louis
E. T. Behrens, 110 E. 3d st.	Sedalia	E. J. Lewis	St. Louis
Locals.		Secretaries.	
Aquilla	Myrtle (P. O. Jeff)
Arnett	Nevada (Route 4, Box 106)
Ava	Novinger (Box 336)
Bernie	Phelps (Route 2, Miller)
Bevier	Pineville (Sulphur Spgs., Ark.)
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Chillicothe	Raley Creek (P. O., Galena)
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A Magazine of
Modern Thought and Social Progress

E. H. THOMAS, Editor.

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Socialist News Review

COMRADE LEWIS LECTURES IN CHICAGO.

Comrade Arthur Morrow Lewis will deliver a series of 35 lectures at the Chicago Garrick Theater, between Oct. 6 and May 31.

ATTENTION—NO SOCIALIST PICNIC!

No picnic! No picnic today! The joint picnic of Wards 6, 8, 10 and 13 has been called off! Money for tickets already bought will be returned.

STREET MEETING IN BADEN.

A street meeting will be held at Baden (8200 North Broadway), under the auspices of the First Ward Club, Socialist Party, Saturday, Sept. 14, 1907, at 8 p. m. Good speakers in English and German will be present. Paul F. Schurig, Secretary.

THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH WARD CLUBS

Gave a successful picnic at Normandy Grove last Sunday, and the many comrades and friends and their families enjoyed a very pleasant Sunday. There were games and races, concert music and dancing. Comrade Pope delivered an address which was attentively listened to.

NOTICE!

Owing to the unsettled state of affairs in the county, the joint picnic of the 6th, 8th, 10th and 12th Ward Socialist Clubs, at Bartold's Grove, has been called off. Purchasers of tickets can have their money refunded by applying to party selling same.

THE COMMITTEE.

LABOR DAY IN WISCONSIN.

Labor Day, as usual, afforded a fine opportunity for Wisconsin Socialists to get their ideas before the labor unions. John M. O'Neil addressed 15,000 union men in Milwaukee. Organizer Jacobs spoke in Appleton, Alderman Helms in Neenah, Thomas Feeley in Sheboygan and School Director Welch in Wausau.

WHAT FOOLS THESE POLITICIANS BE!

On Labor Day a picnic and parade had been arranged by the Finnish workers of Ironwood, Mich. The local authorities advised against the carrying of flags or banners and finally stole them from the meeting hall and broke up the parade by running the fire apparatus over the line of march. The picnic, however, was a success.

COMRADE DASZYNSKI WILL COME TO AMERICA.

Ignaz Daszynski of Austria Galicia, late delegate to the International at Stuttgart, will arrive in New York city about Sept. 15, and remain in this country for two months. Comrade Daszynski is available for Polish or German meetings. He served for years in the Austrian Parliament and was credited with bringing the political career of the Polish Prince Badeni to a close.

NEBRASKA SOCIALISTS NOMINATE.

The Socialist Party of Nebraska nominated the following ticket: Supreme Judge, Lucius Stebbins, North Platte. State University Regents, J. Hollender, South Omaha; G. C. Porter, Omaha; Leo I. Lambribber, Niobrara; J. M. Schuler, Lincoln; W. C. Rodgers (to fill vacancy), Waterloo. Railway Commissioner, E. F. McClure, Broken Bow.

SOCIALISTS ASK FOR CLOSED PUBLIC PARK.

At the last meeting of the Milwaukee City Council, the Social Democrats introduced a resolution for the purchase and ownership by the city of an inclosed park. This would enable unions and fraternal societies to hold their picnics and other celebrations without being obliged to go outside the city limits and thus help enrich the street car magnates.

RHODE ISLAND SOCIALIST TICKET.

The Socialists of Rhode Island nominated the following state ticket: For Governor, Wm. H. Johnston, Providence; for Lieutenant Governor, James B. Allen, Providence; for Secretary of State, John F. Fletcher, Manton; for State Treasurer, H. F. Thomts, Providence; for Attorney General, Fred Hurst, Olneyville. Vote for those men because they stand for Socialist principles.

ST. LOUIS SOCIALIST SPECIAL CAMPAIGN FUND.

A Seidlén 50c, W. H. Scott 25c, Ad. Hepner \$1, Jul. Pazmany 50c, Otto Mueller 25c, Dr. W. P. Hill \$3, Wm. R. 50c, Jul. Blumenthal 50c, E. Feltenberg per Blumenthal List No. 138 50c, Walter Thomas Mills \$1, J. H. Powell 75c. Collection at Delabar's Hall meeting \$2.75. Collection at Riverside Park meeting \$37.42; meeting at Twelfth and Olive \$16.60. Amount previously acknowledged \$139.54. Grand total \$205.06.—O. Kaemmerer Sec. (per B.).

COMRADE DEBS AT NEW YORK CHAUTAUQUA.

Trudley Lake, N. Y., Sept. 6.—The Lakeside Assembly at this place has just closed with the most successful season in its history. It is situated on the banks of a beautiful historic lake three miles long and half a mile wide and about eighteen miles from the famous Chautauqua grounds. Upwards of five thousand people were upon these beautiful grounds to hear and see Eugene V. Debs in the opening speeches of the Assembly. He lectured upon "The Drift of Times" and "Some Social Problems." It is a most encouraging sign of the times when conservative Chautauqua managers will not only place such men as Mr. Debs on their program, but express their most hearty approval and sympathy toward his ideas. Eugene V. Debs is one of the most forceful speakers we have had on our platform. This large-hearted, noble-minded Socialistic speaker is one of God's "undesirable citizens" who are a credit to their country and will be remembered as the forerunner of great events. His lecture on Sunday was two hours and twenty minutes, the longest lecture ever delivered from this platform. He held his audience to the close, which was a rare compliment not only to the speaker, but to the audience that could appreciate the man and the movement. He is a man whose Lincoln-like sympathy extends to the great mass of humanity. His quiet eloquence, his thrilling knowledge of facts, his great optimism, his consciousness that he has a message for humanity, make him a man worthy the attention of the world. Heaven, hasten a race of such strong, gigantic sons of God. HARRIET WEBER LORD.

WORK OF THE RAND SCHOOL.

The first year of the Rand School was notably successful. An average of ten classes a week was given for the greater part of the school year. In addition, a course of free Sunday lectures was given from Jan. 13 to April 28. The instructors in the regular courses were Morris Hillquit, W. J. Ghent, Dr. David Saville Muzzey, Dr. Charles A. Beard, Franklin H. Giddings, Tilden Sempers, Lucien Sanial, Algernon Lee, Joseph Adelman, Frederick C. Patterson, Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Edward King and Charles Aronovici. Prof. John Ward Stimson and John H. Fry gave three lectures each, also in the regular instructional courses. The lecturers in the Sunday morning courses were Prof. Franklin H. Giddings, John Martin, Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Mr. and Mrs. William English Walling, Mrs. Meta L. Stern, Mrs. Marion Craig Wentworth, Prof. Vida D. Scudder, Dr. Charles A. Beard, Dr. E. E. Slosson, Morris Hillquit, Miss Mary MacArthur, Algernon Lee, Miss Elizabeth B. Butler, W. J. Ghent and George Willis Cooks. The attendance in the regular classes ranged from 2 to 125, and at the Sunday lectures from 25 to 140. There were 566 single paid admissions to lectures in the regular courses. The number of students who attended one or more courses (exclusive of the Sunday lectures) was 221, and the total attendance (including the Sunday lectures) was 6,819. Of the 221 enrolled students 128 were men and 93 were women. Of the men, 74 were members of the Socialist Party, 4 of the Socialist Labor Party and 50 were non-members. Of the women, 32 were members, or the wives or daughters of members, of the Socialist Party, and 61 were non-members. A number of persons who enrolled as non-members have since joined the party.

WANTED "NO POLITICS, NO SOCIALISM."

Comrade Welch had an amusing experience in connection with his Labor Day address. He was invited to speak in Michigan on condition of giving a "conservative" Labor Day speech. "No politics, no Socialism," Comrade Welch replied: "Permit me to say that I am a radical union labor man, and I can not conceive of any true union labor man being anything else. The union man who is true to his principles will fight for those principles at all times and by every lawful means. He will prove his unionism by his deeds, and those deeds will include every act that will in any way advance the interests of Organized Labor. He will be true to his principles every day in the year—Labor Day and every other holiday, including election day. I had no intention of advocating partisan politics or making use of the word 'Socialism'; there are plenty of other words in the English vocabulary that would answer the purpose quite as well. However, it would be quite impossible to speak intelligently on the labor question in a general way and at the same time ignore those very important phases of the movement. Although I am at present a member of the Milwaukee School Board and had the distinguished honor of serving the citizens of my ward as alderman for one term, I am not a politician, and therefore have not acquired the art of tickling the vanity of so-called conservative union men by means of hypocritical flattery about the 'dignity of labor,' etc. I much prefer to speak the truth as I understand it. You ask me to avoid politics and you inform me that I am to ride in a carriage with the mayor of the city. I do not know the gentlement, but I think I am quite safe in presuming that he is a politician and does not carry a union card—which indicates that you are courting the very danger that you ask me to avoid. If there is anything under the sun that I would be likely to warn the working people against it is the smooth politician. While I would not object to riding in a carriage with your mayor, yet I would much prefer to walk in the ranks with the men who carry cards. When the chief executive of the nation so far forgets himself as to assert that a workingman whose character is quite as clean as his own, to say the least, is a criminal after a jury of his peers have declared him innocent, it is about time for the workers to begin to realize that if their interests are to be safeguarded they must refuse to be longer hoodwinked by wily politicians and select their representatives from their own ranks." The result was that the committee of arrangements liked "his spunk," and urged him to come any way. The outspoken man, after all, is the one who can best influence the unions.

Kaemmerer's European Notes

On His Way Home He Writes from Paris and London.

KAEMMERER ON HIS WAY HOME.

Paris, Aug. 25.—Just coming from Stuttgart and reached Paris safely. I wish you and all of the St. Louis comrades could have witnessed the scenes at the International Congress with visitors from all parts of the world. The Congress made a wonderful impression.

GOING TO BRITISH TRADE UNION CONGRESS.

Paris, Aug. 29.—The four days I spent in the French metropolis I enjoyed immensely and only regretted that I could not stay longer. I went up the Eiffel Tower and from there had a good look at Paris. Early tomorrow morning I shall leave for London, and while in England I intend to attend the opening of the British Trades Union Congress in Bath. With best wishes to the comrades, Otto Kaemmerer.

London, Aug. 30.—I am now in the East End of London. The filth and poverty here is worse than I have seen anywhere in Europe. London looks like hell alongside of any other European city I have visited. I have only five more days on European soil. We had fine weather when crossing the English Channel from France and happily I escaped the seasickness this time. In London I paid a visit to the office of The Justice, the official organ of the Social-Democratic Federation. You ought to see their poor headquarters. I consider it a miserable hole on the ground floor, where they have not even as much space as we have in St. Louis. They have a large press for printing The Justice, and some smaller presses for job work. The Justice office has the appearance of some old American junk shop. On Sept. 4 a special train will take us to our steamer in Southampton. Hence about four days after you receive these notes we shall have reached New York. Otto Kaemmerer.

Central Trades and Labor Union

ST. LOUIS CENTRAL TRADES & LABOR UNION

Met last Sunday afternoon at Walhalla Hall. The meeting was well attended. The request of the Amalgamated Woodworkers' Association that the Central Trades and Labor Union interfere in its dispute with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners was refused. The woodworkers were told to take the matter to the American Federation of Labor through their international body. The trouble is as to the jurisdiction of men working in shops. The commercial telegraphers reported one brokerage firm which it had declared unfair, and asked the assistance of Secretary David Krejling in dealing with several other firms. An effort was made to have the union central body arrange a mass meeting, to be addressed by business men, in an effort to bring about a settlement of the strike. President A. L. Ewing stated that all his organization wanted was that the telegraph companies would agree to arbitration. It was decided that the mass meeting would not be advisable. Secretary Krejling and others made very appropriate remarks about the necessity of the labor unions depending on their own strength and efforts in the first place, instead of relying too much on the help of business men who, as a rule, are afraid to either express an opinion or are more or less secret opponents to Organized Labor. A communication from the Barbers' Union called attention to the delay in the Free Bridge building arrangement and urged the central body to inaugurate a campaign of pushing the House of Delegates to action. The communication says: "We have been very patient with those charged with the responsibility of administering our affairs, but we feel that the time for action has come. We therefore request that the Central Trades & Labor Union demand that the members of the House of Delegates of St. Louis immediately cease all procrastination and quibbling over trifles, and that they at once take steps to bring about the consummation of the wishes of the people so forcibly expressed at the election referred to." James O'Connell, president of the International Association of Machinists, and Frank Mulholland, an attorney of Toledo, who still continues his membership in the union and is a delegate to the biennial convention, addressed the meeting. Mr. O'Connell delivered a splendid address, urging the delegates to work for the unity of the movement and prevent any splitting up of the forces by the many jurisdiction squabbles. President Miller called Edward McCullen to the platform and presented to him, as former president of the central body, an artistically engrossed testimonial, containing the resolutions adopted immediately after his resignation as president of the C. T. & L. U. After some routine business having been transacted the meeting adjourned.

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