

ST. LOUIS LABOR

OFFICE: 212 South Fourth Street. PHONE: Kinloch, Central 1577

Workingmen of All Countries, UNITE!

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

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THE NOMINATIONS

Eugene V. Debs and Ben Hanford Selected Amid Wild Applause as the Standard Bearers in Presidential Campaign of 1908.

Thursday, May 16! A few minutes before midnight. The Socialist Party held its third session of the day—a session lasting four full hours.

Everybody seemed to be convinced that in spite of the lateness of the hours some greater work would yet be done before the delegates would leave the convention hall.

A numerous audience had taken possession of the rear of the hall and of the gallery.

A motion to adjourn was promptly voted down.

"Nomination!" was the general demand from all over the hall, and rounds of applause came from the galleries.

Debs and Hanford! The men who led the Socialist cause in 1904, will lead it again in 1908.

Amid the waving of flags, thundering cheers, and cries of "Debs! Debs!" the national convention of the Socialist Party made the nomination of Eugene V. Debs for President unanimous. When it was seen in the balloting that his lead over three other candidates was overwhelming, it was moved by Victor Berger that the vote be made unanimous. The delegates got together, and with a whoop carried the motion.

It was forgotten that the delegates were worn out by the tremendous day's session. It was 12:30 in the morning when the motion was carried, but the enthusiasm was as intense as if the convention had just gone into session. The shouts and cheers of the delegates made the hall ring. It was the great cry of the workers, a cry of hope after ages of grinding toil in nominating Debs.

When Gallery of Missouri flayed Roosevelt, denouncing him as the most despicable coward in the country, the hall rang with cheers and applause. When the same speaker asked: "Who is Taft?" the hall vibrated to cries of, "God knows!" and "Injunction Bill," but when the name of Eugene Debs was proposed there was a wild cheer which seemed to rend the hall in twain. Flags were snatched from the walls and waved frantically. Hats were thrown into the air. Cheers of ear splitting force echoed and re-echoed.

Then Seymour Steadman rose and nominated A. M. Simons of Illinois, and there were cheers and waving of hats and flags, but it was plain that Debs would win the nomination.

Simons was nominated by Seymour Steadman of Illinois; Carl Thompson was nominated by Victor Berger of Wisconsin, and Carey of Massachusetts was proposed by Ida Crouch Hazlett of Montana.

Steadman, Berger and Hazlett, in nominating their respective candidates, did not fail to eulogize Comrade Eugene V. Debs, but expressed the opinion that "Our Gene" should be given a rest in order that his energies might be spared for the greater work to be done four years hence.

Hoehn of Missouri nominated Max Hayes of Ohio.

The Massachusetts delegation announced that Carey would not stand for nomination. The Montana delegation insisted that Carey's name remain on the list.

Max Hayes declined the nomination.

Comrade Phil. H. Gallery of Missouri, in nominating Eugene V. Debs, said:

"The working class in America is engaged in a great struggle. There are hundreds of thousands toiling, there are others who lie in unmarked graves. These men are witnesses to the necessity of political union of labor. The Socialist Party is the sole one which stands for that political union of the forces of labor.

The Republican and Democratic parties have always crushed labor. Witness Hazelton, Chicago, Coeur D'Alene, Colorado.

While three innocent officials of organized labor were on trial for their lives as the result of a conspiracy, in which the millions of the Standard Oil and the great predatory interests of the country were pitted against them, President Roosevelt so far forgot himself as to brand these men as undesirable citizens.

"In that action Roosevelt showed himself to be the most despicable coward which the country has ever known. (Cheers and loud applause.)

"There was Bryan, who in all likelihood will be the candidate of the Democratic Party. What has he done?

"Why, after two years touring the country and telling of the constitutional rights of the Filipinos, who were thousands of miles away, he kept silent, in spite of the fact that he was petitioned by labor organizations to come out and champion the cause of these men who had been made the victims of a conspiracy in which two governors engaged to kidnap two men.

After Bryan had wept crocodile tears about those Filipinos, and he waited till the jury had declared Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone not guilty before in his speech at Joliet he said that he was glad that these men had been freed.

"Then there is this man Taft, the probable Republican candidate. Who is Taft? Chorus of "God knows!" Why, on his European trip this man Taft banqueted with the Czar of Russia, and drank the czar's health. Yes, I say Taft drank the health of that man who has sent the best manhood and womanhood of Russia across the snows to Siberia.

"But I want to place in nomination before his convention a man who bears the scars of twenty-five years of battle in the cause of labor, Eugene V. Debs. (Wild enthusiasm, waving of flags and shouting.)

Seconds Debs' Nomination.

John Spargo of New York seconded the nomination of Debs. He said:

"We need above all for this great fight which is now before the Socialists of the United States a man who will give back to us our standards not only unsoiled but brightened with the light of inspiration. Eugene V. Debs is the embodiment of revolution. He drank in with his very mother's milk a passion for liberty and every breath which he has breathed since has been a cry of liberty!

"New York has no favorite son. I rise to second the nomination of Eugene V. Debs of Indiana. Debs is a leader in the deep fundamental principles of character. He is not perfect. He makes mistakes, but the mistakes of 'Gene Debs are as glorious as the successes of other men. There is no other man who is better qualified than is Eugene V. Debs."

Then followed the other nominating speeches and the balloting.

The vote stood as follows:

Eugene V. Debs, 155.

A. M. Simons, 9.

Carl D. Thompson, 14.

James F. Carey, 16.



LABOR'S PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

Haywood Declined Nomination and Issued Statement to That Effect

Comrade Wm. D. Haywood, former secretary-treasurer of the Western Federation of Miners, would not allow his name to go before the Socialist national convention for the presidential nomination. In a statement to the daily papers, Haywood said:



WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD.

"Chicago, Ill., May 12.—Because many of my personal friends have felt that I should permit my name to go before the Socialist National Convention for indorsement as its candidate for President, and because at this time the delegates assembled here are considering their action when nominations are declared in order, I feel it best to make this statement through the press.

"First, I am not a candidate. I realize that it is the highest honor in any man's life to be chosen by his fellows as their standard-bearer, and any honors that my comrades in the movement might confer on me would naturally be appreciated, but

Will Fight as Private.

"I feel that at the present time I can best serve my co-workers, myself and, above everything else, our cause, by working as a private in the ranks.

"No matter who may be nominated, and we certainly have an abundance of excellent material in our ranks, I would desire nothing better than to devote every effort of mine to advocating both our principles and our candidates and be able to do so without in any way considering the personal equation.

"For what my comrade Socialists have done for me in the past I am naturally grateful. Their loyal, honest fellowship has greatly aided me when I needed aid, and I am anxious now to help along the struggle that is impending.

"Because of this, and because I am satisfied I can do more good for our cause if not a candidate—and I never was with my consent—I have asked my true friends to discontinue any suggestion that I become an active contestant for any honors at the disposal of the present convention.

Predicts a Big Vote.

"And no matter who may be named, and there are plenty of comrades who are capable, the candidates of our party will have my best endeavors at all times, and we will poll a vote next November that will cause many not familiar with our plans to wonder why.

"I will make this statement personally to the convention before the nominations are declared in order, realizing that if one of my friends made the statement before then I might yet be considered a candidate and my name suggested."

On motion of Victor L. Berger, the nomination of Eugene V. Debs was made unanimous.

Ben Hanford Nominated.

When nominations for Vice-President were declared in order, Guy E. E. Miller of Colorado, placed Ben Hanford of New York in nomination. The nomination was greeted with cheers which rivaled those which greeted the name of Debs earlier in the evening.

The New York delegation was on its feet, waving flags. Texas, Washington and Colorado followed. The delegations flashed their red banners high.

Above the din some one shouted, "Where's Texas?"

"Texas for Hanford, Hanford, Hanford!" was the answering yell.

Carey of Massachusetts was then nominated, but withdrew.

The nomination of Seymour Stedman of Illinois was received with another thunder of applause. The Iowa, Wisconsin and Montana delegations jumped to their feet and waved their red flags and shouting as lustily as had the Eastern delegations earlier in the evening.

But the climax of cheering and enthusiasm came when Freeman of Alabama stepped up to the top of a table, and, in soft Southern accents, placed in nomination May Wood Simons of Illinois.

The Southern delegates were swept off their feet by the nomination of a woman, and despite the fatigue and lateness of the hour, they rose and cheered as lustily as they had at the mention of Debs' name. Snow of Arkansas seconded the nomination in ringing words.

Lipscomb of Missouri, Woodby of California, and Slayton of Pennsylvania were then placed in nomination.

The vote came at twelve minutes past two o'clock. The result was as follows:

Hanford, 106.

Stedman, 43.

May Wood Simons, 20.

Slayton, 15.

Lipscomb, 1.

Woodby, 1.

Amid shouts of "Debs and Hanford for victory," the convention adjourned.

SOCIALIST ADDRESS TO ORGANIZED LABOR

Issued by the National Convention of the Socialist Party Assembled at Chicago, Ill., May, 1908.

"The movement of Organized Labor is a natural result of the antagonism between the interests of employers and wage earners under the capitalist system. Its activity in the daily struggle over wages, hours and other conditions of labor is absolutely necessary to counteract the evil effects of competition among the working people and to save them from being reduced to material and moral degradation. It is equally valuable as a force for the social, economic and political education of the workers.

It Does Not Dictate.

"The Socialist Party does not seek to dictate to Organized Labor in matters of internal organization and union policy. It recognizes the necessary autonomy of the union movement on the economic field, as it insists on maintaining its own autonomy on the political field. It is confident that in the school of experience Organized Labor will as rapidly as possible develop the most effective forms of organization and methods of action.

"In the history of the recent Moyer-Haywood protest, participated in by unions of all sorts and by the Socialist Party, it finds reason to hope for closer solidarity on the economic field and for more effective co-operation between Organized Labor and the Socialist Party, the two wings of the movement for working-class emancipation.

"The Socialist Party stands with Organized Labor in all its struggles to resist capitalist aggression or to wrest from the capitalists any improvement in the conditions of labor. It declares that it is the duty of every wage worker to be an active and loyal member of the Organized Labor movement, striving to win its battles and to strengthen and perfect it for the greater struggles to come.

Confronted by Great Crisis.

Organized Labor is to-day confronted by a great crisis. The capitalists, intoxicated with wealth and power and alarmed by the increasing political and economic activity of the working class, have as a class undertaken a crusade for the destruction of the labor organizations.

"In Colorado, Nevada, Alaska and elsewhere law and constitution have been trampled under foot, military despotism set up, and judicial murder attempted with this aim in view. Where such violent methods have not seemed advisable, other means have been used to the same end.

"The movement for the so-called open shop but thinly veils an attempt to close the shops against organized workingmen; it is backed by powerful capitalist organizations, with millions of dollars in their war funds.

Courts Always Hostile.

"The courts, always hostile to labor, have of late outdone all previous records in perverting the law to the service of the capitalist class. They have issued injunctions forbidding the calling of strikes, the announcement of boycotts, payment of union benefits, or even any attempt to organize unorganized workingmen in certain trades and places. They have issued arbitrary decrees dissolving unions under the pretense of their being labor trusts.

"They have sustained the capitalists in bringing damage suits against unions for the purpose of tying up or sequestering their funds. They have wiped off the statute books many labor laws—laws protecting little children from exploitation in the factory, laws making employers liable for damages in cases of employes killed or injured at their work, laws guaranteeing the right of workingmen to belong to unions.

"While affirming the right of employers to bar organized workingmen from employment, they have declared it unlawful for workingmen to agree not to patronize non-union establishments. The only consistent rule observed by the courts in dealing with the labor question is the rule that capitalists have a sacred right to profits and that the working class has no rights in opposition to business interests.

Danbury Hatters' Case.

"In the Danbury hatters' case the United States Supreme Court has rendered a decision worthy to stand with its infamous 'Dred Scott decision' of fifty years ago. It has stretched and distorted the anti-trust law to make it cover labor organizations, and has held that the peaceful method of the boycott is unlawful, that boycotted employers may recover damages to the amount of three times their loss, and that the property of individual members, as well as the union treasuries, may be levied upon to collect such damages.

"By this decision the Supreme Court has clearly shown itself to be an organ of class injustice, not of social justice. If this and other hostile decisions are not speedily reversed, Organized Labor will find itself completely paralyzed in its efforts toward a peaceful solution of the labor question. The success of the capitalists and their courts in this assault upon the labor movement would be a disaster to civilization and humanity. It can and must be defeated.

Ballot Is a Weapon.

"At this critical moment the Socialist Party calls upon all organized workingmen to remember that they still have the ballot in their hands and to realize that the intelligent use of political power is absolutely necessary to save their organizations from destruction. The unjust decisions of the Supreme Court can be reversed, the arbitrary use of the military can be stopped, the wiping out of labor laws can be prevented by the united action of the workingmen on election day.

"Workingmen of the United States, use your political arm in harmony with your economic arm for defense and attack. Rally to the support of the party of your choice. Vote as you strike, against the capitalists. Down with military and judicial usurpation! Forward, in one solid phalanx, under the banners of Organized Labor and of the Socialist Party, to defeat capitalist aggressions, to win immediate relief for yourselves and your wives and children, and to hasten the day of complete emancipation from capitalist exploitation and misrule.

To Our Readers and Friends.

In order to give a complete national convention report in this week's St. Louis Labor, we had to exclude practically everything else from this issue. Interesting contributions on the Woman's Question, by Comrades "Hebe" and Josephine Conger, Kaneko will appear in next week's issue.—The Editor.

OUR PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

Words of Greeting to Socialists of America Sent Out by Comrade Eugene V. Debs, Our Banner Bearer in the 1908 Campaign.

Girard, Kan., May 17, 1908.—Comrades: The honor of the Presidential nomination has come to me through no fault of my own. It has been said that some men are born great, some achieve greatness, and some have greatness thrust upon them. It is even so with what are called honors. Some men have honors thrust upon them. I find myself in that class.



Eugene V. Debs.

I did what little I could to prevent myself from being nominated by the convention now in session at Chicago, but the nomination sought me out, and in spite of myself I stand in your presence this afternoon the nominee of the Socialist Party for the Presidency of the United States. Long, long ago I made up my mind never again to be a candidate for any political office within the gift of the people. I was constrained to violate that vow because when I joined the Socialist Party I was taught that the desire of the individual was subordinate to the party will, and that when the party commanded it was my duty to obey. There was a time in my life when I had the vanities of youth, when I sought that bubble called fame. I have outlived it. I have reached that point when I am capable of placing an estimate upon my own relative insignificance. I have come to realize that there is no honor in any real sense of that term to any man unless he is capable of freely consecrating himself to the service of his fellowmen. To the extent that I am able to help those who are unable to help themselves, to that extent and to that extent alone, do I honor myself and the party to which I belong. So far as the Presidency of the United States is concerned, I would spurn it were it not that it conferred the power to serve the working class; and he who enters that office with any other conception prostitutes and does not honor that office.

Opposed to the Ethic of the Jungle.

I am opposed to the system of society in which we live to-day, not because I lack the natural equipment to do for myself, but because I am not satisfied to make myself comfortable knowing that there are thousands upon thousands of my fellow men who suffer for the bare necessities of life. We were taught under the old ethic that man's business upon this earth was to look out for himself. That was the ethic of the jungle, the ethic of the wild beast. Take care of yourself, no matter what may become of your fellow man. Thousands of years ago the question was asked: "Am I my brother's keeper?" That question has never yet been answered in a way that is satisfactory to civilized society. Yes, I am my brother's keeper. I am under a moral obligation to him that is inspired, not by any maudlin sentimentality, but by the higher duty I owe to myself. What would you think of me if I were capable of seating myself at a table and gorging myself with food and saw about me the children of my fellow-beings starving to death?

There Is Food and Plenty For All.

Allow me to say to you, my fellow men, that Nature has spread a great table bounteously for all of the children of men. There is room for all, and there is a plate and a place and food for all, and any system of society that denies a single one the right and the opportunity to freely help himself to Nature's bounties is an unjust and iniquitous system that ought to be abolished in the interest of a higher humanity and a civilization worthy of the name. And here let me observe, my fellow men, that while the general impression is that human society is stationary—a finality as it were—it is not so for a single instant. Underlying society there are great material forces that are in operation all of the circling hours of the day and night, and at certain points in the social development these forces outgrow the forms that hold them, and these forms spring apart and then a new social system comes into existence and a new era dawns for the human race. The great majority of mankind have always been in darkness. The overwhelming majority of the children of men have always been their own worst enemies. In every age of this world's history the kings and emperors and czars and the potentates, in alliance with the priests, have sought by all the means at their command to keep the people in darkness, that they might perpetuate the power in which they riot and revel in luxury while the great mass are in a state of slavery and degeneration, and he who has spoken out courageously against the existing order, he who has dared to voice the protest of the oppressed and downtrodden, has had to pay the penalty. I am opposed to capitalism because I love my fellow men, and if I am opposing you I am opposing you for what I believe to be your good.

Where the Workingman Injures Himself.

I don't hate the workingman because he has turned against me. I know the poor fellow is too ignorant to understand his self-interest, and I know that as a rule the workingman is the friend of his enemy, and the enemy of his friend. He votes for men who represent a system in which labor is simply merchandise; in which the man who works the hardest and longest has the least to show for it. If there is a man on this earth who is entitled to all the comforts and luxuries of this life in abundance it is the man whose labor produces them. If he is not, who is? Does he get them in the present system?

Why the Change Is Necessary.

As long as a relatively few men own the railroads, the telegraph, the telephone, own the oil fields and the gas fields and the steel mills and the sugar refineries and the leather tanneries—own, in short, the sources and means of life—they will corrupt our politics, they will enslave the working class, they will impoverish and debase society, they will do all things that are needful to perpetuate their power as the economic masters and the political rulers of the people. Not until these great agencies are owned and operated by the people can the people hope for any material improvement in their social condition. Is the condition fair to-day, and satisfactory to the thinking man?

According to the most reliable reports at our command, there are at least four millions of workingmen vainly searching for employment. Have you ever found yourself in that unspeakably sad predicament? Have you ever had to go up the street, begging for work, in a great city thronged with surging humanity—and, by the way, my friends, people are never quite so strange to each other as when they are forced into artificial, crowded and stifled relationship.

Have You Ever Been Hunting for a Job?

I would rather be friendless out on the American desert than to be friendless in New York or Chicago. Have you ever walked up one side of the street and come back on the other side, while your wife, Mary, was waiting at home with three or four children for you to report that you had found work? Quite fortunately for me I had an experience of somewhat similar nature to this quite early in life. Quite fortunately because, had I not known my own experience just what it is to have to beg for work, just what it is to be shown the door as if I were a very offensive intruder, had I not known what it is to suffer for want of food, had I not seen every door closed and barred in my face, had I not found myself friendless and alone in the city as a boy looking for work, and in vain, perhaps I would not be here this afternoon. I might have grown up, as some others have who have been, as they regard themselves, fortunate. I might have waved aside my fellowmen and said: "Do as I have done. If you are without work it is your own fault. Look at me; I am self-made. No man is under the necessity of looking for work if he is willing to work.

Nothing is more humiliating than to have to beg for work, and a system in which any man has to beg for work stands condemned. No man can defend it. Now, the rights of one are just as sacred as the rights of a million. Suppose you happen to be the individual one

who has no work. This republic is a failure so far as you are concerned.

Nothing to Sell But Your Labor Product.

Here I stand, just as I was created. I have two hands that represent my labor power. I have some bone and muscle and sinew and some energy. I want to exchange it for food and clothing and shelter. Between my right to apply my labor to the tools with which work is done there stands a man artificially created. He says, "No, no!" Why not? "Because you can not first make a profit for me."

Now, there has been a revolution in industry during the last fifty years, but the trouble with most people is that they haven't kept pace with it. They don't know anything about it and they are especially innocent in regard to it in the small western cities and states, where the same old conditions of a century ago still prevail. Your grandfather could help himself anywhere. All he needed was some very cheap, simple, primitive tools and he could then apply his labor to the resources of Nature with his individual tools and produce what he needed. That era in our history produced our greatest men. Lincoln himself sprang from this primitive state of society. People have said: "Why, he had no chance. See how great he became." Yes, but Lincoln had for his comrades great, green-plumed forest monarchs. He could put his arms about them and hear their heart-throbs, as they said: "Go on, Abe, a great destiny awaits you." He was in partnership with Nature. He associated with flowers and he was in the fields and he heard the rippling music of the laughing brooks and streams. Nature took him to her bosom. Nature nourished him and from his unpolluted heart there sprang his noble aspirations.

The Curse of the Sweatshop.

Had Lincoln been born in a sweatshop he would never have been heard of.

How is it with the babe that is born in Mott street, or in the lower Bowery, or in the east side of New York City? That is where thousands, tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands of babes are born who are to constitute our future generations.

I have seen children ten years of age in New York City who had never seen a live chicken. They don't know what it is to put their tiny feet on a blade of grass. It is the most densely populated spot on earth.

I know by very close study of the question exactly how men become idle. I don't repel them when I meet them. I have never yet seen the tramp I was not able to receive with open arms. He is a little less fortunate than I am. He is made the same as I am made. He is the child of the same Father. Had I been born in his environment, had I been subjected to the same things to which he was I would have been where he is.

Wendell Phillips—the Greatest American.

I heard this story from Wendell Phillips one evening. I never can forget it. How I wish he were here to-day. We sat together and he said: "Debs, the world will never know with what bitter and relentless persecution the early abolitionists had to contend." Wendell Phillips was the most perfect aristocrat in everything I have ever seen; who came nearest being a perfect man; who, when he stood erect, instantly challenged respect and admiration—almost veneration. Wendell Phillips was treated as if he had been the worst felon on earth. They went to his house one night to mob him, and why? Because he protested against sending a young negro girl and a man back into slavery. They came to take them back, and the whole commonwealth of Massachusetts said: "Take them back! Obey the law! That is what they are everlastingly saying to us—"Obey the law!" Just above the door of the statehouse there was an inscription: "God Bless the Commonwealth of Massachusetts." Wendell Phillips said: "If Massachusetts has become a slave hunter, if Massachusetts is in alliance with the slave catchers of the south, that inscription over the portal of the doors should be changed, and in place of 'God Bless the Commonwealth of Massachusetts,' it should be 'God Damn the Commonwealth of Massachusetts!'" God smiled in that same instant.

The Great Change Will Come.

There will be a change one of these days. The world is just beginning to awaken, and is soon to sing its first anthem of freedom. All the signs of the times are cheering. Twenty-five years ago there was but a handful of Socialists; to-day there are a half million. When the polls are closed next-fall you will be astounded. The Socialist movement is in alliance with the forces of progress. We are to-day where the abolitionists were in 1858. They had a million and a quarter of votes. There was dissension in the Whig, Republican and Free Soil parties, but the time had come for a great change, and the Republican party was formed in spite of the bickering and contentions of men. Lincoln made the great speech in that year that gave him the nomination and afterward made him president of the United States.

Remember the Ante-Civil War Days.

If you had said to the people in 1858, "In two years from now the Republican party is going to sweep the country and seat the president," you would have been laughed to scorn. The Socialist Party stands to-day where the Republican party stood fifty years ago. It is in alliance with the forces of evolution; the one party that has a clear-cut, overmastering, overshadowing issue; the party that stands for all the people and the only party that stands for all the people. In this system we have one set who are called capitalists, and another set who are called workers; and they are at war with each other over the division of the product.

What the Socialists Want.

Now, we Socialists propose that society in its collective capacity shall produce, not for profit, but in abundance to satisfy human wants; that every man shall have the inalienable right to work, and receive the full equivalent of all he produces; that every man may stand fearlessly erect in the pride and majesty of his own manhood. Every man and every woman be economically free. They can, without let or hindrance, apply their labor, with the best machinery that can be devised, to all the natural resources, do the work of society and produce for all; and then receive in exchange a certificate of value equivalent to that of their production. Then society will improve its institutions in exact proportion to the progress of invention. Whether you work in the city or on farm, all things productive will be carried forward on a gigantic scale. All industry will be completely organized. Society for the first time will have a scientific foundation. Every man, by being economically free, will have some time for himself. He can then take a full and perfect breath. He can go to his wife and children because then he will have a home.

Today the Great Mass of People Have No Private Property.

We are not going to destroy private property. We are going to introduce and establish private property—all the private property that is necessary to house man, keep him in comfort and satisfy all his physical wants. Eighty per cent of the people in the United States have no property of any kind to-day. A few have got it all. They have dispossessed the people, and when we get into power we will dispossess them. We will reduce the workday and give every man a chance. We will go to the parks, and we will have music, and we will have music because we will have time to play music and inclination to hear it. Is it not sad to think that not one in a thousand know what music is? Is it not pitiable to see the poor, ignorant, dumb human, utterly impervious to the divine influence of music? If humanity could only respond to the higher influences! And it would if it had time. Release the animal, throw his burden; give him a chance; and he rises, as if by magic, to the plane of a man. Man has all of these divine attributes. They are in a latent state. They are not yet developed. It does not pay to love music. Keep your eye on the almighty dollar and your fellowman. Get the dollar and keep him down. Make him produce for you. You are not your brother's keeper in this system. When we are in partnership and have stopped clutching each other's throats, when we have stopped enslaving each other, then we will stand together, hands clasped, and we will be friends. We will be comrades, we will be brothers, and we will begin the march to the grandest civilization that the human race has ever known.—Eugene V. Debs.

THE ROOSEVELT LETTER

Which Caused the Hottest Debate at the Socialist National Convention, for About Five Hours.

To President Roosevelt, Washington, D. C.

"Sir—In your latest message to Congress you raised the question of class-consciousness.

"As the highest executive officer of this great republic you appealed to every far-sighted patriot to protest first of all against the growth in this country of that evil thing which is called class consciousness."

"As president of this republic, occupying the most responsible political position by the will and consent of the majority of the voters of the country, you have consciously or unconsciously insulted hundreds of thousands of law-abiding and patriotic men, by charging them with the perpetration of foul and evil acts, because they are educating the working people in class consciousness.

A Gross Injustice.

"Mr. President of this great republic, we beg leave to inform you that you have committed an act of gross injustice to the millions of Socialist citizens, to every Socialist man and woman in this and other countries, and we insist that you owe them a public apology.

"Even as undesirable citizens we have a right to demand that whenever you address Congress in special message on any vital problem of the day you should at first properly inform yourself on the subject in order that you may know what you are talking about.

"We, Socialist delegates in national convention assembled, take great pride in pleading guilty to the charge of arousing the class consciousness of the working people.

Proud to Plead Guilty.

"We feel proud to plead guilty for the same reason that Patrick Henry, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Paine and other heroes of the great American Revolution felt proud of their consciousness of American independence from the feudalism of King George.

"Mr. President of the Republic, kindly permit this convention of undesirable citizens to call your attention to the fact that unless the Socialists succeed in educating the working class of this country to a consciousness of its condition and common interests and to the necessity of class conscious co-operation on the political battlefield, this country will be thrown into a state of capitalist despotism and anarchy.

"You, as president of this republic, know from your everyday experience that the class rule of capitalism is supreme in the United States Congress, and even in the United States Supreme Court.

"You, as president of this republic, are acquainted with the fact that our United States Congress has become a mere political clearing house of capitalist class interests. Every just and reasonable demand of Organized Labor for protective labor legislation has been opposed by the capitalist class, and this class opposition found expression in both houses of Congress.

Forced Into the Arena.

"The very fact that even the leading conservative labor unions connected with the A. F. of L. have been forced into the political arena is the most striking proof of the existence of class rule, class government and class justice.

"This capitalist class rule is dictated by capitalist class interests. Out of these conflicting class interests develops the class struggle between capitalism and Organized Labor.

"That this class struggle is not a theory but a real hard fact, a condition which must be met. You, as president of this republic, have repeatedly pointed out in your official messages to Congress, and in your public addresses, that this is a fact.

No Worse Than You.

"We, the Socialists, are doing no more than you do. We simply attest to the existence of the class struggle between capitalism and the working class. But we go one step further and tell the working class that only by class conscious action will it be able to bring about the change in these conditions.

"Every day the working people are growing more class conscious because they are getting more educated.

"Mr. President, does it not occur to you that the man or woman who is not class conscious must be unconscious of the real condition under which his or her own class of people are suffering?

Labor Laws Buried.

"To be conscious of a condition means to know the condition. To be unconscious means not to know the conditions nor the ways and means to change them.

"You, Mr. President, speedily demanded from Congress laws for the protection of the people, but your demands were ignored because capitalist class interests dominated the lawmakers. You know that both branches of Congress have become a cemetery for labor legislation.

"If, in the place of the political undertakers, there were seated in the halls of Congress fifty or a hundred class-conscious workingmen and Socialists, every demand for labor legislation made to-day by you or by Organized Labor would be enacted into law, and no Supreme Court would dare to disregard the will of the nation.

Was Good Propaganda.

"By your latest message to Congress, by raising your Don Quixote warning against class consciousness, you have done more towards spreading class consciousness in the ranks of labor than we could accomplish in many months of agitation and propaganda.

"In order that you may not again show your lack of knowledge on such a vital question as class consciousness and that you may not insult the undesirable citizens we hereby instruct our national secretary, J. Mahlon Barnes, to mail to your address, together with this open letter, a copy of the Communist Manifesto, by Karl Marx, which we hope you will carefully read, so that you may convince yourself of the fact that even the president of the United States may, sometimes be wrong. Respectfully yours,

"SOCIALIST NATIONAL CONVENTION.

(A report of the interesting debate following the reading of this letter will be found in another column of this week's St. Louis Labor, also of final action thereon.)

DAY AND EVENING CLASSES.

Individual Instruction—2106 Lafayette Avenue.

If you want to learn English, thoroughly and quickly, join Mrs. S. Woodman's private classes. One course of private instruction will help you more than many months in the public night schools. Call on Mrs. Woodman, 2106 Lafayette avenue, for particulars.

THE FACT IS

the Court of Equity of the District of Columbia declared against the boycott and ordered the American Federation of Labor to discontinue in the columns of the American Federationist under the "We Don't Patronize" list the name of

The Buck's Stove & Range Co.

This court decision does not make this nor any other unfair concern fair; neither does it make the Union men and women of America forget the fact that Mr. Van Cleave is still fighting the Labor Unions, and that so long as he is pursuing his present Union-killing work he can not expect them to forget the fact that he

Is Still Unfair to Organized Labor

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

International Secretary Hillquit's Report to the National Convention of the Socialist Party Assembled at Chicago, Ill., May, 1908.

Comrades:—

The Socialist movement of the United States is an integral part of the larger movement for the emancipation of the working class of the world. Our party is organically and intimately connected with the Socialist parties of all civilized countries, and we have more than a mere sentimental interest in the fate and progress of our comrades abroad.

The struggles of International Socialism are our struggles, its victories are our victories and its defeats are our defeats. It is, therefore, highly appropriate that this national gathering of American Socialists devote a few minutes of its time to a review of the progress and conditions of our movement beyond the boundaries of the United States.

And nothing can be more encouraging and inspiring to the militant Socialists of America than the contemplation of the wonderful development of International Socialism within the last few years.

The Growth of International Socialism.

When we met in this hall just four years ago, the Socialist movement had already asserted itself as a factor of prime importance in the political life of several of the principal countries of Europe, and had taken root in almost all advanced countries of the world. The total number of Socialist voters was at that time estimated at about 6,500,000, and Socialism was represented in the parliaments of fifteen nations by a total delegation of about 250 deputies. But since then Socialism has made marvelous new gains and has grown all along the line. In France the divided Socialist movement has united into one harmonious and strong party; it has increased its vote by about 100,000 and has raised the number of its representatives in parliament from 37 to 54.

In England, the cradle of capitalism, the working classes, who have heretofore been considered impervious to Socialism, have within that period risen in powerful revolt against their exploiters, and have joined the ranks of the International Socialist proletariat. The British workingmen have at this time 32 representatives of their class in the House of Commons, and two-thirds of these are Socialists. In Austria, where our comrades were largely instrumental in winning universal suffrage, the Social Democratic Party in the general elections of 1907 increased its vote from 780,000 to over 1,000,000, and the number of its deputies from 11 to 87.

But even greater victories than in France, England and Austria, Socialism has scored in that most unfortunate of all countries—Russia. In the vast empire of the Romanoffs, which for centuries has been succumbing to the yoke of an oppressive autocracy, all attempts of the "better classes" to save the country from the savage clutches of its rulers have been futile, and it has remained for the working class, the revolutionary, Socialist workingmen of Russia, to strike the blow which is bound to set their country free. For, notwithstanding the momentary triumph of the reaction, the Russian revolution is not dead, and the Russian workingmen who on Jan. 22, 1905, consecrated the soil of Free Russia with their blood, are more determined than ever, and they will rise again and again until the last battle between despotism and liberty will have been fought. During the short period of their relative political enfranchisement, our Russian comrades elected over 90 deputies to the second Douma, and in the little autonomous dukedom of Finland the Socialists elected 80 deputies out of a total of 200, among them 9 Socialist women.

In Germany in the last general election the combined forces of capitalism and the government waged a campaign of unprecedented fierceness against Social Democracy, and our German comrades lost 36 seats in parliament, but gained a quarter of a million votes.

All told, the International Socialist movement has increased in its voting strength since 1904 from about six million five hundred thousand to between nine million and ten million, and it has raised the number of its deputies in parliament from 250 to over 400. The Socialist movement counts its representatives in the various municipalities of Europe by the thousands, its press is represented in all modern languages and reaches many millions of readers every day.

Socialism has spread to all countries of Europe, to the United States, Canada, Argentina and Bolivia; to Australia, South Africa, to Japan and even China. "Charles V." observed our eloquent comrade Emil Vandervelde, at the Stuttgart Congress, "once said that the sun does not set in his empire; we Socialists can assert with greater justice that within the countries in which the red banner waves the sun never sets."

The International Congresses.

The physical bond between the various movements of Socialism is represented by the International Socialist and Labor Congresses, to which all Socialist organizations and all other labor organizations which recognize the principle of class struggle and political action are admitted. The International Congresses discuss such questions of Socialist principles and methods as are of importance to the movement in all countries, but their resolutions are advisory rather than directive or mandatory.

The Socialist movement of every nation had originally an equal vote in these international councils, but in 1907 these votes were apportioned among the various affiliated parties in accordance with their strength and numbers, on a graded scale of 2 to 20.

The Socialists of the United States, in accordance with that plan, were given 14 votes at the last congress.

The first of the new series of these International Socialist conventions was held in Paris in 1889, and it was followed by six more, as follows: Brussels, 1891; Zurich, 1893; London, 1896; Paris, 1900; Amsterdam, 1904, and Stuttgart, 1907. And as the Socialist movement grew and extended steadily during that period, so did each succeeding congress excel its predecessors in point of representation and general strength. The first Paris congress was attended by 391 delegates (221 of them Frenchmen), representing 17 countries of Europe and the United States; the Stuttgart congress was attended by about 1,000 delegates representing 25 distinct countries of all parts of the world.

The International Socialist Bureau.

At the London congress of 1906 it was resolved to try the experiment of establishing a permanent International Socialist Bureau with a responsible secretary, but the practical realization of the plan was left to the succeeding congress of 1900, which definitely created the bureau and prescribed its functions.

The International Socialist Bureau is composed of two representatives of the organized Socialist movement in each affiliated country. Its headquarters are located in Brussels, Belgium, and are in charge of a permanent secretary. The bureau is the executive committee of the international congresses, and meets at such times as its business requires. In the intervals between its sessions it transacts its business by correspondence.

During the experimental period of its existence the International Socialist Bureau seemed to hold out but scant promise of accomplishing practical results for the Socialist movement, and the delegates who attended our last national convention will remember the rather pessimistic report of our party's representative on the bureau on that occasion. But within the last few years, and especially since the appointment of its present and gifted secretary, Comrade Camille Huysmans, the International Socialist Bureau has rapidly adapted itself to the needs of the movement, and to-day it is a useful and important factor in the Socialist movement of the world. It secures and publishes from time to time valuable information on the progress and conditions of the Socialist and Labor movements of all countries; it advises on matters of Socialist legislative activity and it organizes the international congresses. The bureau has es-

tablished an archive of the Socialist movement and has collected a library of Socialist works, both of which are of the utmost importance to the students of Socialism, and finally the bureau has often served as a medium for mutual assistance between the Socialist and Labor movements of the different countries. During the period of intense revolutionary activity in Russia, the Socialists of that country received through the bureau over 750,000 francs.

The Part of the American Socialist.

The first representative of the Socialist Party of the United States on the International Socialist Bureau was Comrade George D. Heron, who resigned on account of ill health in the early part of 1905. Since that time I have had the honor to serve on the bureau as the representative of our party. For obvious reasons I have been unable to participate in the sessions of the bureau between conventions, but I have always been in active correspondence with its secretary, and have endeavored to the best of my ability to keep the Socialists of America posted on the developments of our movement abroad and vice versa. I have also taken part in all sessions of the bureau held in conjunction with the conventions of Amsterdam and Stuttgart, and have attended the plenary meetings of the conventions. The reports of these conventions have been submitted to you and need not be recapitulated here.

The delegates of our party have on both occasions performed their duties faithfully and capably, and have earned the respect of their comrades abroad.

Let us now endeavor to invest the Socialist movement of the United States with that power and importance to which it is entitled in view of the advanced industrial conditions of our country and the needs of our proletariat, so that we may soon equal, if not eclipse, the glorious achievements of our brothers on the other side of the Atlantic. Fraternal submitted. Morris Hillquit.

Surprise for 'Gene'

Girard Citizens Meet at Court House Park and Induce Socialist Presidential Nominee to Address Them.

Girard, Kan., May 20, 1908.—All of Girard and half of the country assembled in the court house park last Saturday afternoon. A hastily improvised platform had been erected, and, to the music of bands and lusty cheering of the citizens of this little town, irrespective of party affiliation, 'Gene Debs was escorted forward and introduced to the enthusiastic crowd by Mayer Ryan. The mayor was preceded by E. N. Richardson, who, in a few moments' speech, voiced the sentiment of every man and woman and child in Girard when he said:

"Ladies and Gentlemen, My Friends and My Comrades: Here is a man whom you all know—many of you may not yet agree with him in his political beliefs; many of you will not vote for him, but you all love him—you love him because you can't help yourself; you love him because he is the most lovable man America has ever produced; you love him because he has a heart in him as big as a mountain, a heart so big that it holds such boundless love for all humanity that there is no room for hatred of any man, woman or child in all the world. This, friends and fellow citizens, is not a Socialist meeting; it is a good fellowship meeting—we are here to-day regardless of our political beliefs as the friends and admirers of a fellow citizen whom we all have learned to love, to admire and respect. This gathering demonstrates to ourselves and the world that it is possible for intelligent men and women to get together regardless of political differences and for a little while let the spirit of good fellowship prevail."

Comrade Debs had been kept in complete ignorance of the little surprise party. For a few moments he seemed overwhelmed at the expressions of good will and the smiling faces on every hand. But he quickly recovered from the slight embarrassment, and began to talk. And such a talk! As a father talks to his children, Debs talked to those gathered under the shade of the spreading elms in the court house yard. It wasn't a wildly enthusiastic gathering, such as one would expect to see on an occasion like this. It was rather a gathering of men and women in dead earnest who realized the deep significance of the occasion and were determined to let no single word which fell from the speaker's lips escape them. One could almost feel the spirit of the revolution—it impressed me as a counterpart of those meetings of colonial patriots just prior to the signing of the Declaration of Independence. "Momentous and significant." These words sum up the Girard meeting at which the citizens of this village, without a dissenting voice, expressed their congratulations to their fellow townsman, nominated for the presidency by the Socialist National Convention.

At the close of the address a group of little children, bearing baskets of flowers and wreaths, and their little faces suffused with smiles, marched to the platform and literally smothered their friend with roses. Tears came to the big brother's eyes as he gathered the little ones to him. An hour later, I passed 'Gene sitting on the curb with a dozen bright haired lassies clinging to his arms and shoulders! Mark my words: "You can pin your faith to the man loved by children."—Warren.

TO THE PUBLIC!

Strike of the Union Bakers is On in All the Shops of the American Bakery Co.

St. Louis, Mo., May 4, 1908.

This is to inform the public that all the Union Bakers and helpers heretofore employed by the American Bakery Co. are on strike, because this concern, better known as the Bread Trust, absolutely refuses to recognize the Union.

In March, 1907, the St. Louis Bread Trust was organized under the name of American Baking Co. The trust comprises the following concerns:

HEYDT BAKERY CO.

CONDON BAKERY CO.

ST. LOUIS BAKERY CO.

FREUND BAKERY CO.

WELLE-BOETTLER BAKERY CO.

HAUK & HOERR BAKERY CO.

THE HOME BAKERY CO.

Up to the time the consolidation of these concerns into a trust, three of them were entitled to the use of the union label. It was mainly through the efforts of Organized Labor that those concerns made the success out of their business which they did make, because the union men and women bought their products. Today the proprietors of those establishments, having become part and parcel of a trust and monopoly, have no further use for the Unions of their employes.

Like the managers of other monopolies, these trust magnates are straining every nerve to break up the unions, and to clear the way for cheap labor and unlimited exploitation of their employes.

The same old story is repeated: To crush the small master bakers out of the competitive field and force him to the wall of ruin and bankruptcy; next, to crush the labor unions in order that they may employ anybody and everybody they please, at whatever wages they please, under whatever conditions of labor they may dictate, and then place themselves in a position of might and power, which will enable them to declare: **The Public Be Damned!**

Every member and friend of Organized Labor, every working woman, should now say: Unless these Bread Trust concerns make peace with the Union, I will boycott the Heydt Bakery Co., the Condon Bakery Co., St. Louis Bakery Co., Freund Bakery Co., Welle-Boettler Bakery Co., Hawk & Hoerr Co. and Home Bakery Co.

Temperance or Prohibition

Official Statement of the Tenth Ward Improvement Association of St. Louis, Unanimously Adopted May 17, 1908.

Report of Committee on Prohibition of Tenth Ward Improvement Association of St. Louis, Mo.

The undersigned committee, in accordance with the instructions of the Executive Board of the Tenth Ward Improvement Association, hereby submits a report on the question of Temperance and Prohibition:

We consider the prohibition movement as opposed to real human progress and civilization. The prohibitionist movement is reactionary, because it attempts to teach morality with the policeman's club and to educate the people in temperance by means of a system of mediaeval inquisition, espionage and hypocrisy.

In accordance with, and under the protection of the laws of the state and nation, an industry has been built up representing a value of hundreds of millions of dollars and giving employment to hundreds of thousands of people. The government, in municipality, state and nation, has exacted from the industry many millions of dollars of revenue for the public welfare. The proprietors and managers of this industry have been considered honored and respectable fellow-citizens, who have been as law-abiding and public-spirited as any other class of owners and managers of any other class of industrial or commercial enterprises. The state and federal constitutions guarantee to the citizens of this great republic of ours equality before the law. The constitution guarantees to every citizen the legal protection of his or her property rights, as well as the protection of life.

Recent experience seems to prove conclusively that such constitutional guarantees of protection of property rights are entirely disregarded by the good people whose blind fanaticism has led them into a prohibitionist movement which must ultimately result in a made-to-order morality with the sneaky spy, the hypocritical moralist and the police court as permanent vigilance committees.

If the property rights of the people interested in the brewery and distilling industries can be recklessly brushed aside, in violation of all laws of common sense and justice, and in violation of the constitutionally guaranteed sacredness of property rights, we see no valid reason why the same destructive methods can not be employed toward any other industry or branch of business. If it is right to-day to destroy the brewery industry and to annihilate or abolish all property rights in this special branch of business, it must and will be right to-morrow to destroy any or all other industries, and to abolish the property rights of all citizens who may be interested in such industries.

We hold that blind fanaticism should not be permitted to force the machinery of the state into a situation where the reckless destruction of property must be sanctioned by law and advertised as a public virtue.

The state of to-day has no moral right to destroy the same private property which it has helped to build up and which it has for years protected by law. Unless the state destroys and confiscates the property rights in other industries and other lines of business, the work against the brewery and distilling interests is nothing short of criminal.

If the prohibitionist fanatics insist not only on confiscation, but on destroying one of the leading industries of the country, they should logically provide for ways and means to reimburse the people for the loss of property incurred by their reactionary propaganda.

We stand for temperance, progress and freedom, but our conception of temperance excludes fanaticism, inquisitorial and compulsory methods productive of hypocrisy and cowardice.

We are decidedly in favor of prohibiting the adulteration of the food and drink supply, because we consider such adulteration one of the fundamental causes of intemperance.

We hold that every public improvement will advance the cause of real temperance. The establishment of every public library will be a means of strengthening the cause of temperance. The establishment of every little park or public playground in the densely populated residence districts of our cities will help to bring forth those good qualities in men which produce that liberality of temperance which is free of fanaticism, coercion and fear.

The establishment of public art galleries, museums and other similar institutions would be valuable sources for the education of the people and for the gradual weeding out of intemperance.

The abolition of the slums and tenement houses, with their immorality and disease-breeding conditions, would greatly advance the temperance cause.

The abolition of child factory labor and the obligatory school attendance will have a tendency to counteract some of the evils which have been productive of intemperance and drunkenness.

In order to bring about real temperance we must follow the golden road of Pestalozzi, Froebel, and other great educators of the world, and must not be misled by people of the Carrie Nation or Blue Law Wallace stripe.

Ignorance, cowardice and fanaticism carried into politics have put the stamp of vice and crime on a lawfully conducted industry of this country.

We believe in the strict regulation of the saloon business on lines that will make it as respectable as any other business. If the proper reforms are enacted and such enactments are strictly enforced by the public authorities, in an open and unbiased manner, the American saloon will soon become as orderly and respectable as the average saloon business in the principal cities of Europe.

Experience shows that the unlicensed club and dive are the logical successors to the openly and decently conducted licensed saloon. And it is in these secret clubs and dives where intemperance and immorality reign supreme and produce conditions which are a disgrace to society and a grave menace to the best interests of the great mass of the people. Respectfully submitted,

G. A. Hoehn, Lawrence Padberg, Edwin Rosenthal, Committee.

Notice to Voters

Public notice is hereby given that on and after April 6, 1908, any qualified voter of the city of St. Louis who is duly registered on the Primary Registration Books for any precinct in the City, if he has moved his residence to another place in the same precinct or to another precinct in any ward of the City, may, upon application at the office of the Board of Election Commissioners at Room 120 in the New City Hall, have his registration changed on the Primary Books to conform to his new residence.

Transferring of voters addresses on the registration lists will go on uninterrupted throughout the year except for five days preceding and five days following a primary election or regular election. All reports made to the contrary are incorrect.

Cigars { PEN MAR - 10c
SUNRISE - 5c

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CHANGE OF ADDRESS.

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

The Press Committee meets every first Friday in month. Complaints concerning business or editorial management must be made in writing and addressed to Labor Press Committee, 212 S. Fourth Street.

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

The Chicago Convention

The Socialist National Convention has adjourned. We are in a position to look over its work, to make comparisons with former conventions, and to express our opinions as to the result of the deliberations and actions of the Brand's Hall gathering.

Never before has there been such a decided successful Socialist convention held on American soil.

Never before was the sound, substantial progress of the Socialist movement in this country so strikingly reflected and expressed by any gathering of its representatives as at the recent Chicago convention.

Even the most optimistic of the optimists amongst the delegates were agreeably surprised. Months ago many of the comrades had yet been somewhat in doubt as to the possible outcome of the national convention. Impossibilism and utopianism had found a fertile soil in our movement in a number of states. Impossibilism had made so much noise in various parts of the country that there was sufficient reason for fear that this Utopian radicalism or radical Utopianism might get the upper hand at the Chicago convention, the more so since for some time it had found a fanatic alliance in De Leonism. However, the economic evolution and the political development played their role, and played it well. Within a few short years the Utopians have been taught the sound lesson that to inscribe impossibilism on our banner would make the Socialist Party an impossible party.

Many of our good friends had to listen to the voice of economic necessity and recognize this one fact: that Socialist Parties and labor unions are real, live things, based on national foundations; the moment we attempt to remove them from this terrestrial basis to the cloudy regions of Utopian idealism, there'll be nothing left but—air.

Of the 218 delegates at the Chicago convention there was a "solid 45" lining up against practically every important measure tending to ameliorate labor's conditions under the present capitalist system. "Clear cut Socialism," "full Socialism," nothing short of the "Co-operative Commonwealth," the "collective ownership of the means of production"—nothing less would satisfy them.

This untenable attitude was apparent during the debate on every important question: Trade Unionism, program, immigration, etc. How determined the "solid 45" were in their efforts was most strikingly illustrated during Saturday's session, when they moved to wipe out the working program to the platform, which had been adopted in the preceding sessions.

The roll call on the Osborne substitute shows that it is by no means only some of the isolated Southern or Southwestern states which furnish the bulk of impossibilism. The great industrial state of Pennsylvania; "and wide awake" California and Washington furnished a goodly portion of the Utopianism that tried hard to get the Socialist Party off the sound foundation of International Social Democracy.

These impossibilist comrades are sincere and enthusiastic. Some of them may have changed their mind by this time. Others may find out in the near future that their so-called radicalism is in reality dense "smoke" in which they have enveloped themselves, so much so, that they cannot get a clear view of the immense battlefield of the International Socialist labor movement.

The Chicago convention was not trying to "carry water on both shoulders." There were no "buts" and "ifs" and "perhaps" whenever any important question came up. The platform and program, the resolution on Organized Labor, the resolutions on Immigration and Prohibition, etc., are the result of careful deliberation and unqualified, decided intelligent action on the part of the convention.

Without the determination of the impossibilist minority the various subjects could not and would not have been so ably and convincingly presented during the debates. Hence the movement even owes a debt of gratitude to the "solid 45."

Comrades, last week's national convention marks the beginning of a new era in the political history of America. It marks the beginning of a new era in the American labor movement.

The writer of these lines has attended every national Socialist convention since 1889 (except the Chicago convention of 1893), and he is in a position to make comparisons. Without fear of contradic-

tion, we wish to say that the American Socialist national convention of 1908 compares favorably with any European national or International Socialist labor congress.

The selection of our presidential candidates was a good one. It was no dried and cut affair. Not less than four good, reliable comrades were placed in nomination for the presidential candidate, while for the vice-presidential honor there were not less than six. The moment Debs and Hanford were selected the convention was a unit in its enthusiasm and determination to make this the first real Socialist campaign on this side of the Atlantic.

Comrades everywhere, now to Work!

To the Delegates of the Central Trades and Labor Union

For several weeks you have been enjoying a rare treat of labor politics, so-called.

Like hungry dogs a horde of Democratic and Republican ward-healers have been wirepulling for the "endorsement of Union Labor."

Men, with Union cards in their pockets, some of them delegates in the Central Trades and Labor Union and Building Trades Council, have been busy peddling and auctioneering the bones for which the hungry political canines are still fighting.

Some of the leading men managing this queer sort of "Union Labor politics," are connected with the corrupt capitalist party machines, while some of them receive a liberal "daily wage" from leading capitalist statesmen and politicians.

You, the delegates and members of the central body, may answer the question whether the recent political crab-shooting under the management of Conroy, McCullen, Pepton, Sarber, Kiely, Woodward, Snake Kinney, "General" Crow, Wade, McSkimming & Co. will in any way bring credit to or benefit Organized Labor.

Within the last 15 years the C. T. and L. U. of St. Louis had not been drawn into such a political cesspool as at the present time.

"If the Socialists would only let us alone, everything would be all right!" This was your old cry of complaint.

Well, the Socialists gave you a chance. They did not meddle with your union labor politics, so-called. They have listened to your arguments. They have watched your political leaders' work.

Disgraceful scenes were witnessed at some of your political caucuses. In Snake Kinney Indian style dead men were voted and other political work, unworthy of the support of Organized Labor, was done.

The Socialist Party has a full ticket in the field.

The Socialist Party does not ask for your "endorsement."

The Socialist Party asks every true Union man and woman for their support of its working class platform and program.

The Socialist Party is the party of Organized Labor, the only real Union Labor party.

The Socialist Party is your party; it stands on the platform of your class, fights the battles of your class, despises the rotten work of your capitalist politicians with a "Union card," so long as that card is used for purposes unworthy of the good name of Union Labor.

Read our National Convention proceedings in this week's St. Louis Labor.

Here is the real and only Union Labor ticket for the campaign of 1908:

President	Eugene V. Debs
Vice-President	Ben Hanford
Governor	U. F. Sargent
Lieutenant Governor	U. F. Sargent
Secretary of State	F. Baker
Auditor	Frank Foster
Treasurer	C. E. Etherton
Attorney General	J. F. Williams
Railroad Commissioner	U. S. Barnesley
Supreme Court	L. G. Pope
Court of Appeals	Otto Vierling
Electors-at-Large	W. W. Baker and G. A. Lafayette

CONGRESSIONAL NOMINEES:

Tenth District	G. A. Hoehn, editor St. Louis Labor.
Eleventh District	Phil. H. Mueller, of Cigar Makers' Union 44.
Twelfth District	Wm. C. Crouch, of Cigar Makers' Union 44.

SENATORIAL NOMINATIONS:

Twenty-ninth District	Wm. M. Brandt, of Cigar Makers' Union 44.
Thirty-first District	Wm. Kreckler, merchant.
Thirty-third District	Wm. E. Kindorf, of Cigar Makers' Union 44.

STATE LEGISLATIVE NOMINATIONS:

First District—William Ruesche, of Cigar Makers' Union 44; William Klages, of Bottlers' Union 187; William Holman, of Railroad Telegraphers' Union.

Second District—William Rizinick, of Tailors' Union 11; Charles Goodman, of Cigar Makers' Union 44; Christ Rucker, of Cigar Makers' Union 44.

Third District—Julius Siemers, of Newspaper Carriers' Union; N. N. Yahlem, physician; F. W. Schulz, of Metal Polishers' Union.

Fourth District—Henry Schwarz, of Cigar Makers' Union 44; F. Rosenkranz, tannery laborer; A. Kean, physician.

Fifth District—E. B. Story, of Carpenters' Union 257; Walter Abling, of Cigar Makers' Union 44.

Sixth District—F. L. Robinson, of Typographical Union No. 8; Joseph Barratt, solicitor.

CITY NOMINATIONS:

Judges of Circuit Court—William Worman, Otto Pauls and Frank Heuer; Circuit Attorney—L. E. Hildebrand; Assistant Circuit Attorney—F. F. Brinker; Sheriff—T. C. Stephens; Public Administrator—D. M. Haskin; Coroner—Dr. Emil Simon.

NEW BOOKS

Stories of the Struggle. By Morris Winchevsky. Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. This collection of fifteen little stories is a valuable contribution to our English Socialist literature. These are not the common, everyday stories, but stories born out of the great revolutionary struggle, pictures as seen by a Russian revolutionist who also took an active part in the work of shaping the Socialist movement in England and America. To read the stories is to hear the soft, feminine voice of the author and to listen to his emotional conversation. The booklet is for sale at the Labor Book Department, 212 South Fourth Street. Price, cloth bound, 50 cents.

The Common Sense of Socialism. By John Spargo. Chicago. Charles H. Kerr & Co. As a propaganda writer, Spargo holds today

one of the leading positions in English Socialist literature. This is again clearly shown by his latest work, "The Common Sense of Socialism." The book contains nothing which could be called new fundamental ideas, but it presents old subjects in a new aspect, and in such a popular, plain and convincing manner that the reader cannot fail to miss the point of the argument. "I believe that the great fundamental principles laid down by Karl Marx cannot be refuted, because they are true," says the author. But it is just as well to bear in mind that Socialism does not depend upon Karl Marx. If all his works could be destroyed and his name forgotten there would still be a Socialist movement to contend with. The question is: "Are the economic principles of Socialism as it is taught today true or false?" Price of the book, cloth bound, \$1.00; paper, 25 cents. For sale at Labor Book Department, 212 South Fourth Street.

Last Day of the Convention

The Sunday Sessions.

With the great spirit of revolt swelling to the thunderous tones of the Marsellaise, and sweeping away personal and sectional differences in that great army of humanity, the Socialist convention closed its week of intense labor at 6 o'clock Sunday evening. The skein of policy had been taken thread by thread, each tested, and woven into a connected whole.

From that convention went forth men and women to preach the social revolution to a nation whose people are famine-stricken while the capitalist system ties up the mouth of the horn of plenty which the limitless resources of the country hold out to the toilers.

These men and women had spared neither their time nor their labor, but had applied themselves with that intense exertion which marks the life of the political movement of Socialism.

Recognizing the tremendous growth of the Socialist Party and the need of quick action on national issues, it was decided to have a national "congress" of the party meet midway between the presidential conventions. Thus the party will have a national gathering every two years, first a "convention," then a "congress." The first "congress" will be held in 1910. The delegates will be selected to this as were those to the regular national convention which has just closed. The special function of this congress shall be the determining of the most perfect means of propaganda and organization for the party.

Organization Among Women

After some debate the following committee report was adopted: "The national committee of the Socialist party has already provided for a special organizer and lecturer to work for equal civil and political rights in connection with the Socialist propaganda among women, and their organization in the Socialist Party.

"This direct effort to secure the suffrage to women increases the party membership and opens up a field of work entirely new in the American Socialist Party. That it has with its great possibilities and value for the party, our comrades in Germany, Finland and other countries have abundantly demonstrated.

"The work of organization among women is much broader and more far-reaching than the mere arrangement of tours for speakers. It should consist of investigation and education among women and children, particularly those in the rank in or out of labor unions and to the publication of books, pamphlets and leaflets, especially adapted to this field of activity.

"To plan such activity requires experience that comes from direct contact with an absorbing interest in the distinct feature of woman's economic and social conditions, and the problem arising therefrom.

"For this reason the committee hereby requests this convention to take definite action on this hitherto neglected question. We ask that it make provision to assist the Socialist women of the party in, explaining and stimulating the growing interest in Socialism among women and to aid the women comrades in their efforts to bring the message of Socialism to the children of the proletariat we recommend the following:

"First, that a special committee of five be elected to care for and manage the work of organization among women.

"Second that sufficient funds be supplied by the party to that committee to maintain a woman organizer constantly in the field as already voted.

"Third that this committee co-operate directly with the national headquarters and be under the supervision of the national party.

"Fourth, that this committee be elected by this national convention, its members to consist not necessarily of delegates to this convention.

"Fifth, that all other moneys needed to carry on the work of the woman's committee outside of the maintenance of the special organizers be raised by the committee.

"Sixth that during the campaign of 1908 the women appointed as organizers be employed in states now possessing the franchise."

The Adjournment.

May Wood Simons read the report of the committee on press, and it was adopted.

The auditing committee made its report, stating that affairs in the national office were found in excellent condition.

Gerber of New York reported on behalf of the ways and means committee, and the report was adopted.

The committee on the Nebraska situation reported that Nebraska locals and members-at-large continue affiliation with the party and pay dues direct to the national office.

INGERSOLL'S GOLDEN PLEA.

I do not know what inventions are in the brains of the future; I do not know what garments of glory may be woven for the world in the loom of the great ocean of discovery; I do not know what science will do for us. I do know that science did just take a handful of sand and make the telescope, and with it read the starry leaves of heaven; I know that science took the thunderbolts from the hands of Jupiter, and now the electric spark, freighted with thought and love, flashes under the waves of the sea; I know that science stole a tear from the cheek of unpaid labor, converted it into steam, and created a giant that turns with tireless arms the countless wheels of toil; I know that we have taken advantage of fire and flame and wind and sea; these have no backs to be whipped; they have no children to be sold, no cradles to be violated; I know that science has given us better pictures and better books; I know it has given us better wives and better husbands and more beautiful children; I know it has enriched a thousand-fold our lives; and for that reason I am in favor of intellectual liberty.—Robert Ingersoll.

CONCERNS GOD ALONE.

Statisticians employed by the French government found a great deal of difficulty in getting vital data in some of the Turkish provinces. They sent out the usual forms and blanks to the provincial governors with a request that they be filled up, and this is how the Pasha of Damascus contributed his share of information:

Q. What is the death rate in your province?
A. It is the law of Allah that all should die; some die young and some die old.

Q. What is the annual number of births?
A. God alone can say; I do not know and hesitate to inquire.

Q. Are your supplies of water sufficient and of good quality?
A. From the remotest period no one in Damascus has died of thirst.

Q. Give general remarks as to the character of local sanitation.
A. A man should not bother himself or his brothers with questions that concern only God.

THE MISSOURI DELEGATION REPORTS

Synopsis of Most Vital Business Transacted by Socialist Party National Convention--The Debates on "Unity," Trades Union Movement, Farmers' Demand, Roosevelt Letter, Working Program, Woman's Question, Immigration, Religion, Etc.--Our Declaration of Principles, Platform and Program--Garrick Theater Reception, Orchestra Hall Ratification Meeting.

To the Socialists of Missouri:
Greeting:

The Missouri delegation to the Socialist Party National Convention, consisting of Comrades Brandt, Garver, Pope, Hoehn, Callery, Behrens and Lipscomb, arrived in Chicago on Saturday evening, May 9. At the opening of the convention on Sunday morning our delegation agreed that the undersigned act as secretary for the delegation and prepare the report for our constituents, and that report be published in St. Louis Labor.

In compliance with the instructions of our delegation, I wish to inform our comrades that a stenographic report of the convention proceedings will be published in book form by the national office, and no comrade should fail to secure a copy of said report because it will be one of the most interesting and instructive documents ever published by the Socialist Party.

In making this report for our Missouri delegation, I shall confine myself to the most important features of the convention. I have separated the resolutions adopted, the declaration of principles, platform and working program agreed upon, and the nomination of candidates from the body of this report, in order to bring the important acts of the convention more strikingly to the attention of our comrades and readers.

My personal impression gained in connection with the convention work the comrades will find in this week's editorial columns of St. Louis Labor. The opinions there expressed are also the opinions of my fellow delegates, Comrades Pope, Brandt, Callery, Garver, Lipscomb and Behrens, for on almost every important question the Missouri delegation acted as a unit, and as far as the routine matters were concerned the Missouri delegates did not monopolize too much of the convention's time and patience.

G. A. HOEHN,
Secretary to the Missouri Delegation.

The Report.

Chicago, May 7.—After a rousing reception at the Garrick Theater, held Sunday morning, May 10, the delegates, accompanied by hundreds of Chicago comrades, marched to Brand's Hall, on Clark street. Shortly before noon, National Secretary Barnes called the convention to order. In a few well chosen remarks he welcomed the comrades from all over the country, expressing the conviction that the convention would do great work for the Socialist movement of America.

Comrade Hillquit of New York was elected temporary chairman. Comrade Heath of Milwaukee, temporary secretary.

Greetings were read from the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, the Austrian Social Democrats, the national convention of the Arbeiter Ring, the Jewish "Daily Forward," and many locals and state committees. Greetings from all over the country were read at the opening of almost every session of the convention.

The rules committee recommended the election of the standing committees.

Comrade Solomon of New York, for the credentials committee, reported 218 delegates entitled to seats and nearly all present. The convention of 1904 reported 173 delegates and 32 alternates. Of the latter, 21 were seated in place of delegates not attending. There was thus a total of 194 votes in that convention, about 50 less than what the various states and territories were entitled to. Florida, Georgia, Maine, New Mexico, North Carolina, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Utah, Virginia, Delaware and Nevada were not represented. Of these unrepresented states in 1904, Delaware, Georgia, Nevada, New Mexico, North Carolina and Virginia are represented in the present convention. A. W. Mance and E. E. Drury of Toronto were seated with a voice, but no vote, as fraternal delegates of the Socialist Party of Canada. Protests were made against seating the Washington and Nebraska delegations. They were seated temporarily till the committee could make a further report. Osborne of California opposed seating of McDevitt of California, claiming he had violated party principles. McDevitt was seated on the ground that his local and not the convention should consider charges.

LIST OF DELEGATES IN CONVENTION.

Alabama (2)—Thos. W. Freeman, F. X. Waldhorst.
Arkansas (6)—Dan Hogan, E. W. Perrin, Wm. Penrose, J. Sam Jones, Wells Le Fever, W. R. Snow.
Arizona (2)—Jos. D. Cannon, J. M. Morrison.
California (12)—W. S. Bradford, Wm. McDevitt, F. I. Wheat, G. W. Woodby, H. C. Tuck, Josephine R. Cole, Mary F. Merrill, J. B. Osborne, Cloudsley Johns, Harry M. McKee, Kasper Bauer, B. W. Starkweather.
Colorado (4)—Mila Tupper Maynard, T. L. Buie, L. E. Floaten, Guy E. Miller.
Connecticut (2)—William Scheildge, Alfred W. Smith.
Florida (1)—A. J. Pettigrew.
Idaho (3)—Ernest Ruterman, E. L. Rigg, John Chenoweth.
Illinois (14)—John Collins, J. O. Bentall, B. Berlyn, Jas. H. Brower, G. T. Fraenckel, Gertrude B. Hunt, S. A. Knappnagel, A. M. Lewis, Thos. J. Morgan, J. M. Patterson, May Wood Simons, Seymour Etedman, John Walker, A. M. Simons.
Indiana (4)—E. V. Debs, S. M. Reynolds, Robert Dunbar, Mathew Hallenberger.
Iowa (5)—Edw. J. Rohrer, Margaret M. Brown, John M. Work, W. C. Hills, I. C. Shank.
Kansas (5)—B. F. Wilson, J. E. Snyder, Erwin S. McAllister, Grace D. Brewer, Ludwig E. Katterfeld.
Kentucky (1)—Frank E. Seeds.
Louisiana (1)—Alex. Hymes.
Maine (2)—Willis E. Pelsey.
Delaware (1)—Frank Hauch.
Georgia (1)—Max Wilke.
Nebraska (1)—G. C. Porter.
Maryland (2)—H. Claude Lewis, Wm. A. Toole.
Massachusetts (10)—James F. Carey, F. H. Wentworth, Antoinette Konikow, Dan White, Eliot White, Patrick Mahoney, Squire E. Putney, Natti Laitala, George G. Cutting, Alva E. Fenton.
Michigan (4)—Guy H. Lockwood, Mrs. Etta Menton, Tom Hitunen.
Minnesota (10)—L. D. Hose, Thos. J. Peach, M. Kaplan, J. G. Maatala, Elias Thorsett, Ester Nieminen.
Missouri (7)—Wm. L. Garver, G. A. Hoehn, Wm. M. Brandt, Landers G. Pope, E. T. Behrens, P. H. Callery, Caleb Lipscomb.
Montana (7)—Jas. D. Graham, Ida C. Hazlett, J. S. Powers, Florence W. Ambrose.
New Hampshire (2)—William H. Wilkins.
New Jersey (2)—G. H. Goebel, H. R. Earnes, W. B. Killingee, Fred Kraft, G. H. Strobel, J. M. Reilly.
New York (19)—U. Solomon, Jos. Wanhope, Morris Hillquit, Algernon Lee, Thos. J. Lewis, Henry L. Slobodin, Fred Paulitsch, Sol Fieldman, Robert Hunter, Ben Hanford, Julius Gerber, C. L. Furman, C. H. Vander Porten, Mark Peiser, John Spargo, W. E. Cole, Gustave Strelbel, W. Fuhrman, August Klenke.
North Dakota (2)—Arthur Bassett, H. S. Anderson.
Ohio (9)—Margaret Prevey, Isaac Cowan, Robert Bandlow, Fred E. Vautrin, Ellis O. Jones, E. L. Rogers, E. J. Zeigler.

Unorganized States.

New Mexico (1)—W. P. Metcalf.
Nevada (1)—Grant Miller.
North Carolina (1)—J. J. Quantz.
Oklahoma (12)—John Hagel, O. F. Branstetter, C. C. Ross, G. W. Davis, Winnie E. Branstetter, L. S. Edwards, C. H. Dome, Carrie C. Block, W. B. Reynolds, C. B. Boylan, J. G. Wills, F. P. O'Hare.
Oregon (5)—F. C. Namer, R. R. Ryan, C. W. Barzee, Mrs. Mollie Crabtree, R. B. Ramp.
Pennsylvania (13)—William Adams, Sam Clark, Jos. E. Cohen, Geo. N. Cohen, Edwin W. Davis, Con. F. Foley, Jas. H. Maurer, Edward Moore, Robt. B. Ringler, John W. Slayton, Fred L. Schwartz, Daniel K. Young.
Rhode Island (1)—Fred Hurst.
South Dakota (2)—E. Francis Atwood, Freeman Knowles.
Tennessee (1)—Dr. Jos. E. Voss.
Texas (9)—Alice McFadin, H. L. A. Holeman, W. J. Bell, Laura B. Payne, Stanley J. Clark, M. A. Smith, W. W. Buchanan, J. C. Rhodes, J. C. Thompson.
Utah (2)—G. Syphers, Robert Leggett.
Vermont (1)—Lawrence A. Wilson.
Washington (8)—Emil Herman, D. Burgess, Herman Titus, Alf. Wagenknecht, Richard Kruger, John Downe, George E. Boonjer, Ernest Stephens.
Wisconsin (10)—Winfield R. Gaylord, Frank J. Weber, E. H. Thomas, E. T. Melms, Victor L. Berger, W. A. Jacobs, Carl D. Thompson, Emil Seidel, Frederick Heath, William Koffman.
Virginia (1)—A. H. Dennett.
Wyoming (2)—H. V. S. Groesbeck, W. L. O'Neill.

The First Flurry of Debate.

When the rules committee recommended election of a committee of seven on trade unions, Goebel (N. J.) moved to strike out. Said he was instructed. Moore (Pa.) took the same attitude, saying that Socialism appeals to the whole working class without distinction. Cole (Cal.) favored electing the committee and Berlyn (Ill.) declared the class struggle is in the mines and factories. Unions are fighting for their class, some better than others, but all for the working class against the capitalist class. Berger (Wis.) said we must have a trades union declaration and, if defeated, he would bolt. Clark (Tex.) favored industrial form of organization and Lee (N. Y.) said it was not a question of craft versus industrial unionism, but one of all unions against capitalists. Osborne (Cal.) favored no declaration. Pope (Mo.) said Supreme Court's action was equal to the Dred Scott decision in favor of slavery, and this is no time for evasion. Toole (Md.) moved to substitute "Labor Organizations" for "Trade Unions", which was carried and the motion to strike out was defeated by an overwhelming majority.

On Monday, Carey of Massachusetts was elected as chairman. Credentials committee recommended seating of Porter (Neb.) as other faction failed to affiliate with the national organization after the state charter was revoked. Minority report favored hearing the whole case. Majority report adopted. Also recommended seating of Washington delegates and that the National Executive Committee consider the case and report to the convention.

John W. Slayton (Pa.) was elected chairman on Tuesday. The first three days were taken up with routine business and committee session.

Missouri was represented on the various committees as follows: Hoehn on committee on labor organizations; Lipscomb on committee on constitution; Garver on auditing committee; Brandt on committee on ways and means.

National Secretary's Report.

National secretary's report was read. Comrade Barnes reported that the Socialist Party has to-day 2,076 locals in the United States, Hawaii and Panama. January 1, 1904, our party had 29,270 dues-paying members, 28,935 of whom were in organized, 335 in unorganized states. The increase in party membership was as follows:

1903	15,975
1904	20,763
1905	23,327
1906	26,784
1907	29,270
1908 (May 1)	40,398

This does not include the members out of work who are exempted from paying dues.

Total receipts for year were \$34,216.40. Total expenditures, \$33,650.93.

In his report, Comrade Barnes refers to the labor troubles in the Rocky Mountains and elsewhere, the Moyer-Haywood-Pettibone case, and to the proletarian class struggle in general.

International Secretary Hillquit read a report on the international movement which created general applause. (See report in full in this week's St. Louis Labor.)

The protest against the seating of the Washington delegation (the Titus faction) provoked a lengthy and hot debate. Hutchison, representing the Mills faction, was granted the floor. "Both sides are right and both sides are wrong," remarked a comrade, and he came close to telling the truth about the Mills-Titus trouble in the State of Washington. The Mills faction had not sent any delegates, and after much wrangling the Washington delegation was seated. The committee's report concluded as follows:

"We recommend that the national organization offer its good services to the state committee of Washington in an effort to bring about unity between the contending sides."

Greeting to Western Miners.

On motion of Miller, Colorado, and with the approval of the resolution committee, the following telegram was sent:

"Ernest Mills, Secretary Western Federation of Miners, 605 Railroad Bldg., Denver, Colo.: The Socialist Party in convention assembled sends greetings to the Western Federation of Miners. We congratulate you upon the splendid battle and final vindication of your organization. We condemn with you the use of federal troops to destroy a labor organization as in Alaska. We are with you not only until Adams and the last of the victims of the Pinkertons are out from the prison pens of poverty into the sunlight of economic freedom."

Debate on Roosevelt Letter

The Roosevelt Letter Causes Lively Debate.

The letter presented by Delegate Hoehn of Missouri protesting against the special message in which President Roosevelt referred to "that evil thing which is called class consciousness," roused a tumult of protest and support and kept the convention on the qui vive from 11:30 a. m. till 3 p. m. Delegate Laura Payne of Texas was the chief supporter of the letter, in a speech which voiced the outraged feelings of the rank and file of the Socialist Party, the men and women who are fighting for the cause of the social revolution so that the oppressive burdens which stunt their lives shall be lifted from the shoulders of their posterity.

It was shortly before this that Lewis of Illinois had said that the wording of the letter was such that it could be turned into ridicule against the party.

Laura Payne asserted that to the "intellectual" it might seem so, but that to the men and women who had been deprived of the proper educational advantages, because of the early necessity of toil the letter voiced the hurt which these men and women had suffered when the President of the United States had branded them "foolish or sinister Socialist visionaries," who advocated "that evil thing which is called class consciousness."

Spargo's Report.

It was at the close of the reading of the reports of the national and international secretaries that Delegate Spargo of New York read the partial report of the committee on resolutions which had considered the report to Roosevelt drafted by Hoehn of Missouri. In his report Spargo commented on the letter and was caustically answered by Hoehn.

"An open letter has been submitted to the committee on resolutions," said Spargo, "which it is proposed shall be sent to President Roosevelt. We have considered it carefully. It is a voluminous statement, which, in our judgment, if read at this convention so as to become a part of our proceedings, would subject the whole Socialist movement to great ridicule."

"Therefore, we ask, in view of the absolutely impossible nature of this document, sending a statement to the President of the United States which would make this convention a laughing stock, the committee on resolutions ask that it be killed without even being read to the convention. The committee wishes to say that leave to withdraw is at the disposition of the delegate who submitted it. I say, personally, very frankly, that I have never read such an elaborately preposterous statement as this document which I hold in my hand."

Hoehn of Missouri, the writer of the letter, rose and said:

"Since the chairman of the committee has made such a decided statement, and since the committee has not seen fit even to ask me to appear before the committee and present my side, and since the committee had the matter in its hands only perhaps an hour or so, I insist that the document be read."

On motion, the proposed letter was read to the convention.

(See letter in full in this week's St. Louis Labor.)

Delegate Arthur Morrow Lewis of Illinois arose to support Spargo's position and said:

"When we undertake to disseminate through this country a statement coming from this convention it ought to conform at least to the A, B, C of the Socialist philosophy. Take one proposition as an example of the rest. The letter says: 'The class struggle between capitalism and the working class.' Since when did capitalism become a class? The capitalist class is a class, but capitalism is not the name of any class. Such language occurs again and again, and such statements do no credit to the delegate from Missouri who presents this letter."

"I object further to the adulation of men like George Washington, and a reference to the bourgeois revolution of 1776 as though it were an ideal on the floor of this convention, and an example of what we wish in the future as a social revolution."

"When we send any statements to the President of this country to be disseminated through the press of America it should be carefully revised and it should be written by scholars who will not confuse a state of society with a class."

Delegate Hoehn Retorts.

Hoehn of Missouri retorted, with agitation: "I shall not debate with the previous speaker the meaning of the terms capitalism and the class struggle. In almost every page of every Socialist paper you will read about this struggle of organized labor against capitalism. But now all at once we have some great professor of the English language or some great professor of philosophy who informs us of the great difference between capitalism and the capitalist class. He has not made a single objection to the merits of the document. If it can be improved in language I have no objection."

"It is not always the man with the fine language who makes the revolution, mind you. The great rank and file who are fighting the battle are those who make the revolution. It is not always the great philosopher in this movement who knows most of the class struggle. The great rank and file out on the battlefield know a little about it. I challenge each delegate on the floor of this convention to show me where there is a single sentence in that document that is not true."

Willing to Answer.

A number of delegates cried out: "I will tell you. Let me answer that."

Delegate Hoehn continued: "The President of the United States has said that the class conscious Socialists of this country are committing foul acts. That is an insult. If these great philosophers will submit to such insults, I will not. I protest against it. Some people are afraid to come out and tell the facts as they are. I believe in every line in that letter, and I shall vote for it regardless of how many of you vote with me."

Delegate Tuttle said: "I wanted discussion upon this letter, and I seconded that motion so that we would have discussion. I am not in favor of going out after every yellow dog and putting a label on it, and saying this is not a Socialist, but I want this matter discussed here, and I reserve the right when we are through to vote it down."

Brower in Opposition.

Delegate Brower of Illinois said with some heat: "I am opposed to the motion. I am not in favor of this convention sending any communications whatever in the name of the Socialist Party of America to Theodore Roosevelt."

Woman Enters Debate.

Delegate Winnie E. Branstetter entered the debate, saying: "It seems to me that this letter is either in a spirit of earnestness or of sarcasm. If in a spirit of sarcasm the Socialist convention of the United States is not in a position to consider a question of sarcasm. If it is in a spirit of earnestness, an endeavor to educate Theodore Roosevelt, then I say it is entirely out of order, and we are gathered here for a purpose much more sublime and more far-reaching than the education of any one man in the United States."

"The document is a very good document, but if we desire to send a manifesto to Theodore Roosevelt from this convention, then I submit that the convention is perfectly capable of formulating such a manifesto and sending it forth. As a propoganda paper or pamphlet it would look beautiful, but we do not want it to go from the national convention to bring ridicule upon us."

Fieldman in Afternoon Session.

The consideration of the letter to President Roosevelt was resumed at the afternoon session, and Delegate Fieldman of New York was the first speaker. Among other things he said:

"When the chairman of the resolution committee stated that this letter was preposterous and ought to be brought before the convention, I thought it would be a waste of time to give it any consideration, because I have known Comrade Spargo a long time and always found him very clear in almost everything he has been connected with."

"But in this case I believe Spargo made a mistake, particularly when he labeled this document preposterous. Even though there are grammatical errors in it, and I believe the writer admitted that, yet that is no proof that the document as a whole is preposterous or does not deserve careful consideration."

A Means of Agitation.

"It has been stated that the convention ought not to address itself to Roosevelt. I want to call your attention to the fact that all through the world the revolutionary movement does address itself, singly and collectively, to the official heads of the various countries."

Some of the finest means of agitation in Russia are documents addressed to the czar personally by the revolutionists of Russia. (Applause.) It is because they speak to a man whose name attached to a document causes universal attention.

"What is true of the czar of Russia is true of Theodore Roosevelt in this country.

"Inasmuch as the President of the United States has attacked us and is attacking the working class and does it ignorantly, it is up to the working class to take up the gauntlet and make him eat his own words. (Applause.)

"There is not a Socialist local in America that has not adopted resolutions addressed to Roosevelt as a man and President of the United States, and not one that is not eager to make him realize the responsibility of his position as President. We did it in the Haywood case, and we are ready to do it and should do it in this case. Let us get up a document that is above criticism, and I believe it would be wise to elect a special committee composed of men who not only know grammatical laws, but who have ideas in addition to law."

Want Special Committee.

Brandt of Missouri spoke in favor of referring to a special committee, and offered a motion.

Jones of California, in opening the motion, said:

"From all this outcry one might think that we, the Socialists, had elected Roosevelt President, and he had turned traitor to us (Applause.) Such is not the case. Roosevelt was elected by working class votes, certainly, but not on any working class program and not pledged to do anything for the working class, but, on the contrary, to do all he could to support the privileges and exploiting power of the master class.

No College Education.

Delegate Cowan of Ohio paid his respects to those who ridiculed the original motion, saying that as an old campaigner who had not had the benefit of a college education he was willing that a reply should be sent to the President, revised in its grammar, if necessary, and that the working class would be able to understand it even if not in classic English.

Payne of Texas said: "I like scholarship, but if I have to choose between scholarship and ideas I will take ideas every time. Let some of our 'intellectuals' couch it in refined language and send it to the President."

He referred with sarcasm to the "intellectuals" as differentiated from "rank and file."

Denies Antagonism.

Hillquit of New York took up the thrust at the "intellectuals" and said: "It is very unfortunate and will not aid our deliberations to get up imaginary differences between ourselves instead of defining the difference between the Socialist movement and anything outside of the Socialist movement. I deny that there is any antagonism between the so-called intellectuals and so-called proletarians. I claim that all members of this convention, no matter from what walk of life, come as Socialists, as representatives of that proletarian movement and are working and should be working in accord. (Applause.) Anyone who appeals to any antagonism between ourselves does not serve the cause of Socialism.

"I am opposed to the appointment of a committee, and opposed to any official communication being sent by this convention to Theodore Roosevelt, arguing with him points of theory on the Socialist program. I think it is undignified, illogical and we do a ridiculous and childish thing if we do that. It is easy to be carried off your feet by a phrase and to get excited and commit an act of indiscretion. But we are here to deliberate and not to be swayed by superficial sentiment. (Applause.)

"In our declaration of principles in our platform, in our resolutions, we state the stand of the Socialist Party, and I say we have absolutely no business, without making ourselves ridiculous, to get out a sarcastic letter even if it be excellently worded, discussing with Theodore Roosevelt a phase of his message.

"Undignified and Foolish."

"Now, mind you, Comrade Hoehn might do it, Comrade Spargo might do it, every one of you might do it. Publish it in your papers. Do it in any way you please, but I pray you let this convention, these representatives of a large political party, not belittle itself or themselves to the extent of entering into a controversy which, no matter how you word it, will remain undignified and foolish.

"We do not have to go out for work. Here we are, on the fourth day, and we have not as yet approached any one of the objects for which we came here, and still the first thing is a letter drafted by a very gifted comrade, but yet something entirely out of our province, takes one of the seven days' work, and you are ready still to discuss it. Get down to business, I ask you." (Applause.)

Kaplan Opposes Letter.

Kaplan of Minnesota spoke against sending the communication to the President, saying that the Socialists were not there for the purpose of trying to convert a man who does not represent or claim to represent the working class, and we should not be swayed by oratory. He said:

"Sentiment is all right, but ours is a class struggle. If Comrade Hoehn wants that proposition to be sent out, I have no objection to the substance of it. I do not agree with Comrade Lewis in criticizing it. You can edit it if you agree with the basis of the proposition. The point is, shall we consider the individual as more important than the class struggle?"

Toole of Maryland moved to refer the whole matter to the committee on platform with instructions to embody the subject in the platform, but the motion was held to be out of order.

Goes After Spargo.

Ben Hanford of New York then took the floor and took Spargo sharply to task, saying:

"This convention should clearly and explicitly resent the imputation of the chairman of the committee on resolutions. When he brought in this report on Hoehn's document he characterized it as unfit to be read before this body. I want to say that the underlying inference from that was either that the document was foolish or else that it was couched in such terms as are not in use among people of good repute.

"However he got the document read. After it had been read we found that whatever else it may be it is just as fitting that this body should hear it as anything that has ever been printed in Socialist literature. (Applause.)

No Ground For Friction.

"I am not one of those that propose to make or add to any division that may exist between the so-called intellectuals and the proletariat. I regret that there is any ground for friction between them. I confess with regret and a certain measure of shame that I am not and never hope to be a master of the English language, but I want to say to Comrade Lewis and to all those others who labor under the apprehension that this document is not in classic English—I want to say that it is in understandable English. (Applause.) It is in such terms that the working man will understand; and while it is addressed to the Honorable Theodore Roosevelt, the only reason why we take this notice of him is not to educate him, but to educate the man that works. (Applause.)

Arraigns Roosevelt.

"I remember away back in 1886, when Roosevelt, the man who now poses as a reformer, was so much of a reformer that he opposed Henry George for mayor of New York, and that since that time the same honorable man, who is now trying to make the working men of this country think he is their friend, has been lined up with every scalawag in Republican politics that this country has seen. He has been the distinguished friend of the Honorable Thomas C. Platt, the distinguished friend of the Honorable Chauncey M. Depew. Honorable, I say; that is classic English for Mr. Lewis. (Applause.)

"We know that this same man to-day, who comes to the working class of the United States and tells them he wants congress to pass an anti-injunction bill, tried to get Honorable William H. Taft, the secretary of war, the old original, the originator of the injunction against labor organizations in the United States—he tried to put him on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States, and Taft would not take the appointment.

"Taft and his master, Roosevelt, and the capitalist class of the United States think that they could have congress pass an anti-injunction bill if we had a pro-injunction President and a pro-injunction Supreme Court of the United States. So I say let us expose their plans in every way that is possible and send out a document that will reach every working man in the United States and that will make agitation for our cause and against the capitalist class."

An Appeal to Brains.

Spargo closed the debate. He tried to still the tumult, saying: "I want the attention of your brains, and I care nothing for your passions at this time. I will yield to no man or woman on the floor of this convention in my adherence to what I conceive to be the sole principle of modern Socialism, the class struggle. I ask you to remember that the mouthers of revolutionary phrases described by Karl Marx were the men who tried to hound Marx himself out of the international movement, on the same ground of prejudice which has characterized most of this debate. I have not raised the question of grammatical construction or literary form with regard to this letter.

"If it were a rational letter, a Socialist letter, a letter in line with the class struggle theory of modern Socialism, then I would say, Comrades, let us send it. But I know that the letter is not in line with the class struggle, and there is not a Socialist on this convention floor who understands that principle and who for a moment will be prepared to accept that letter.

Drop Class Struggle.

"First of all, is it a fact that when we go to fight our capitalist foes that because they use hard words about us we must drop the class struggle and protest that we are insulted? In the name of God, comrades, what are we about? We might as well talk of the class struggle and engrave it on a Tiffany pink tea invitation. (Applause.)

"We are not so sensitive as my friend Lewis is upon the matter of classic language. I am looking for Socialism. You, Mr. President, have repeatedly demanded from congress laws for the benefit of the people, but your demands were ignored because of capitalist class interests.

"I ask you, are you going to vote to say for a single moment that Theodore Roosevelt is on the side of the working class? I say no. I will read further from the same letter: 'If in place of the political undertakers there were seated in the halls of congress fifty or one hundred class conscious workingmen and Socialists, every demand for labor legislation made by you or by organized labor would be voted.' I ask you, comrades, are you going to play into the hands of Theodore Roosevelt and give him the best kind of campaign material?

"It is, therefore, not a question of grammar; it is a question of Socialist philosophy and of Socialist common sense, and I ask you to vote down the motion to send it to Roosevelt, and send it where it belongs, under the table or anywhere else."

The amendment to refer the letter to a special committee of three was lost by a vote of 80 for the motion and 101 against. The motion to send the letter to the President was lost.

Temperance vs. Prohibition.

The convention, by unanimous vote, passed a resolution on the question of temperance and prohibition.

It recognized clearly that the man driven by worry, dulled and rendered miserable by overwork, seeks liquor so that he may taste temporary pleasure and, at the end, oblivion and a wild freedom from the care and worry which is grinding out his life's force and promise.

The resolution reads:

"We recognize the evils arising from the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors, especially those which are adulterated, and we declare that any excessive use of such liquors by the working class postpones the day of the final triumph of our cause. But we do not believe that alcoholism can be cured by an extension of police power under the capitalistic system. Alcoholism is a disease and it can be cured best by the stopping of underfeeding, overwork and under wages which result from the present wage system."

Debate on Trade Unionism

The Trades Union Question

Was the subject of a most instructive debate. The resolution (which is printed in another column in this week's St. Louis Labor) was adopted as reported by the committee. An amendment to insert an "Industrial Unionism" recommendation was defeated by a vote of 138 to 43, after a debate of an hour and a half.

Lee of New York: "Your committee on labor organization is glad to be able to make a unanimous report. (Applause.) I think it will not be necessary for me in introducing this report to make any extended remarks.

"I suppose it is very likely the report will be debated upon the floor, and I should, perhaps, be only wasting time if I gave any statement on behalf of the committee in introducing this report further than to say this, that it has been the judgment of the committee and they have believed that they represented the judgment of the convention as a whole in this; it has been the judgment of your committee that the declaration which this convention should adopt upon the subject of labor organizations this year should not be, as have been declarations in the past, simply a formal declaration of the attitude of the party, legally so to speak toward trade unions, but that it should be in the nature of an address, a statement, a somewhat emphatic statement of the position of the Socialist Party with regard to the trade unions as they find themselves face to face with the organizations of the capitalist class on the line of battle.

"It is with this idea in view that your committee has drawn the declaration which I now read to you, and which after it is read I shall move to be adopted."

Kaplan of Minnesota: "I rise not to object to any part of the resolution presented by our labor committee, but I contend that there is something lacking that necessarily should be inserted, and it is this: We have arrived at a time when capitalism is organizing all along the line. The principle of trustification is evident, whichever way we may turn. I see in this resolution, however, no statement in any manner, shape or form recommending to Organized Labor the necessity of studying up the question of the industrial form of unionism. (Applause.) I do not say that that necessarily anticipates recommending the starting of an opposition economic organization in any part of the country against those already in existence. I believe that the tactics of the old Socialist Labor Party in undertaking to formulate and inaugurate the 'Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance' was decidedly detrimental and injudicious. If they had said to the working class who had become class conscious: 'Work within the American Federation of Labor; work within the pure and simple organization, and point out the necessity of working along the line of class rather than craft,' I believe we would have had to-day a greater Socialist movement and the American Federation of Labor would have been a good deal more advanced than today. In Duluth at the present time there is not a strike, but a lock-out. Why? Because the different building trades have said, 'We will back up our union, the one out on strike. We will take up its fight, we will fight and stand on that proposition united.' That was because they recognized what? That unity of action along class lines meant something."

Farrell of Ohio: "I am of the opinion that not to adopt the report of the committee on Organized Labor would be a mistake on the part of this convention. The Duluth delegation has pointed out what the building trades of that city are doing in regard to developing the industrial side of organization. As a member of a craft organ-

ization I want to say that I heartily indorse the industrial form of organization. (Applause.) But let me tell you that there is a force at work which is causing the American Federation of Labor organization and affiliated crafts to adopt industrial forms of Organized Labor, just the same forces that caused the Socialist movement to be given birth. As a member of one of the building trades organizations I want to say that that part of the Organized Labor movement of this country is getting together to-day as one solid organization. A few years ago they organized what is known as the Structural Building Trades Alliance, aside from the American Federation of Labor, an organization composed of all the various building crafts. Eventually they got in touch with the American Federation of Labor and it is known now as the building trades section of the American Federation of Labor, which is practically an industrial form of organization insofar as the building trades of this country are concerned; it is nothing more or less than an industrial form of organization. "I want to say that this report of the committee, in pointing out that Organized Labor should control its movement on the economic field just as the Socialist Party demands the right to control its work on the political field, is right. (Applause.) A few weeks ago the Citizens' Alliance and the Employers' Association in the city of Dayton, with Mr. Van Cleave and other invited guests, had a banquet at the Dayton Club, and Mr. Van Cleave in his address to the association pointed out that fact that if it should come to the point through the development of the class struggle that the working class and their friends should line up on one side, he and his class would be found lined up on the other side, regardless of politics, creed or color. (Applause.) I hope this will go through without a dissenting vote."

Kearns of New Jersey: "I am in a measure muzzled by my state, and I am further crippled by the fact that I am an Irishman. (Applause.) and an Irishman, you know, is allowed, as a rule, to talk until he is understood. (Laughter.) I am directed by my state to oppose any action tending toward recognition of the Socialist Labor Party, any move toward unity with that organization, because we have passed through that period and know it is utterly impossible to mix with that bunch. I am also directed to oppose any recognition of craft unionism as against industrialism, but I am confident that the state of New Jersey stands as a unit for Organized Labor as a whole. (Applause.) While I have not been instructed, I do not

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want to say that a serious mistake or omission has been made by this committee, and that is that they have not once mentioned the women, and I move that this address be so changed that wherever 'workingmen' is mentioned the addition 'and women' be made."

Marguerite Prevy of Ohio: "It seems to me unnecessary to bring up the question of women in the resolution that has just been brought in by the resolution committee. You know there is a committee working on the questions of the relation of women in the Socialist movement to women, and we were before the platform committee last evening and asked that whenever they mentioned working men they would also mention working women, and the platform committee is going to take care of that proposition. It seems to me that when Organized Labor is mentioned the women are excluded in that way. The women in the Socialist movement do not want any special recognition of that fact that the women are able to speak for themselves, and when the question of the relation of women to Socialism comes up we will be heard. I heartily indorse those resolutions that have been brought in. We of the Socialist Party believe we are scientific Socialists. We believe that the movement came into existence as an economic necessity of the working class, and that Organized Labor came into existence like every other institution in the world, as an economic necessity of the working class. The members of the craft unionism in the American Federation of Labor are learning, by the capitalist class pressing them by court decisions recently rendered, that the battle has been transferred from the industrial to the political field, and that they must get into the political arena if they expect to be saved or to get any of the wealth they produce."

Korngold of Illinois: While delegates might not believe in the tactics of the I. W. W., still he believed there were more industrial unionists in the American Federation of Labor than in the I. W. W., and he could not see why the Socialists should not recognize that the industrial form of unionism is a better form of organization than craft unionism. The Socialist Party need not be afraid of indorsing industrial unionism. Besides, we are not dictating to the labor unions what they should do. We are simply recommending. We Socialists have attacked Samuel Gompers and other leaders of the labor unions because they have not recommended to their followers to take political action. Why, then, should we as a Socialist Party not recommend to the labor unions to take industrial action? (Applause.) If we do not do so we are just as guilty as Samuel Gompers."

Robert Hunter of New York: "I want to speak against the amendment because I do not believe it to be the business of a political party, even if that party be a working class party, to dictate to other organizations on the industrial field their form of organization they shall adopt in their particular field of activity. Some of you know, probably, that I have spent some time recently abroad studying the European movement. I think they have got one thing clear in nearly every country in Europe, and that is while these two organizations, the political and the industrial organization, are the two arms of the same man, yet those two organizations must be kept completely and entirely autonomous. We are here gathered, although it is our professed object to represent the working class and to stand for the working class—we are here gathered persons from all possible positions. There are clergymen on this floor, there are professors, there are men of means, lawyers, all kinds of persons. It is manifestly unjust and unfair that an organization which is smaller in the political field than the industrial should dictate to them the kind of organization they should have."

"It is manifestly unwise, also, for an organization which attempts to group within its circle the farmers, the other the professions, all class of workers, brain workers, clerks and so on—to try to set a particular stamp upon the industrial organization. We ourselves are divided. There is a large number in this body who still believe in giving every possible support to the American Federation of Labor. Many believe that if the industrial workers, or those who advocate the industrial form of organization, wish to have that form adopted by the labor movement, they should stay in the American Federation of Labor and try to get it adopted there. There are others who believe that they ought to go out and try to force that form of organization upon all classes of workers, organized and unorganized. They have a perfect right to such opinion. Those are questions of tactics and they have the right to what they desire; but if we, as a part—we are divided among ourselves, and the labor movement is divided among themselves—have we the right in view of the great division existing here to try to formulate a decision in regard to an organization which is not officially or definitely represented here? Now, I hope very much that we will keep clearly to our political field. Let us give every possible support to every body of organized men in this country; let us fight their battles as if they were our battles, whether they adopt one form of organization or the other form of organization; let us not be so impertinent, so swell-headed as to believe that we can stand here and dictate to another movement outside of our specific field the kind of organization which it shall have."

Max Hayes of Ohio: "Regarding the amendment before the house it seems to me that if the comrades who are in favor of it would stop to consider, as we are now entering a great presidential contest, that the adoption of that proposition would tend not to place us in the position that we should occupy, that is fighting aggressively, but rather we should be thrown upon the defensive, and you can readily understand that that will be injurious to the movement. I know something about the internal struggles of the trades union movement of the United States during the past dozen years, by reason of having been fortunate enough to attend the conventions of the Federation of Labor for ten years past; and I know likewise that the men who believe in class autonomy are as a rule just as honest and conscientious and sincere in the belief that they are benefiting themselves and those that they represent as are the men on the other side who favor the industrial form of organization. The craft unions have benefited the organized workers of this country materially in the past; it is simply a question of how much longer they can continue to benefit them, in the matter of at least keeping up wages to accompany the rise in prices, and reducing the hours of labor for the workers in the various establishments where they are employed. That is a question that only the future can determine. But I have found this, Mr. Chairman and comrades, especially during the last half dozen years, that those who profess to be in favor of the industrial form of organization are seldom if ever found upon the battle ground where the battle of industrialism must be made, and that is in Organized Labor. They tell us from the outside what to do in the matter of conducting the movement upon the industrial field. But here is the situation: The few Socialists that are in the trades union movement have been impeaching industrial unionism for a long time, a long time before some of the most earnest advocates of it thought of it; and the Socialists in the trades union movement, as I know full well, are generally the ones who are the first to feel the blacklist lash of the combined capitalist forces of the United States; they are the first to be opposed by capitalists."

Lee of New York: "I have first to say one word in reply to the delegate who spoke just before me. It is not a protest in the best of taste, or in the best of comradely feeling, or in the best interests of this convention, that a delegate who rises to support a certain motion should charge those around who oppose it with being influenced only by a desire to get votes. I repel that charge as being absolutely false. We are here to stand for what we believe to be the right position of the Socialist Party. Now, comrades, let me call your attention in the first place to the hodge-podge that you would make of this resolution if you adopt this amendment. You first declare that the Socialist Party recognizes the necessity of the autonomy of the union movement in the economic field, just as it maintains its own autonomy in the political field; and then you go on to say that notwithstanding this we tell you union men that you ought to organize your unions on such and such a plan. I wonder what the comrades would say if at a convention of the American Federation of Labor they should adopt a resolution telling us how the Socialist Party should govern ourselves, telling us that we ought to

overthrow our state autonomy rule, or that we ought to uphold our state autonomy rule, or telling us anything that we ought to do in our struggle for political supremacy. We would tell the American Federation of Labor to attend to the business in the economic field and we would attend to our business in the political field. We stand for just what we say there. As I said introducing this resolution, we hold that it is not the business of this party to tell union workingmen how they should be organized or how they should act as unionists. It is our business to support them in their fights against their capitalist opponents. It is our business to help make Socialists of them on the political field. On the other hand, it is not the business of the American Federation of Labor, or the Western Federation of Miners or the Industrial Workers of the World to tell us how we shall manage our affairs in the political field. It is their business when they understand that it is their interest to do so, to support us in the political field, and to organize to bring about the best organization and adopt the best methods of action in their own field that they possibly can in view of all the experience that they have there. Comrades, I want a consistent declaration sent out. I want a declaration sent out here that the world will know is a declaration for workingmen wherever they are struggling in any organization. (Long-continued applause.)

"I want a declaration sent out that can not be used by Mr. Gompers to attack the Industrial Workers of the World; and I want a resolution that can not be used, in the name of the Socialist Party, by the Industrial Workers of the World to attack the American Federation of Labor. (Loud applause.)

"We know this, comrades, that the Supreme Court of the United States, that President Roosevelt, the employers' associations and the Republican and Democratic parties are not fighting any particular labor organization. We recognize the fact that the capitalist organizations of this country and their friends and their courts and their soldiers and their president are not using their law-and-order methods against one form of labor organization. They are using them against the Western Federation of Miners, and they are using them against the American Federation of Labor; and, comrades, we stand for both against the capitalists."

The amendment to the report of the committee was lost upon a division, and on the motion to adopt the report of the committee, a decision being called for, the motion was declared carried by a vote of 148 aye to 43 no.

(Report to be concluded next week.)

Missouri
Socialist Party
News From All Parts of the State, Reported by
Otto Paul, State Secretary, 212 South
Fourth Street, St. Louis, Mo.

Congressional Candidates.

Ten or more districts have put up a candidate for Congress and are getting the petitions in shape. Some do not seem to realize the necessity for completing the petitions at once. Only ten days remain in which to file.

Adair County Ticket.

Socialists of Adair County met on May 16 and elected a county committee. The following county candidates were nominated: State Representative, O. Van Osdel; Sheriff, Jno. Barnett; Assessor, M. L. Ferguson; Treasurer, E. W. Lee.

Dates for Garver.

The state office is securing dates for W. L. Garver, our candidate for governor. The convention is over, the national platform and ticket is decided upon; now let us get to work in earnest. The petitions will soon be off our hands and locals will be in shape to devote their energies to propaganda.

New Locals.

The first local in Franklin County was organized at St. Albans by G. W. Boswell; 8 members. Secretary Haller of Local Kirksville has started a local of 12 members at Willmathsville, Adair County. Comrade A. Q. Miller puts Ivaster, Stoddard County, on the map with a local of 6 members. Our candidate for Congress in the Fifteenth District, C. A. Berry, has organized Oakland, in Jasper County, with 7 members.

Moving in the Fifteenth District.

Local Joplin has organized a strong branch in the Fourth Ward, with 20 members. County Secretary Ristine has issued his financial report ending April 30, and each local in the county was furnished a copy. The county organization has secured a mimeograph, which will be very useful in carrying on the work. They propose to get a large supply of books for locals and supplies on hand, so that all orders can be promptly filled. Each local in the state should have a set of the books that the National Office furnishes for the use of locals in keeping accounts. The books are simple and easy to keep straight.

In the Fourteenth District.

In addition to the local formed at Ivaster, Comrade A. Q. Miller expects to place several other points on the roll very soon. Comrade Miller is getting the Stoddard County locals on the move, and will speak in neighboring counties also. On May 23 he will attend the Wayne County convention and address the comrades assembled there. A number of dates have been secured in Dunklin County and Miller will try to get a good working organization in the county. N. B. Wilkinson is the candidate for Congress in the Fourteenth District and lands an occasional local in his neighborhood. He will give the Shannon County comrades a lift this week.

County Tickets.

The Jasper County ticket is as follows: State representatives, J. H. Graves, W. G. Bedingfield and J. E. Farrier; associate judges, Alvah Mitchell, G. W. Ayres; probate judge, Peter McEntee; circuit judge, A. Foster; county attorney, W. R. Haughwaut; sheriff, J. M. Mooney; treasurer, L. W. Motley; assessor, F. Hardenbrook; collector, Sam Hill; surveyor, A. B. Salsman; coroner, Dr. Walker. Shannon County comrades have nominated the following county candidates: Assessor, B. J. Powell; sheriff, Edw. Merrill; county judges, G. W. Bailey, W. M. Ellerman; treasurer, J. H. Robertson. All county candidates must file with their county clerk a declaration for nomination before June 4. The blank forms for declaration are furnished by the state secretary.

Assisting the Striking Bakers

If your grocer is selling any of the American Bakery Co.'s products, please inform him that he can no longer have your patronage. Tell him that the following trust bakeries are unfair, and therefore not entitled to the support of union men and women or sympathizers with the labor movement:

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Do not buy any bread from the foregoing bakeries.
They refuse to recognize Union Labor.

Socialism and the Conservative Press.

Socialism has become a factor in the life of the nation. It is not now dismissed with a supercilious wave of the hand or a sneer. Its propaganda is untiring, and its literature voluminous.

Hardly a day passes that some one of the great metropolitan dailies doesn't preach an editorial sermon upon it. And the number of articles in the popular magazines treating it is amazing. This is the result of hard work, for which the rank and file of the Socialist movement deserves credit. Perhaps the strongest reason for the opening of the columns of the newspapers and magazines to the discussion of the subject is the ever-increasing circulation of Socialist journals. Two of them to-day count their subscriptions by hundreds of thousands. It may be true that none of them are artistic, but they are fearless—and that counts.

The reader is a thinker. How many subscribers have you obtained during the last month? Remember, you alone give the Socialist press its life and power!—Socialist Review.

Socialist Sunday Schools.

The attention of the comrades is called to the schools that have been established for instruction in Socialism.

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PREAMBLE OR DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA

Adopted at the National Convention, Assembled at Chicago, May, 1908

I.

Declaration of Principles.

"Human life depends upon food, clothing and shelter. Only when these are assured are freedom, culture and higher human development possible. To produce food, clothing and shelter, land and machinery are needed. Land by itself does not satisfy human needs. Human labor gets raw materials and food out of the soil by creating machinery and using it upon the land. Whoever has control of land and machinery has control of human labor, and with it of human life and liberty.

"To-day the machinery and the land used for industrial purposes are owned by a rapidly decreasing minority. So long as machinery is simple and easily handled by one man, it does not make its owners so powerful that they can dominate the sources of life of others. But when machinery becomes more and more complex and expensive, and requires for its effective operation the organized effort of many workers, its influence reaches over wider and wider circles of life. The owners of such machinery become the dominant class.

"In proportion as the number of such machine owners compared to all other classes decreases, their power in the nation and in the world increases. They bring ever larger masses of working people under their control, reducing them to the point where muscle and brain are their only productive property. Millions of formerly self-employed workers thus become the helpless wage slaves of the industrial masters.

"The more the economic power of the ruling class grows, the less useful does it become in the life of the nation. The overwhelming bulk of the useful work of the nation falls upon the shoulders of the classes that either have no other productive property but their manual and mental labor power—the wage workers—or that have but little land and little effective machinery outside of their labor power—the small traders and small farmers. The ruling minority is steadily becoming useless and parasitic.

"A bitter struggle over the division of the products of labor is waged between the exploiting propertied classes on the one hand and the exploited, propertyless class on the other. In this struggle the wage working class can not expect adequate relief from any reform of the present order or from the dominant class of society.

"The wage workers are therefore the most determined and irreconcilable antagonists of the ruling class. They are also the class which suffers most from the curse of class rule. The fact that a small number of capitalists is permitted to use all the country's resources and social tools for their individual profit, and to make the production of the necessities of our lives the object of their competitive private enterprises and speculations, is at the bottom of all the social evils of our time.

"In spite of the organization of trusts, pools and combinations, the capitalists are powerless to regulate production for social ends. Industries are largely conducted in a planless manner. Through periods of feverish activity the strength and health of the workers are mercilessly undermined, and during periods of enforced idleness the workers are frequently reduced to starvation.

"The climaxes of this chaotic system of production are the regularly recurring industrial depressions and crises which paralyze the nation every fifteen or twenty years.

"In its mad and reckless race for profits the capitalist class is bound to exploit the workers to the very limit of their endurance and to sacrifice their physical, moral and mental welfare to its own insatiable greed. Capitalism keeps the masses of workingmen in poverty, destitution, physical exhaustion and ignorance. It drags their wives from their homes to the mill and factory. It snatches their children from the playgrounds and schools and grinds their slender bodies and unformed minds into cold dollars. It wantonly disfigures, maims and kills hundreds of thousands of workingmen annually in mines, on railroads and in factories. It drives millions of workers into the ranks of the unemployed and forces large numbers of them into beggary, vagrancy and all forms of crime and vice.

"To maintain their rule over their fellow men, the capitalists must keep in their pay all organs of the public powers, public mind and public conscience. They control the dominating parties and, through them, the elected public officials. They select our executives, bribe our legislatures and corrupt our courts of justice. They own and censor the press. They sway our educational institutions. They own the nation politically and intellectually just as they own it industrially.

"The struggle between wage workers and capitalists grows ever fiercer, and has now become the only vital issue before the American people. The wage-working class, therefore, has the most vital and direct interest in abolishing the capitalist system. But in abolishing the present system, the workingmen will free not only their own class, but also all other classes of modern society: The small farmer, who is to-day exploited by large capital more indirectly but not less effectively than is the wage laborer; the small manufacturer and trader, who is engaged in a desperate and losing struggle for economic independence in the face of the all-conquering power of concentrated capital; and even the capitalist himself, who is the slave of his wealth rather than its master. The struggle of the working class against the capitalist class, while it is a class struggle, is thus at the same time a struggle for the abolition of all classes and class privileges.

"The private ownership of the land and means of production used for exploitation is the rock upon which class rule is built; political government is its indispensable instrument. The wage workers can not be freed from exploitation without conquering the political power and substituting collective ownership for private ownership of the land and the means of production used for exploitation.

"The basis for such transformation is rapidly developing within the very bosom of present capitalist society. The factory system, with its immense machinery and minute division of labor, is rapidly destroying all vestige of individual production in manufacture. Modern production is already very largely a collective and social process, while the great trusts and monopolies which have sprung up in recent years have had the effect of organizing the work and management of some of our main industries on a national scale, and fitting them for national use and operation.

"In the struggle for freedom the interests of the workers of all nations are identical. The struggle is not only national but international. It embraces the world and will be carried to ultimate victory by the united workers of the world.

"To unite the workers of the nation and their allies and sympathizers of all other classes to this end is the mission of the Socialist Party. In this battle for freedom the Socialist Party does not strive to substitute working class rule for capitalist class rule, but to free all humanity from class rule and to realize the international brotherhood of man."

II.

The National Socialist Platform

"The Socialist Party, in national convention assembled, in entering upon the campaign of 1908, again presents itself to the people as the party of the working class, and as such it appeals for the support of all workers of the United States and of all citizens who sympathize with the great and just cause of labor.

"We are at this moment in the midst of one of those industrial

breakdowns that periodically paralyze the life of the nation. The much-boasted era of our national prosperity has been followed by one of general misery. Factories, mills and mines are closed, work is abandoned, and millions of men, ready, willing and able to provide the nation with all the necessities and comforts of life are forced into idleness and starvation. Within recent times the trusts and monopolies have attained an enormous and menacing development. They have acquired the power to dictate to us the terms upon which we shall be allowed to live. The trusts fix the prices of our bread, meat and sugar, of our coal, oil and clothing, of our raw material and machinery, of all the necessities of life and even the prices of our coffins.

"The ruling class has seized upon the present desperate condition of the workers as an opportunity for a renewed onslaught on the Organized Labor movement. The highest courts of the country have within the last year rendered decision after decision depriving the workers of rights which they had won by generations of struggle.

"The attempt to destroy the Western Federation of Miners, although defeated by the solidarity of Organized Labor and the Socialist movement, revealed the existence of a far-reaching and unscrupulous conspiracy on the part of the ruling powers against the organizations of labor.

"In their efforts to take the lives of the faithful leaders of the miners the conspirators violated the state laws and the federal constitution in a manner seldom equaled even in a country so completely dominated as is the United States by the profit-seeking class.

"The Congress of the United States has shown its contempt for the interests of labor as plainly and unmistakably as have the other branches of government. The legislation for which the labor organizations have continuously petitioned has been rejected. The scant legislation apparently passed for their benefit has been so distorted as to injure those whom it pretended to help.

"The working class of the United States can not expect any remedy for its wrongs from the present ruling class or from the dominant parties. So long as a small number of individuals are permitted to use the common resources of the nation's wealth for their private profit in competition with each other and for the exploitation of their fellow men, industrial depressions are bound to occur at certain intervals. No currency reform or other legislative measure proposed by capitalist reformers can avail against these fatal results of a system of utter anarchy in production.

"So long as the wealth production of the country is based on individual competition the fierce struggles of this competition will inevitably lead to combinations and trusts. No amount of government regulation, or of publicity, or of restrictive legislation will arrest the natural course of modern industrial development.

"So long as our courts, legislatures and executive offices remain in the hands of the ruling classes and their agents, our government will be used in the interests of these classes as against the toilers.

"Political parties are but the expression of economic class interests. The Republican, the Democratic and the so-called 'Independence' parties and all parties other than the Socialist Party, are financed, directed and controlled by the representatives of different groups of the ruling class.

"In the maintenance of class government both the Democratic and Republican parties have been equally guilty. The Republican party has had control of the national government and has been directly and actively responsible for these wrongs. The Democratic party, while saved from direct responsibility by its political impotence, has shown itself equally subservient to the aims of the capitalist class whenever and wherever it has been in power. The old chattel slave owning aristocracy of the south, which was the backbone of the Democratic party, has been supplanted by a child slave plutocracy. In the great cities of our country the Democratic party is allied with the criminal element or with the Republican party in maintaining the interest of the possessing class.

"The various 'reform' movements and parties which have sprung up within recent years are but the clumsy expression of widespread popular discontent with the present system of exploitation and graft. They are not based on an intelligent understanding of the historical development of civilization and of the economic and political needs of our time. They are bound to perish, as the numerous middle class reform movements of the past have perished.

"As measures calculated to strengthen the power of the working class in its fight for the realization of this ultimate aim, and to increase its power of resistance against capitalist oppression, we advocate and pledge ourselves and our elected officers to the following program:

Working Program Containing the General Demands

1. The collective ownership of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, steamship and all other means of transportation and communication.
2. The national ownership of all industries which are organized on a national scale and in which competition has virtually ceased to exist.
3. The extension of the public domain to include mines, quarries, oil wells, forests and water power.
4. The scientific reforestation of timber lands and the reclamation of swamp lands.
5. The Socialist movement is primarily an economic and political movement. It is not concerned with religious beliefs.

Industrial Demands.

6. The improvements of the industrial conditions of the workers:

"(a) By shortening the workday in keeping with the increased productiveness of machinery.

"(b) By securing to every worker a rest period of not less than a day and a half in each week, including Sunday, when practicable.

"(c) By securing a more vigorous inspection of workshops and factories.

"(d) By forbidding the employment of women in all industries harmful to their morals or health.

"(e) By forbidding the employment of children under sixteen years of age.

"(f) By forbidding the interstate transportation of the products of child labor, of convict labor and of all uninspected factories.

"(g) By abolishing public charity and substituting in its place compulsory insurance against unemployment, illness, accidents, invalidism, old age and death."

Political Demands.

7. The extension of inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the amount of the bequests and to the nearness of kin.
8. A graduated income tax.
9. The political emancipation of women, the initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall.
10. The abolition of the senate.
11. The abolition of the veto power of the president.
12. That the constitution be made amendable by majority vote.
13. Government by majority. In all elections where no candidate receives a majority the result should be determined by a second ballot.
14. The enactment of further measures for general education and for the conservatism of health. The elevation of the present bureau of education into a department, and the creation of a department of public health.
15. The separation of the present Bureau of Labor from the Department of Commerce and Labor, and its elevation to the rank of a department.
16. That all judges be elected by the people for short terms, and that the power to issue injunctions should be curbed by immediate legislation.
17. The free administration of justice.

WE'RE GOING TO WIN

By Harvey P. Moyer.

TUNE—Maryland, My Maryland.

(Written for the National Socialist Convention, Chicago, Ill., May, 1908, and Sung at the Orchestra Hall Ratification Meeting Last Saturday Evening.)

I.
The Socialists hosts are gathering fast,
We're going to win, we're going to win!
All lands resound our bugle blast,
We're going to win, we're going to win!
From shore to shore, from pole to pole,
From rapturous heart, from saddened soul,
The gladsome strains triumphant roll,—

II.
Greed's cruel sway stirs every land,
We're going to win, we're going to win!
Toil's deepening woe speeds helping hand,
We're going to win, we're going to win!
Our children's wronged and stunted life,
Exploited brother, burdened wife,
Spur heart and brain to glorious strife,—
We're going to win, we're going to win!

III.
Life's destined heights we dare attain,
We're going to win, we're going to win!
We've naught to lose, a world we'll gain,
We're going to win, we're going to win!
O vision clear! O glorious dream!
With justice throned, and love supreme!
All earth with peace and joy shall teem,—
We're going to win, we're going to win!

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