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LEGAL STATUS OF THE BOYCOTT IN GERMANY

By Philip Rappaport.

The United States are, or is, according to the grammar of the patriots, a republic, Germany is a monarchy. The American workman is told that he is in possession of the greatest freedom on earth, and he believes it.

He is also told that the workmen of European monarchies, especially Germany, are fearfully oppressed, that there is no freedom whatever in that country, and he believes it.

Furthermore, he is told that labor party politics, or Socialism, may be all right for a country like Germany with its monarchical and otherwise oppressive institutions, but that in free America, with its free constitution, its free laws, its free people, and its political equality, no such thing is necessary, and he believes this also and votes for every party except the one which represents his class. In Germany the Socialists polled one-third of all the votes, but—well, that is all right for Germany.

Now, it so happened that recently a judge in this free republic sentenced the president and two other officers of the American Federation of Labor to comparatively long terms in jail for contempt of court. The court had enjoined them from boycotting a certain manufacturing firm, had enjoined them from putting its name on the unfair list and of publishing anything in support of their boycott. In other words, the court declared the boycott unlawful, as another court did some time ago by awarding damages to a firm manufacturing hats.

So far the American courts have declared the boycott illegal, and they have issued injunctions right and left to prevent the workmen from making a strike effective. They have not only enjoined strikers from picketing, but also from peaceful persuasion, things which to my knowledge German courts have never attempted.

Under these circumstances, it would certainly be interesting to compare German justice with American justice and to see what in similar cases the courts of the country of militarism and oppression decided.

I take the decisions which I quote from an article in Section 11, Volume 27, of the Neue Zeit, the scientific organ of the German Social-Democratic party.

In 1904 the owner of a place of amusement in Bremen refused to accede to the demands of the musicians in the matter of wages. A strike, the employment of non-union men, and the declaration of a boycott followed. The musicians distributed circulars in front of the place, asking the workmen not to patronize it because of the employment of strike breakers.

The owner of the place sued for damages. The Oberlandesgericht, a court of the rank of our state supreme courts, decided that the musicians had violated no law, that they in no way injured the freedom of the owner of the place, that there was nothing in the circulars which was not true, that the business and the credit of the plaintiff was not injured by the statement of any untrue facts and that therefore the plaintiff had no case.

A somewhat similar case was one year later decided by the Reichsgericht, a court of the rank of our United States Supreme Court, in favor of the plaintiff, but only because the musicians had in their circulars made some misleading statements and had not sufficiently explained the cause of the boycott. The court in its decision said:

"True, in the class struggles and the struggles for wages between employer and employe the boycott is not a means of warfare violating good morals and forbidden by them, nor does it become a violation of good morals, if one or the other side calls, by publication, upon others for aid though they have no interest in the matter of dispute, but the boycott may become unpermissible by the manner in which it is used."

The court then shows that in this case the statements in the circulars and handbills were incorrect, misleading and not complete enough to enable the reader to form his own judgment.

In 1904 the bakers in Kiel went on strike. A boycott and a suit for damages followed. The Reichsgericht decided as follows: "The defendants have omitted in their publications all personal attacks and slanders. All they did was to seek the support of others, by asking them to buy only of those who had granted the wages asked."

"This proceeding did not become immoral by the use of the press. There is nothing immoral in thus asking the aid of other people for the accomplishment of an aim, so long as the publications contain nothing improper and objectionable." The decision was in favor of the defendants.

In a similar suit in 1906, the decision in all the tribunals from the lowest to the highest was in favor of the plaintiffs. The case had originated in Berlin, where a boycott had been declared by the union against certain bakeries. But in this case the damages were not awarded for the boycott itself, but for the manner in which it was carried on. The court expressly declared that the violation of good morals consisted in this, that the handbills contained vicious personal attacks, from which it could be clearly seen that the object of their publishers was not to inform the public of the matter in dispute, and to enable it to form its own judgment, but to arouse personal hatred against the plaintiff.

In a case arising in Hamburg, in 1905, the highest tribunal, the Reichsgericht, awarded damages to the plaintiff. In its decision the court said:

"If in a struggle of this kind the public, through the press or other printed matter is requested to take sides with one of the parties and to assist in the achievement of a favorable result, such action can only be considered as not against good morals and permissive, if it can be rightfully presumed from their general nature that the public has sufficient knowledge of the matters in dispute and the causes which led to the boycott."

"Where such is not the case, it can be rightfully demanded that those who wish to drag non-interested parties into the struggle explain in their publications the matter in a manner sufficient to enable those who are thus called upon for aid to form a judgment of their own. But it is against good morals to merely attempt to injure the opponent by inciting hatred through the use of offensive language and catch-phrases calculated to play on the feeling of solidarity. This, however, has been done in the case before us."

From these decisions and the language used by the courts it is plain that the boycott is legally allowed in Germany, and that the question of its propriety is not one of injury in dollars and cents, but one of good morals. The workmen's right to request the public to aid them by withdrawing patronage from the boycotted place or person is fully conceded. All that is necessary to avoid a violation of good morals is truth in the statements of facts and enough of them to enable the public to judge for themselves which side is deserving their sympathy, and furthermore the omission of offensive and inciting language, as well as of personal attacks that have no connection with the matter in dispute.

This is the legal status of the boycott in a country where the workmen have a strong political party of their own, while in our country, where Organized Labor supports the parties of the capital-

ists, the publication of unfair lists is forbidden and the officers of Organized Labor are sentenced to prison if they do publish them. Further comment does not seem to be necessary.

THE HITCH WITHIN THE BOUNDS OF POSSIBILITY.

That there is some truth in what the poet Burns said about "the best-laid plans o' mice and men" was illustrated the other day when an individual, tired of life and the way things were carried on generally, determined to make an end of it, so he went to the store and bought a rope, a can of coal oil, a box of matches, a dose of arsenic and a revolver. He went down to the river and pushed the boat from the shore and waded to where a limb hung over, made the rope fast to it and put a noose around his neck, saturated his clothing with the coal oil, lighted a match and set fire to his clothing, took the dose of arsenic, put the muzzle of the revolver to his temple, pushed the boat from under him and pulled the trigger. But the bullet glanced and cut the rope above him and he fell kerflop into the river; the water put the fire out and he got strangled and coughed up the arsenic. He rose and waded out, full convinced that no matter how carefully a thing might be planned or how determined the desire to put it into execution, a hitch was always within the bounds of possibility.—Machinists' Journal.

WHAT WE DO NOT KNOW

How the People Will Live Under Socialist System.

A stock objection to Socialism is that it would produce a sameness in life by interfering with individuality and the right to live in individual freedom. It would make people dress alike and live in dwellings that are monotonously alike, say all the wise critics.

Now, no Socialist who is at all well grounded in his Socialism attempts to say just how people will live when society has evolved to the Socialistic system.

The most he can say is that in all probability the habitations of the people will be sufficiently related to each other to make economies in service possible. There may be communal kitchens for various groups of dwellings or a communal dining room, or these things may be left entirely to the whim of the individual, giving him the chance to elect whether he will maintain the completest privacy in his domestic affairs or whether he will mingle with others so far as his gastronomic interests are concerned.

The Socialist who is ready to tell you in positive language just how every relation of life will be under Socialism is either new in the movement or reckless and stupid.

As well might an individual a few centuries ago, when the feudal system was in existence, have assumed to have knowledge as to just how things would be after feudalism was succeeded by the present capitalistic system. It is certain, however, that all possible economies will be resorted to, not to the discomfort of the people or because of authority from above, but because for their own comfort and convenience they will themselves insist on it.

The bugaboo about monotonous sameness need fool no one. The fact is that it is the present system that is forcing a sameness on the people, as you can see by looking at the row after row of brown stone fronts in the fashionable quarters of large cities or row after row of workmen's cottages, each the exact counterpart of the others, to be seen in all manufacturing districts, the monotonous and uncomfortable flat habitations increasing so rapidly, the growing habit of the rich of taking up their quarters in hotels, where privacy at meals is impossible; the monotony of fashion's edict that all men shall dress alike and wear clothes of a cut peculiar to a year or season on pain of social disrepute in case of failure to comply. Socialism will really bring individuality.—Frederic Heath.

Fight for Your Life. By Ben Hanford, late candidate for vice-president on the Socialist Party ticket. First edition. Published by Wilshire Book Co., New York. Price, 25 cents. Hanford's reputation as a forceful writer is already established and any additional praise would appear like favoritism. We can recommend this little work to every student of the great question of the day.

May Day Celebrations

MAY DAY CELEBRATION

Under the Auspices of the Workingmen's Singing Societies.

The United Workingmen's Singing Societies of St. Louis—Vorwaerts, Herwegh Saengerbund, Freiheit, International Saengerbund and St. Louis Workingmen's Saengerbund—will celebrate the International May Day, Saturday, May 1, at Lemp's Park Hall, Utah and Thirteenth streets. A good program has been prepared by the committee, consisting of addresses in English and German, chorus songs by the United Singers, musical concert and dance.

Program: Concert, music by Prof. Kaltenthaler's Orchestra; songs by the United Workingmen's Singing Societies; opening address by Comrade John Zach; English address by Comrade Wm. M. Brant; duet by Mrs. and Mr. Guardard.

A dance will conclude the celebration. The comrades of St. Louis are cordially invited.

Admission tickets 10 cents a person, when bought in advance; at the door, 25 cents.

Tickets can be had at the St. Louis Labor office, 212 South Fourth street.

Beer Bottlers' Union to Celebrate May Day.

A grand May Day demonstration and festival will be given under the auspices of Beer Bottlers' Union No. 187 at Riverside Park and Hall, 4100 South Broadway, Saturday afternoon and evening, May 1. Tickets will be 10 cents a person. There will be a concert and dance. The Entertainment Committee is making every effort to make this affair a grand success, and therefore assures every one attending a good time. Respectfully, Frank Frey, John Stutzke, Arthur Stahl, John Koehler, Fred Eggemann, Committee.

Hungarian Socialists Celebrate May 1.

The Hungarian Socialist Branch will celebrate the International Labor Day Saturday evening, May 1, at Schmidt's Hall, 3500 North Broadway. There will be speeches, singing and dancing. The committee is making every effort to make this May Day festival a grand success. Admission 15 cents for gents; ladies and children free. The comrades are cordially invited to attend.

Polish Socialists' May Day Festival.

Under the auspices of the Polish Socialists of St. Louis a May Day Festival will be given Sunday, May 2, at 8 p. m., at their hall, Cass avenue and Fifteenth street. There will be speaking, singing and dancing. Comrade L. G. Pope will deliver the English address.

THE RECENT DISAGREEMENTS IN THE BRITISH MOVEMENT

As Pointed Out By the Men Who Withdrew From the I. L. P. General Council.

Recent telegraphic press reports from England spoke of the withdrawal of Messrs. Hardie, MacDonald, Snowden and Glasier from the General Council of the Independent Labor Party.

The Labor Leader of April 16 published the following statements by these four men, and a letter by George Barnes, the well-known Socialist and trade union leader, which documents seem to give a fair picture of the differences which led up to the withdrawal of the four leaders at the I. L. P. Conference.

We publish the documents in full:
TO MEMBERS OF THE INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY.

Comrades—It is due to you that we should state the reasons which influenced us in deciding not to serve on the National Administrative Council, to which we were elected by the votes of the Conference.

For some time past there have been signs of unrest among a section of the party, into the details of which we need not enter at length. In a great democratic and rapidly growing party such as the I. L. P., this is to be expected, and is on the whole a healthy sign. When, however, this activity develops into a form which threatens the unity of the party, it must be seriously treated. Let us remind the party of certain facts.

The I. L. P. was formed by Socialists, who desired to follow the Marxian policy of uniting the working class into an independent party for the conquest of political power. In pursuance of that object the I. L. P. joined with the Trade Unions in 1900 for the creation of a Labor Party, the only condition of which was that the political independence which has always been the cardinal point of the policy of the I. L. P. should be rigidly maintained. Those who are acquainted with the political history of the last nine years know how loyally that condition has been accepted and pursued, under the most trying circumstances, by our trade union allies, and what magnificent results have accrued.

Meanwhile the Social-Democratic Party has been pursuing its old-time policy of reducing the teaching of Socialism to a narrow sectarian dogmatism, more concerned with catchwords and shibboleths than with principles, and remains outside the working class movement.

Between the I. L. P. and the S. D. P. there is a section of Socialist opinion which has been of late a good deal in evidence. This section has no defined position towards the Labor Party and the underlying policy of that party. One day it applauds the Labor Party; the next it denounces the party and all its works. It professes to approve such an alliance; at the same time it advocates a policy which is fundamentally inconsistent with it. This attitude towards Socialist policy and working class political action can best be illustrated by a quotation from a recently published essay, entitled "The Problem of Parliament" (by Victor Grayson, M. P., and G. H. Taylor). This essay advocates the formation of a Socialist Representation Committee, which is to work apart from the Labor Party.

"Is there," ask the writers, "any reasonable manner of bringing this desirable Socialist Party into the sphere of practical politics? That is the question which is uppermost in the mind of every Socialist worthy of the name. Those who are more concerned for the advancement of labor will, of course, think differently. The basis of the Socialist Party must be the I. L. P., the S. D. P., the Clarion Scouts, and, if it can possibly be brought to the point of making up its political mind, the Fabian Society. There are also various local societies which are small but powerful in their neighborhood."

Two things stand out in this official pronouncement: 1st, That the Trade Unions, which are the only expression of genuine class consciousness the workers of Great Britain have hitherto evolved, are to be rigidly excluded from the new party; 2d, That this new Socialist Party is not to concern itself with "the advancement of Labor."

The confusion of thought manifested in this quotation is fairly typical of the mental attitude and capacity of those who pose as the critics of the I. L. P. and its policy of uniting the working class. The effect of this confused teaching by men who pose as Socialists has been to unsettle the minds of some members of the I. L. P., and to make them not only distrustful of the policy of the party, but of its officials and representatives charged with the responsibility of promoting and applying that policy. This unsettled state of mind led some of our members to support proposals which sought to secure all the advantages of the Labor Party alliance, while repudiating the obligations of loyalty and unity which that alliance imposes.

Criticisms, innuendos and misstatements have been made week by week in papers controlled by this section, and in platform speeches. Despite this, these papers are sold by I. L. P. branches, and speakers known to be dissentient from the I. L. P. policy are invited to speak from the party platforms. The result of these discordant actions was to be seen in the Conference Agenda, in resolutions reflecting this mental chaos and this spirit of distrust and suspicion.

In addition to all this, there has been a continuous flow of uninformed criticism, most of it unjust and untrue, against the party in the House of Commons, which was calculated to seriously weaken the confidence of the working class in the Labor Party. On one occasion, for example, when a Socialist member, who, from the time of his election, had refrained from taking any part whatever in the hard and serious work of Parliament, indulged in an effective protest, some branches of the I. L. P. hailed this as an illustration of the highest Parliamentary wisdom. Years of political drudgery and effective service were forgotten, and those who preferred the methods of hard work to a momentary display of heroics were branded as "traitors to their class." Finally there came the Holborn Town Hall incident, when one of us was subjected to gross insult by the men who were breeding and fomenting discord in the ranks.

The I. L. P. generally did not appear to realize the gravity of the situation created by these disruptive tactics. Those who did not agree with them remained, as a rule, passive, or contented themselves with pleas for peace and amity. While supporting nominally the I. L. P. policy, they did not appear to realize the seriousness of tactics which were opposed to that policy. In fact, when, as our official responsibility compelled us to do, we dissociated the I. L. P. from these actions and methods, we were regarded with suspicion, and charged with engaging in personal quarrels.

When the Conference reached that part of the N. A. C. report, in which the Holborn meeting incident and similar matters were mentioned, and the action of the N. A. C. upon them submitted for the approval of the delegates, some discussion took place, and finally it was decided by a considerable majority to "refer the matter back," which, in other words, means that the Conference refused to approve the action taken by the N. A. C. This, we believe, was done from a desire to promote peace in the ranks. But this action, like former actions to which we have referred, showed that the Confer-

ence did not realize the situation or appreciate the need of enforcing discipline, or of supporting the officials charged with carrying out the policy of the party. Moreover, the action of the Conference, if it had gone unchallenged by us, would certainly not have brought peace, but would have given further encouragement to the disruptive sections.

We gave long and serious consideration to the situation created by the Conference vote, and we decided unanimously that not only our own self-respect, but the interests of the movement, demanded that we should bring the Conference and the party face to face with the seriousness of the situation. The only way, in our opinion, in which we could do that was by resigning our official positions on the Council.

We have not taken this course in any spirit of offended dignity. The point at issue is not the declared policy of the party. On that question the Conference supported us by overwhelming majorities. The matter involved is as to whether the party is determined to carry out that policy and to enforce loyalty to it, and to discountenance actions and methods opposed to it. The party, in our opinion, must assume a serious sense of responsibility for its obligations, and must give a whole-hearted support to those entrusted with executive authority to carry out the policy of the party.

We believe whole-heartedly in the policy of the Labor Party. It is the policy of the I. L. P. We, as members of the N. A. C., were charged with the difficult work of applying that policy. We did so to the best of our ability and judgment, and in what we conceived to be the interests of the movement. The vote of the Conference, however, did not support our actions.

We leave the Council of the party; but we remain in the party. We shall in no way slacken our efforts to make the I. L. P. strong and respected in the future as it has been in the past. But our work for the I. L. P. will be on the lines which have been followed since its formation, the wisdom of which has been proved by the achievements of the party. The Labor Party, in all its strength and fullness, its weakness and mistakes, is not only a true reflex of the working class thought and life, but also the only means by which Socialism can be realized. It is because we believe this that we have taken our present course of action, and because we feel how vital it is that there should be not only nominal adherence to the policy of the Labor Party, but a rejection of all methods and tactics alien to that policy or tending to its subversion.

J. KEIR HARDIE,
J. RAMSAY MacDONALD,
PHILIP SNOWDEN,
J. BRUCE GLASIER.

Edinburgh, April 14, 1909.

GEORGE BARNES, M. P., ON THE I. L. P. CRISIS.

To the Editor, Labor Leader.

Sir—The Edinburgh Conference has come and gone. The I. L. P. has now to face facts and deal with them. It would have been better if they had been faced and dealt with earlier.

For some time there has been a condition of strain which was sure to result in rupture at some time. The branches have been true—or desired to be true—to the fundamental principles of the party, to the propagation of Socialism, and to the working alliance with Organized Labor; but a disruptive element has grown up in their midst concerned only with the propagation of ideas utterly at variance with the ideas of the party. Nay, it has been allowed, and even encouraged, so that it has become so strong as to threaten the continued effectiveness of the party as a force in the practical political life of the nation. The branches have exhibited a good-natured tolerance, and have, I am afraid, been seized with the notion that anarchy would somehow get itself resolved into order if only let alone and given a clear field.

The strain of the situation has, however, as a matter of fact, become intensified, and the National Administrative Council had to make some statement as to the position, and to justify certain mild measures which had been taken to bring to the mind of the party a consciousness of the mischief which had occurred. This was done through the medium of the annual report submitted to the Conference. But the perceptions of many of the delegates had been confused by recent pseudo-revolutionary harangues, and the report was rejected, with the result that Hardie, MacDonald, Snowden and Glasier resigned their positions on the N. A. C.

The branches have now to say who shall take their place, and, in so saying, to also decide what line the I. L. P. intends to pursue in the future.

For my part I hope that there will be no misplaced squeamishness in the matter. I say nothing as to the motives of those who call themselves "clean" Socialists; they may be perfectly honest. I am concerned only with the results of their actions, and I have no hesitation in saying that they are destructive and utterly alien to the I. L. P. conception and policy.

The rank and file of the party should say—and, I am sure, will say—in no unmistakable terms that the I. L. P. is no place for those who refuse to make common cause with Organized Labor.

It may be thought by some that it is injudicious on my part to say this, and especially to say it in your columns.

But, sir, I am an old-time member of the party. I have done a little of the spade work, and have perhaps more interest in the I. L. P. than some of our young friends who have found it, or made it, a convenient jumping-off place for the footlights.

The old guard have been too modest. It is a good quality in certain circumstances; but those circumstances are not present with us now, nor have been for the last few months. Moreover, modesty has been presumed upon. It has ceased to be a virtue, and is now a crime against the organization. Yours, etc.,

GEO. N. BARNES.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

The morning after the defeat of the Liberal candidate at the recent election in Glasgow, Premier Asquith received about a thousand post cards, all reading as follows: "Sir—I have this day recorded my vote against your candidate at the request of the Women's Freedom League, as a protest against your attitude towards the urgent question of votes for women." To each card was signed the name of a legal voter of Glasgow.

Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, biographer of Susan B. Anthony, has gone to London to report the International Woman Suffrage Alliance for the New York Sun, the Indianapolis News, the Boston Transcript and other papers. Another well-known American newspaper woman who will be in attendance is Miss Georgia Hopley of Ohio.

The headquarters of the National American Woman Suffrage Association at Warren, Ohio, report a hitherto unprecedented demand for literature. From Nov. 1, 1908, to April 1, 1909, an average of upwards of 2,000 pieces for each working day was sent out, making a total of 261,925 pieces for that short period.

Now Is the Time for Democratic and Republican Union Men to read Benson's pamphlet, "What Help Can Any Workingman Expect from Taft or Bryan?" The election excitement is over, and while waiting for the advent of prosperity you may take this little dose of brain food.

Socialism, Its Growth and Outcome. By William Morris and Ernest Belfort Bax. Chicago, Chas. Kerr & Co. Price, 50 cents. 'Tis a splendid little volume which should find its way into every public and private library.

Journeyman Bakers' Public Mass Meeting.

Bakers' Union No. 4 will hold a public mass meeting of union and non-union bakers Saturday, May 8, at 8 p. m., at New Club Hall, Chouteau avenue and Thirteenth street. Good speakers in English and German will address the meeting.

The Origin of Free Schools

By A. M. Simons.

Of few things is the average patriot-American prouder than of our free educational system. Probably the majority of such patriots if asked to what we owe this institution would somehow relate it to the Declaration of Independence. Nearly all imagine it was established by those who formulated the Constitution of the United States and laid the foundation of our present governmental institutions.



A. M. Simons.

This historian knows that at the close of the second war with Great Britain there was nothing that could be called an educational system. Massachusetts was expending less per capita for education in 1830 than the most backward state of the South is expending today. Nearly everywhere the system of private schools was the only thing offered for general education.

The writers on the history of education in America, while recognizing the facts so far as stated, generally account for what they call the "Educational Revival" of the late '30s and early '40s on the "Great Man" theory. They assure us that it was the lucky chance that placed Horace Mann upon this continent during those years that we owe the establishment of a general system of free education.

In most fields of historical thought this theory has nearly passed away. Historians have learned that "great men" do not make great movements, but are made by them. The fact that a great educator appeared in America at this time was due to certain social phenomena that created a condition in which the appearance of such an educator was inevitable.

The years immediately following the war of 1812 formed the period of the American industrial revolution. It was in these years that the hand loom and the cottage spinning wheel gave way to the great factory. This change in the industrial foundation of society produced the first "great labor movement" on this continent. It was a great movement. Organized Labor had its own daily paper in New York—something it did not have again until a few months ago. There were nearly sixty trade union journals—a number that compares favorably with the present situation. One workingman had been sent to the New York legislature and several into the city councils of different states—a condition that puts the present to shame.

It is to this labor movement that we owe the first great impulse to popular education. It has always been characteristic of the labor movement that throughout its history it has sought to get understanding. Some day the story of the educational side of the labor movement will be written, and it will be seen how widespread has been its influence in training and informing the great masses of the population.

This early American labor movement came in a century almost without educational institutions for the benefit of the workers. Before it left the scene it had started a revolution that placed this nation well up toward the front rank in educational matters.

How do we know that this labor movement did the work? Because its voice was the first, and for a long time almost the only voice raised in favor of free popular education, and because, as we have seen, its voice was sufficiently powerful to produce results.

The center of this movement was in New York, so it is here that we look first for expressions on this subject.

At a meeting of the workingmen and women of that city held November 7, 1820, a set of resolutions setting forth the principles and program of the organized workers was adopted. From that the following is taken:

"Resolved, That the most grievous species of inequality is that produced by inequality of education, and that a national system of education and guardianship which shall furnish to all children of the land equal food, clothing and instruction at the public expense is the only effectual remedy for this and for almost every other species of injustice.

"Resolved, That in the opinion of the meeting * * * that it behooves us, before attempting any minor reforms to unite our efforts and our votes to carry through our state legislatures the great regenerating measures of a national education, which shall secure equality to every child which is born in the republic an enlightened, practical and systematic course of instruction, including the knowledge of at least one trade or useful occupation, and a comfortable maintenance during that course of instruction at the public expense."

That is the outline of a system of education, a working program for political action that nearly a century of progress has failed to completely attain, and a portion of which is just being actively discussed at the present time.

If it be urged that this program was written by Robert Owen, the great English Socialist, who chanced to be at the meeting, it may be replied, first, that he could not force upon the meeting, which included over a thousand persons, a set of resolutions with which they were not in sympathy, and, secondly, there is ample evidence that these resolutions were in no way an expression of an isolated sentiment.

Three years later, with Owen nowhere in evidence, we find another mass meeting with three thousand workingmen in attendance, in the same city, which "Resolved, That next to life and liberty, we consider education the greatest blessing bestowed upon mankind," and reiterated much of the progress of the previous meeting. In September, 1832, at another workingmen's meeting in Boston, one of the things demanded was "the improvement of the present system of education among the people, with special reference to the internal economy of factories."

The Philadelphia workingmen, who were also organizing both in unions and politically, spoke in the same manner. From the "Mechanics' Free Press of that city we learn of a meeting of workingmen for political purposes in 1829, in which the following resolution was adopted as part of their political principles:

"Therefore, believing as we do that the happiness or misery, the freedom or slavery of our posterity depends on the adoption of a GENERAL AND UNIVERSAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION (capitals in original), and having waited in vain for our legislators to enact one answerable to our just expectations, leads us to the unalterable determination to give our suffrage to no candidate for the state legislature who is not ardently devoted to the attainment of this most important measure."

The Philadelphia working class had a particularly vicious educational situation to meet. John Rach McMaster, in his "History of the People of the United States," describes it as follows:

"The ruling idea was pauperism. State aid was confined exclusively to the children of the poor. Many a one, in consequence, went without an education because their parents were too self-respecting to make them the objects of public charity."

Consequently the workingmen of Philadelphia elected a committee to investigate and report on this subject, and their report is one of the most complete surveys of the whole educational field at that period that is known.

It would be possible to go on to almost any length to show how the great labor movement that reached into all the Atlantic coast cities and as far into the interior as Galena, Ill., had as its fundamental demand a free and equal system of public education. An examination of the literature of that movement shows a familiarity with the work of Pestalozzi and Froebel such as could be found nowhere else in America.

Here, then, we have an adequate cause for the great "educational revival," which immediately followed the events we have just considered. Moreover, there was no other class in society that was working for a system of free public schools. Yale and Harvard and Dartmouth and other great institutions of learning had already reached considerable strength. But no call for common schools

came from within their walls. The growing class of manufacturers had become of sufficient strength to bend the national government to its purpose, but its organ, "Niles' Weekly," has been carefully searched in vain for any recognition of this great movement from which the American common school sprang.

The conclusion becomes irresistible in face of these facts that to this early labor movement, more than to any other single cause, at least is due the fact that today we have a system of education open to every child. In view of these facts, is it not too much to say that these early representatives of the working class ought to have a prominent place in any discussion of the "Fathers of our Country?"—Progressive Journal of Education.

HOW POOR MEN ARE TREATED BY A BIG FIRM.

The Landon Grocery Co. recently advertised in the daily papers for laborers to work at their burned out stores on North Main street. About thirty-four men are now asking in vain to be paid for the work they did. Some worked over seven days. Two of the men, whose names are undersigned, have entered suit in the Justice Court for their meagre pay but the rich grocery firm, which by the way received \$125,000 fire loss, is fighting their just demands by every trick of law. Two changes of venue have been forced on the men. This gives a graphic picture of the helplessness of a poor man in the courts of justice.

MIKE BURNS, No. 16 S. Second St.
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INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

Read Victor Grayson's article on the British Labor Party in the International Socialist Review for March.

In the April number you will find a reply by Robert Hunter. This gives you both sides of a very live subject. Either number, 5c. Only 10c for both March and April numbers. Both sent postpaid on receipt of 15c.

LABOR BOOK DEPARTMENT,
212 South Fourth Street.

THOMAS McGRADY'S LAST WILL.

This Is What His Pamphlet On "The Catholic Church and Socialism" May Justly Be Called.



One of the best (if not THE best!) pamphlets written by Rev. Thomas McGrady is "The Catholic Church and Socialism." It is an eye-opener. It is his last will, if we may call it so, for it was written in July 1907, only a few months before his death. It is a presentation of facts, free of any tendency of ill feeling or abuse. Hundreds of thousands of copies of this valuable little pamphlet should be circulated. It is equally instructive to Socialists and non-Socialists. The pamphlet contains an introductory comment by Comrade Eugene V. Debs, and introductory notes by the editor of The Arena, who first published the article in July, 1907.

It was when Comrade Debs had just handed the copy of his comment to the printer, to be set up for this edition of the pamphlet, that he received the sad news of the sudden death of the brave comrade and friend Thomas McGrady. This makes the little pamphlet only more valuable.

The retail price of the pamphlet "The Catholic Church and Socialism" is advertised as 10 cents; but we have made special arrangements whereby we are in a position to sell it for 5 cents a copy, and mail it to any address, postage prepaid. Read it! It is good! Labor Book Department, 212 S. Fourth St., St. Louis, Mo.

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WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE DEPARTMENT

THE SONG OF THE SEWING MACHINE.

By S. Aronowich.

In an endless whirl, while others toil,
I sing my hours away;
For my needle's quick, and its click, click, click
Makes me so happy—while hearts grow sick—
Through the long, long, livelong day.

What care have I if others die?
Two feet will come again,
And will sate my whim and spin, spin, spin,
While my trusty old needle will join in the din
With his click-click-clicking strain.

Each tale of woe sets my heart aglow,
And I hope they never cease,
For each cry of pain is a sweet refrain
That I long to hear again, again,
For it sets my soul at peace.

International Address On Woman's Suffrage

(Delivered by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, President of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, at the Congress in Amsterdam, June 5, 1908.)

II.

Caricatures in Italy.

Italy held its first Congress of Women last April, and one session was devoted to a warm debate on woman suffrage. A very large audience, ranging from members of the most conservative nobility to well-known advocates of broad democracy, filled the hall. Several women and two members of Parliament addressed the meeting in favor of suffrage for women. The newspapers printed long reports, but these were interspersed with caricatures of the women leaders. Caricatures represent an early, but inevitable, step in woman suffrage evolution. Curiously, the caricaturists of all lands model suffrage leaders after one common pattern. Just why they have always pictured them as carrying umbrellas, I do not know. In the early days, it is possible they imagined the umbrella to be the weapon with which women were expected to attack governments; but in these days Italian caricaturists should know that woman suffragists possess far more effective weapons. Mr. Asquith could teach them better. We congratulate Italian women upon the progress they are making. It is only a short step from caricatures to serious consideration, and better times are in store for the Italian suffragists. The movement in every country has passed through this stage.

Like straws which show the direction of the wind, events here and there indicate the general awakening of women. Greece and Serbia have formed National Councils of Women. Icelandic women in America have organized a woman suffrage association, and now publish a woman suffrage paper in their own language, which circulates among the Icelanders in the United States and Canada. From Washington come the tidings that the Japanese Minister declares the women of his country to be making such strides towards emancipation that they may yet outstrip the women of the western nations. In the land of the Sultan it is reported that the women are growing restive, and there, as elsewhere, the authorities are learning that, if the women are to be kept in submission, it is a mistake to permit them to learn to read.

England the Storm Center.

Although from Occident to Orient, from Lapland to sunny Italy, and from Canada to South Africa the agitation for woman suffrage has known no pause, yet, after all, the storm-center of the movement has been located in England. In other lands there have been steps in evolution; in England there has been a revolution. There have been no guns, nor powder, nor bloodshed, but there have been all other evidences of war. There have been brave generals, well-trained armies, and many a well-fought battle; there have been tactics and strategies, sorties, sieges and even prisoners of war. There are those who have criticized the methods employed; but until we know the whole truth concerning what the women of England have actually done, why they did it, and how they did it, we have no right to criticize. It must be admitted that the English campaign stands out clearly by comparison not only as the most remarkable ever conducted for woman suffrage, but as the hardest-fought campaign ever waged for any reform. There have been several organizations, and these have differed widely as to methods, yet no time has been wasted in disputes over them, and the main object has never been lost sight of for a moment. The so-called suffragettes have displayed an amazing amount of energy, of persistence and executive force. Yet the older and more conservative body of workers has been no less remarkable. Human nature is so constituted that most leaders would have "sulked in their tents," or joined the general stone-throwing at the newcomers, whose methods were declared to be "setting the cause backward hundreds of years." These English leaders did nothing of the kind. Instead, with forbearance we may all do well to imitate, they quadrupled their own activities. Every class, including ladies of the nobility, working girls, housewives and professional women, has engaged in the campaign, and not a man, woman or child in England has been permitted to plead ignorance concerning the meaning of woman suffrage. Together, suffragists and suffragettes have carried their appeal into the byways and most hidden corners of the kingdom. They have employed more original methods, enlisted a larger number of women workers, and grasped the situation in a bolder fashion than has been done elsewhere. In other countries persuasion has been the chief, if not the only, weapon relied upon; in England it has been persuasion plus political methods.

"By their fruits shall ye know them." Already these English women have made woman suffrage a political issue. No one can understand the meaning of this achievement so well as those who have borne the brunt of hard-fought suffrage battles. It has been the dream of many a suffrage campaign, but no other women have made it a realization. When the deputation of 60 members of Parliament paid a visit to the Prime Minister a few days ago to ask his support for woman suffrage, the zenith of the world's half-century of woman suffrage campaigning was reached.

Triumph in Sight.

English women have effected another result, which is likewise an unerring sign of coming triumph. A new movement is invariably attacked by ridicule. If the movement is a poor one, it is laughed out of existence, if it is a good one, it waxes strong under attack. In time the laugh is turned upon its early opponents, and when ridicule sets in that direction it is a sign that the strife is nearly finished.

Turning the Laugh.

The laugh has now been turned upon the English government. What may have been its effect upon England, only those who know that country from the inside can tell; but there has been a change of sentiment toward the English suffrage campaign on the outside, and of this we may speak.

Watching the Game.

First, the world joined in loudly expressed disgust at the alleged unfeminine conduct of English suffragists. Editorial writers in many lands scoured the suffrage workers of their respective countries over the shoulders of these lively English militants. Time

passed; comment ceased; and the world, which had ridiculed, watched the contest in silence, but with never an eye closed. It assumed the attitude of the referee who realizes he is watching a cleverly-played game, with the chances hanging in the balance. Then came the laugh. The dispatches flashed the news to the remotest corners of the globe that English Cabinet Ministers were "protected" in the streets by bodyguards; the houses of Cabinet Ministers were "protected" by relays of police, and even the great Houses of Parliament were "protected" by a powerful cordon of police. Protected! and from what? The embarrassing attack of unarmed women! In other lands police have protected emperors, czars, kings and presidents from the assaults of hidden foes, whose aim has been to kill. That there has been such need is tragic; and when, in contrast, the vision was presented of the Premier of England hiding behind locked doors, skulking along side streets, and guarded everywhere by officers, lest an encounter with a feminine interrogation point should put him to rout, it proved too much for the ordinary sense of humor.

Parliament Needing Protection.

Again, the dispatches presented another view. Behold, they said, the magnificent and world-renowned Houses of Parliament surrounded by police, and every woman approaching that sacred precinct, halted, examined, and perhaps arrested! Behold all this elaborate protection to save members of Parliament from inopportune tidings that women would have votes; yet, despite it all, the forbidden message is delivered, for over the Houses floats conspicuously and defiantly a huge "Votes for Women" kite. Perhaps England did not know the big world laughed then; but it did, and more, from that moment it conceded the victory to the suffragists. The only question remaining unanswered is: How will the government surrender, and at the same time preserve its dignity and consistency?

A Battle Nobly Fought.

I have no wish to defend, or condemn, the tactics which have been employed in England; but let me ask a question. Had there been newspapers and cables in 1215, do you not think the staid and dignified nobility of other lands would have been scandalized at the unruly behavior of the English Barons? They certainly would. Yet we have forgotten the names of those barons, and we have forgotten the methods by which they wrested the Magna Charta from King John; we only remember that they did it, and that all mankind has enjoyed larger liberties and opportunities ever since. History repeats itself, and I venture the second prediction: For the English suffragists, final triumph is near at hand. When it comes, the world will forget the details of the campaign it has criticized, and will remember only that woman suffrage is an established fact in one of the greatest governments of the world. Nay, more, as the English Barons fought a battle for the rights of all mankind in the thirteenth century, so do I conscientiously believe that these English women of the twentieth century, suffragists and suffragettes, are striking a tremendously effective blow in behalf of the political liberty of the women of all the nations. Let those who will, criticize. English women are making history today, and coming generations will pronounce it nobly made. When they have won their cause, all women should understand that their proper relation to these plucky, self-sacrificing English women is not that of critic, but of debtor.

The Situation in America.

I can not close this review of the present-day situation without some comment upon the conditions in my own country. For some decades in the nineteenth century it was the chief example of democracy, and the advocates of popular government in other lands looked to the United States of America for proof of its advantage. For the past 30 years, however, reports have been largely current declaring universal male suffrage to be a signal failure there. The picture as painted by these reports and embellished by many a startling detail, is dark and forbidding, and, without doubt, has had a powerful restraining influence upon the growth of the movement for government by the people. Indeed, I believe it may be truthfully said that the great European movement of 1848, which resulted in constitutions and extended suffrage in many countries, was largely the effect of the beneficial experience in the United States; just as during the latter part of the last century the report of corruption, bribery and the control of legislation by political machines in the United States has been the chief hindrance to further progress. Antagonists found in these reports abundant cause to continue their opposition; the indifferent found nothing to persuade them to a change of view, and even the advocates themselves of extended suffrage were forced into a position of explanation and apology.

Popular Government a Success.

These reports concerning man suffrage in the United States have had some foundation of truth; yet, among the many signs which today point to the final triumph of popular government, to votes for men and women, there is none more significant than the fact that, although the United States has gathered a population which represents every known race; although among its people are the followers of every religion, and the subjects of every form of government; although there has been the dead weight of a large ignorant vote; yet the little settlement which, 150 years ago, rested upon the western shores of the Atlantic, a mere colonial possession, has steadily climbed upward, until today it occupies a proud position of equality among the greatest governments of the world. After all, what stronger proof could be offered that popular government is a success?

The existence in our body politic of nearly a million of illiterate negroes, and another million of illiterate men of foreign birth or parentage; the increase of our population through immigration at the average rate of nearly 1,000,000 persons each year, and the problems of poverty, insanity and criminality arising out of these conditions, have made our state governments conservative. The additional fact that woman suffrage must come through a referendum to the votes of all men, has postponed its establishment. Nevertheless, man suffrage in the United States is as firmly fixed as the Rock of Gibraltar, and woman suffrage is as sure to follow as are the stars to move on in their appointed courses.

The Mississippi Dam.

A few years ago the Mississippi river was dammed by a huge mass of ice. For days the mighty waters struggled to break through the obstruction, and then, since rivers obey unchanging law which compels them to flow on to the sea, the force of the water dug a new channel around the ice, and the present course of the great river lies a mile away from the old one. In some such fashion, the on-marching movement for man and woman suffrage made its greatest progress in the United States when that country offered the path of least resistance. Then an obstruction appeared. A mixed, ignorant and untrained electorate became the ready victim of unscrupulous politicians, and offered a temptation which the cupidity of selfish men could not withstand. It was an obstacle which in the nature of things will not be repeated elsewhere. For a time the movement for popular government attempted to overcome this obstacle. Then, happily, since the evolution of human society obeys the same immutable law which controls the action of rivers, this movement passed around the United States and appeared, with none of its momentum lost, in Australia, New Zealand and later in the Old World.

Not National, But International.

Naturally, it would have flattered the pride and patriotism of American women could their country have continued to lead the movement which there had its organized beginning. But their deep regret that this can not be does not modify the genuine sincerity of their joy over the progress in other lands. There are irresistible forces which make for human liberty, and against which kings and armies struggle in vain. Man suffrage and woman suffrage are such forces. In the long run it can not matter where the victory came earliest, since our cause is not national, but international. The gains will always follow the path of least resistance, and a fortunate combination of political conditions may disclose at the most unexpected times and in the most undreamed of places. The workers of every country must be watchful and prepared to seize the oppor-

tunity when it offers. Every victory gained adds momentum to the whole movement. Every association which labors unitedly and unselfishly to secure the suffrage aids the work in other lands.

Enemy Not Man, But Conservatism.

In this common cause women have clasped hands over the mountains and over the seas, and have become in truth a world army. The legal and political position of women at the beginning has been practically the same in all lands. As they march on to self-respect, liberty and opportunity, along the self-same road, they will encounter there the same obstacles, the same experiences. We hear much of the solidarity of the human race. We represent the solidarity of a sex. We oppose a common enemy, whose name is not man, but conservatism. Its weapons are the same in all lands—tradition, prejudice and selfishness. We, too, have a common weapon—an appeal to justice and fair play. Arguments pro and con are pronounced in Japanese and Dutch, Icelandic and Italian, but, when translated into a common tongue, they are duplicates. A Chinese Mandarin and an American Congressman, a Sulu Sultan and an English Prime Minister, will give precisely the same reasons why a woman should not vote. Therefore, we must remain a united army which, in the words of Susan B. Anthony, "knows only woman, and her disfranchisement."

Delegates From All Countries.

Today delegates are present from every Suffrage Association in the world, and never before have so many nationalities been represented in a convention assembled to discuss woman suffrage. Our Alliance, in four years, has grown from a federation of eight to one of sixteen National Associations. Already woman suffrage obtains on one-fiftieth of the world's surface. Heretofore the battle has been fought in countries of large territory and small population; the battles of the future will be in countries of small territory and large population. This means harder, more tactful, more persistent work. We must grow closer to each other; we must learn to help each other, to give courage to the faint-hearted and cheer to the disappointed of all lands. Within our Alliance, we must try to develop so lofty a spirit of internationalism, a spirit so clarified from all personalities, and ambitions, and even national antagonisms, that its purity and grandeur will furnish new inspiration to all workers in our cause. We must send forth from this meeting a note so full of sisterly sympathy, of faith in womanhood, of exultant hope, a note so impelling that it will be heard by the women of all lands, and will call them forth to join our world's army. Verily, my sisters, these are good times in which we live, and, unless the signs augur amiss, the time is not far distant when the women of the world shall enter into their own kingdom of individual freedom in home and church and state.

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In 1908 for Debs and Hanford..... 423,898

SOCIALIST VOTE OF THE WORLD.

1867..... 30,000
1877..... 494,000
1887..... 931,000
1893..... 2,585,000
1898..... 4,515,000
1903..... 6,825,000
1906..... over 7,000,000

Morality and Conscience

Rev. J. W. Worsnop, pastor of the Grand Avenue Methodist Church, in supporting the Prohibition amendment now before the Missouri state legislature, publishes the following pathetic little story in some of the St. Louis daily papers:

Now, a good word for the saloon keepers. When they are converted they become the strongest advocates for prohibition. I once helped a preacher in a revival meeting who had formerly been a saloon keeper. He said to me: "While I was a saloon keeper I knew I was in a bad business. Many a time when a fellow came to buy a drink, and I knew his wife and children needed food and clothing, I would feel that I was a low-down, dirty, mean dog. I was ashamed of myself and the business. Then I would put the dollars up before my eyes and I forced myself to see nothing else. My conscience troubled me a good deal and I had a time to keep it quiet and hold it down." That man is for prohibition and fighting the liquor traffic wherever he is today.

Another saloon keeper was converted. He poured all his liquor into the gutter. Then he started out as an evangelist and to fight for prohibition. When such men are converted they show themselves to be made of heroic stuff; and they are strong men added to the prohibition ranks.

Many a saloon keeper's wife would like her husband to be out of that business. A wife before she died got her husband to promise that he would leave the liquor business. He kept his promise like a man. One of these women sent for me to pray with her husband, who was nearly at death's door. I went and had to go through the saloon to get to the room where he was. And if called upon I would do the same thing again. Many of these women, no doubt, are at heart for prohibition.

If those in the liquor traffic were converted, we should have more advocates for prohibition. I covet every one of them on the side of this great question. Pathetic, indeed!

If Rev. Worsnop had given name and address of that Revival Saloon Keeper-preacher thousands of males and females might go, and kiss the old sinner whose life was saved by a mere accident.

The saloon keeper must be saved, for he is in a bad business. And prohibition will save him, sure. If the body should be beyond saving, we could at least save his soul; after all, soul-saving is the main object of our profession.

How the converted revival preacher was ashamed of the money he made in the saloon business! According to Rev. Worsnop's pathetic description the saloon keeper and later revival preacher felt like a criminal; he thought he was a criminal. His conscience troubled him, and he felt that of his morality little or nothing was left. He saw the dollar, and loved nothing else. He loved the dollar which he made in the saloon, but then his conscience rebelled and he became a preacher in revival meetings.

The second saloon keeper became an evangelist after pouring all his liquor into the gutter. Another brave man with his soul saved!

A saloon keeper's wife, imagining her husband at death's door, calls for Rev. Worsnop to save the dying husband's soul. In order to accomplish this the reverend gentleman even walked through the dying sinner's saloon, and we suspect very much that he got a little of the sinner's money for saving his soul.

Such work deserves admiration!

However, we should like to call Rev. Worsnop's attention to a few other little things outside of the "Hell of Liquordom." The average saloon keeper is no worse than the average business man in general. He is buying and selling commodities for profit, "making a living" for himself and family. The saloon keeper is not exploiting men, women and children in the production of commodities like many of the pious gentlemen of this city well known as expert exploiters of cheap female and child labor.

Prominent manufacturers of this city employ hundreds of boys and girls in their factories and stores at the weekly wage of from \$2 to \$3—hardly enough to pay the children's carfare and the dry sandwich which makes up their noonday lunch.

Yet some of these same pious manufacturers occupy the front pews in some of the aristocratic West End churches, and it seems that their standard of morality is not in the least lowered in the eyes of the reverend gentlemen whose duty it is to preach to them the gospel so many times a week.

We know of one especially pious shoe manufacturer who will not hesitate to subscribe \$1,000 for church purposes (and the daily

press will usually attend to the advertising part of it); yet the same man employs hundreds of girls and boys at wages ranging from \$2.50 to \$4 a week! And his department foremen will see to it that these children feel almost completely exhausted from the hard and rushing work when the noisy factory wheels finish their day's service in the evening.

Another manufacturer contributed tens of thousands of dollars toward the establishment of a Tuberculosis Hospital; the same man has made his millions out of the work of cheap female and child labor. Children working for \$2 and \$3 a week. Young girls 20 years of age working for \$4 and \$5 a week. How many young girls and boys contracted consumption in this very place of exploitation? The same manufacturer is a liberal contributor to all kinds of church and religious purposes.

These are but a few examples. These manufacturers are no exception. What they are doing or have been doing in the way of exploiting men, women and children at starvation wages is done by the business world in general. It is moral to sacrifice the lives of women and children, because 'tis business.

It does not trouble the conscience of the exploiter, because 'tis business.

It does not strike the average capitalist pastor, priest or rabbi as being immoral, because 'tis business.

Anything that can be pressed under the fascinating lid of business is moral and need not trouble any capitalist conscience.

This may explain why our esteemed reverend gentlemen have never inaugurated a campaign against the exploiters of labor. In their opinion it is of more vital importance to save the souls of the saloon keepers and to exile the liquor devil to the unexplored regions of Hades than to assist Organized Labor in its divine efforts to enact and enforce Prohibition of capitalist exploitation of cheap female and child labor.

It is a fact that the American labor movement has done more for real temperance and sobriety among the great mass of the working people than all the preachers and Prohibitionist politicians ever have or ever will accomplish. And it has been brought about not by any prohibition or inquisitorial methods, but by economic and social and intellectual improvements. A new standard of morality has been established by the modern labor movement, and the old fossilized capitalist business conscience has been displaced by the conscience of humanity.

The man or woman thoroughly acquainted with the fundamental causes and the object of the labor movement looks upon the saloon keeper with the same eye as on any other business man. While the one may sell pure or adulterated drinks, the other will sell pure or poisoned milk, good or embalmed beef, or 'solid leather' shoes made of pasteboard. But drinks and milk, beef and shoes are sold for profit. The most successful business man is he who can make the most profit in the least time, i. e., who can get the best of his competitors and of his customers, or victims.

The assertion that the liquor traffic never has been a legitimate business is an argument for children or imbeciles. The saloon keepers and brewers, as a class, carry on their business in the same legitimate manner as any other class of capitalist manufacturers or business men, and their standard of morality is not different from that of the rest.

It is the general business morality which equilibrates the capitalist conscience.

Why should the saloon keeper and the brewer be singled out as the victims? Why should they be outlawed? Why should they be stamped with the stamp of immorality, degeneracy and crime?

We are opposed to lopsided morality and twisted capitalist consciences.

Observations

Now Is the Time to Circulate Standard Socialist Books and pamphlets and increase the circulation of our press. Induce the people to read and study the great question of the day—the labor and social problem. Call at the Labor Book Department, 212 South Fourth street, where you will find one of the best assortments of literature in the country.

Keep Your Eyes on Our Public Schools! Watch the Underhand work of the Enemies of Public Education! A mass meeting of Catholics was held at Quincy, Ill., this week to protest against measures in favor of the free public schools now pending before the Illinois legislature. One of the bills provides for free transportation to the public schools of children in the rural districts.

The American Tobacco Co., Which Is Known as the Tobacco trust, has launched a brand of cigars known as "Judge Wright," in appreciation of the decision handed down by that gentleman against Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison. The labor journals that have ornamented their columns with the Douglas Shoe ad. should boost the "Judge Wright" cigar.—Miners' Magazine.

The Appeal to Reason of May 1 Contains Comrade Debs' Reply to Roosevelt's Attack on Socialism and the Socialist movement. The same issue publishes the following announcement: "Once more into Court! The case against Fred Warren, editor of the Appeal, has once more been set by the federal court at Ft. Scott. May 3 is the date and we are assured this time that the case will be tried. A consultation of the lawyers for the defense has just been held. Mr. Darrow of Chicago will have charge, assisted by L. C. Boyle, ex-attorney general of Kansas. The case has now been pending two years and this will be the fifth time that Warren has appeared in court prepared to make his defense. What the outcome this time will be can only be conjectured. For the part of Warren and the Appeal they are ready for the fight. The whole case from the beginning was intigated under the Roosevelt administration to crush the Appeal because of its defense of Moyer and Haywood, and not for the reason that any law had been violated. They thought they had the "little old Appeal" at last, but the army has again come to the rescue and it is now prepared for any kind of a fight the federal officials, backed by the plutocrats, force upon it. Keep your eye out for developments."

Socialist Party Picnic at Risch's Grove on Sunday, June 20.

The Entertainment Committee of the Socialist Party of St. Louis is making arrangements for a family picnic to be held at Risch's Grove, in Luxemburg (south of Carondelet, on Lemay Ferry road), Sunday, June 20. Further particulars will be announced later on.

Patronize our advertisers and notify them that you saw their ad. in St. Louis Labor.

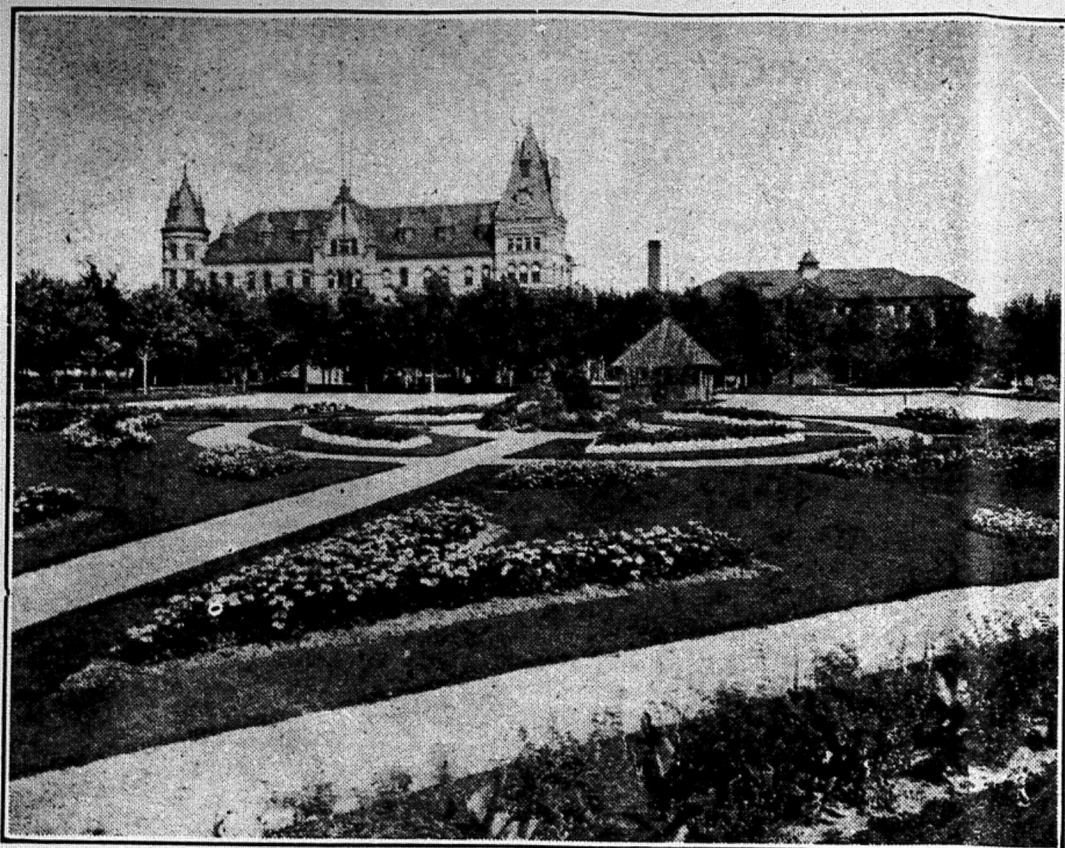
In Order to Be Successful in Business You Must Know How to get the best of the other fellow. Carrie Nation, the Prohibitionist hatchet lady, seems to have discovered a means of exploiting fanaticism, intolerance and ignorance of certain classes of people, as this press dispatch would indicate: Harrison, Ark., April 25.—With money derived from the sale of souvenir hatchets she has sold during her campaigns in behalf of the temperance cause, Carrie Nation, the Kansas lecturer and champion saloon smasher, has purchased an extensive tract of land in this (Boone) county, where she expects to spend the remainder of her days. Poultry, pigs, pigeons, peas and the famous Boone county apples will be raised in quantity by Mrs. Nation, according to the announcement of her agent, who completed the deal. The "Kansas cyclone," according to the best information, has been prevailed to move from her present home by persuasion from "Coin" Harvey, who located in Kansas after his noted "16 to 1" campaign years ago, which featured the first presidential essay from William Jennings Bryan. It is said her anti-saloon campaign has ended for good.

Organized Labor of This County Is Intensely Interested in the case of the Mexican political refugees Sarabia, Magon, Villarreal and others. The reason why the American Federation of Labor and industrial agitators generally throughout the United States have now taken up the Mexican case may strike many people as far-fetched, but is expressed by one of their organs as follows: "Let us put it up to the federal authorities squarely and with such emphasis as to jar them loose from their official dignity and cold-blooded indifference. When are these men to be tried? We, the people, want to know. We have a right to know. We do not propose to see patriots who have sacrificed all but life, and are ready to sacrifice that in the cause of liberty, rot in American bastiles to further the criminal conspiracy of American and Mexican capitalists to crush labor with an iron heel and reduce the whole working class to the filth and rags of Mexican peonage. There is only an imaginary line between the United States and Mexico and this is all there is between the working classes of the two countries. Capitalists are everlastingly looking for cheap labor. Mexico is the Eldorado of their dreams. Fourteen million peons are here unorganized, helpless, ready to work on the railroads, in the mills, factories, mines and shops at any wage, so it will keep soul and body together. American capitalists are developing Mexican industry and employing Mexican peons for the sole reason that it is the cheapest and most profitable labor power. There are no labor unions in Mexico. There are no strikes and no boycotts. Diaz, the despot, the tool of the American plutocracy, promptly suppresses all agitation and shoots labor leaders to keep the peons in helpless subjection. That is his part of the contract with the American capitalists. He guarantees them an unfailing abundance of the cheapest labor on earth. They, on the other hand, invest their capital, with the result that there is the richest picking for both sides, and all based on the slavery of the working population."

Rabbi Leon Harrison of St. Louis Hit a Hornets' Nest by Criticizing the daily press. Mr. Harrison expressed some sound, commonsense ideas. He said: "The average newspaper vulgarizes taste; panders to coarseness and crudeness; revels in salacious scandals; dwells on the abnormal, the exceptional and debases the noble English tongue, our common heritage. It devotes pages to pugilism, and hardly a weekly column to the spiritual interests of a great city. It is news, not when a man rises, but when he falls. His vices fill columns; his virtues not even lines. The divine in man is hardly noticed; only the diabolical. What benefit do you expect to get from your minute perusal of the daily paper? The editors themselves will rather pity your taste. One page of Burke, a psalm of David, a paragraph of Emerson, outweighs in essential merit and value all the city's newspapers of a day put together. What a pity it is, for the mechanism is marvelous. One first-class newspaper press can turn out 150,000 eight-page papers in an hour, and these eight pages contain 90,000 words, the contents of an ordinary book. Think of 150,000 books, as far as quantity goes, being manufactured by a single tremendous piece of mechanism in one hour! What a gigantic power this might be if exercised for the cultivation of good taste, for the development of public spirit, for the promotion of political purity, for culture, for lofty standards, for absolute civic righteousness. As a rule, this vast influence is not so exercised. The newspapers that aim high, that are a public blessing, are exceptions. Too many of them are dominated by demagogery; are absolutely in the grip of mercenary interests. They are slatterly in language; purchasable in opinion; pitifully politic in standpoint; cringing to the mob in their disproportionate emphasis on the vile and the criminal, to the neglect, or the false valuation of the drama, literature and the arts. As a rule, read headlines, the summaries only of vital happenings. Discriminate. Notice the important facts and let the rest go unread."

The Pope Has Declared Himself Against Woman Suffrage.

Some people seem to be surprised. They are not acquainted with the history of the Church. History tells us of a new council of Catholic Bishops where for several days the question was up for discussion: "Has Woman a Soul?" In other words: Is woman an animal or a human being? And the question was decided in the negative. In discussing the Pope's attitude on the equal suffrage question the N. Y. Evening Call says: "Some of the Suffragists express themselves as astonished that the Pope should have declared himself against woman suffrage. To us, the astonishing thing is that anyone should be astonished. And the only significant thing about the Pope's utterance on the subject is that he should have thought it necessary to declare himself at all. That the Papacy is opposed to the extension of equal political rights to both sexes goes without saying. That a specific declaration to that effect proves nothing except the growing strength of the movement for political equality—proves that the demand for equal suffrage is gaining ground among thoughtful Catholics as well as among thinking people of all other shades of religious belief or unbelief. The organized church—not only the Church of Rome, but just as well the Greek and the various Protestant church organizations, and the Jewish, too, in so far as it has an organization—has almost always been a conservative force in political and social matters. That it should be opposed to woman suffrage now is but consistent with the fact that it has almost invariably opposed manhood suffrage until manhood suffrage was established over its opposition, that it has supported monarchy in almost every country as long as monarchy had a leg left to stand on, and it has opposed freedom of conscience and freedom of speech and the press until these principles triumphed in spite of antagonism. We repeat, this is not peculiar to the Roman Catholic Church. They are characteristic of ecclesiastical organization in general. We have a striking example of it today in the activity of the Mohammedan clergy in attempting to undermine the Constitution and re-establish the Sultan's despotic rule in Turkey."



UNION PRINTERS' HOME IN COLORADO SPRINGS.

UNION PRINTERS HOME IN COLORADO SPRINGS

**The Institution Sustained and Managed by
the International Typographical Union.**

One minute of his working time every day is what every union printer in North America gives as his mite toward the maintenance of the Union Printers' Home at Colorado Springs, Colo. Every month every one of the 45,000 members of the International Typographical Union pays an assessment of fifteen cents—half a cent a day, or less than the amount the average printer will earn in a minute's working time. It is a small sacrifice, but it is this small sacrifice, coming from every man working in co-operation with his fellow laborers, which gives the home an annual fund of \$90,000 for maintenance and improvement.

The printers have built and maintained the home themselves—and they are proud of the fact. It is their home; every man has an equal share in it, an equal right to partake of its bounty if the time should come when old age or illness should make it necessary for him to retreat to the shelter in the rearing and maintaining of which he has done his small part. In the beginning, George W. Childs and A. J. Drexel made a gift of \$10,000 to the International Typographical Union. With this as the nucleus, the home fund was started. Since the foundations for the main building were laid in 1891 nearly \$800,000 has been spent in buildings, furnishings, improvements and maintenance. Every cent of this, with the exception of the Childs-Drexel gift and the income from the Julia A. Ladd endowment of \$1,000, has been contributed by the printers themselves.

Not only has the Union Printers' Home proven to the world a splendid example of what can be accomplished by harmonious co-operation, but it has been to other labor unions and fraternal organizations an inspiration because of its humanitarian features. It has been the pioneer institution in its field and has become the model from which others copy ideas and methods. The Modern Woodmen of America have only recently opened their sanitarium north of Colorado Springs, while the National Association of Letter Carriers has selected that city as the site for their home. A number of other organizations are considering the plan and in many cases it has been an investigation of the Union Printers' Home that has decided their committees to recommend the building of such an institution.

Figures may tell a part of the story of the Union Printers' Home. But it is not sufficient to know that the property, which stands on a commanding eminence east of Colorado Springs, is today valued at \$1,000,000, when twenty years ago this tract was barren prairie land which could have been bought up for a few dollars an acre; or to learn that there are now six buildings on the grounds—the main building, the tuberculosis sanitarium, the superintendent's cottage, the laundry, heating plant and barns, besides the \$30,000 addition, the beginning of which has just been authorized by the trustees. It is not enough to know how these 80 acres have been reclaimed from barren waste until they form one of the garden spots of the continent, nor to be told that in all, more than 1,000 men have been admitted to residence since 1892; that the average number at any one time is 150, and that the average cost, per resident, is \$30 a month.

It is far more significant to learn how this home has been so managed that it has become indeed a sanitarium where the sick may sojourn for a time to build up, in Colorado's health-giving climate, their broken constitutions and restore lost strength and vitality, a haven where the aged and infirm may retreat to a peaceful closing of a life that has been spent in toil and battle in a world of labor and strife. Really to understand the work that is being done requires an inspection of the building and grounds, a few hours' random chat with the residents and an investigation of the methods and regulations enforced by the efficient management. Many of the printers themselves scarcely comprehend the scope and importance of the home, and the annual convention has twice been held in Colorado Springs in order to give the membership at large a broader understanding of the great institution they are supporting.

Of the residents, some there are who are cripples; some are blind; many are old, and numbers have been exiled with a death sentence from tuberculosis, but are slowly building up the bodies that have been wasted by disease. And the hearts of all beat true to that thought of brotherhood which is placed in arching letters above the gateway in this legend: "The Union Printers' Home; Its Bounty Unpurchasable."

The printer, when he is admitted to the home, is supposed to bring with him a certain amount of clothes. After that, everything, even to a weekly pension, is furnished him. Every care is taken in securing a food supply that is of the best. Milk and eggs are procured from the home's own dairy and poultry farm. An excellent library provides reading matter. There are facilities for all kinds of sports, while there are many festive occasions, such as the Fourth of July barbecue, the annual picnic in North Cheyenne canon, the Christmas tree and the monthly winter night entertainments.

In the tuberculosis sanitarium every precaution is taken to safeguard the patient and to assure him the best of treatment. Regular habits and hours are required and the drinking of intoxicants is strictly prohibited. All sanitary regulations are rigorously observed and the buildings are exceptionally well ventilated.

In addition to the home, the International Typographical Union has recently inaugurated an old-age pension, by which any printer, 60 years of age, who has held 20 years' continuous membership in the union, is entitled to receive \$4 a week. There are about 1,000 members on this list.

Although the first proposition to establish a home was made in

May, 1857, nothing definite came of the plan until 1886, when Messrs. Childs and Drexel made their \$10,000 gift. To swell the fund the printers, on the birthdays of these two gentlemen, each contributed the amount received from setting 1,000 "ems" type. Louis R. Ehrich of Colorado Springs offered an 80-acre tract, and this city was selected as the permanent location for the home at the Denver convention in 1889, after a spirited contest with many other cities. In 1891 contracts were let for the main building, which was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies on the birthday of Mr. Childs, May 12, 1892.

The location is ideal. The buildings face the west and the view of the mountains extends from Castle Rock, 30 miles to the north, to the Spanish peaks, 80 miles to the south, with Pike's Peak, 14,109 feet high, directly in front as the central feature of this grand panorama. To the west, the land slopes to the city and to the southwest to Prospect Lake. To the east are the limitless prairies. The soil is dry and loose, but produces abundantly if properly irrigated. The grounds are beautified with lawns, flowers, shrubs and trees. A comprehensive scheme of landscape gardening has converted them into a wonderland.

The main building is four stories in height and is of white lava-stone with red sandstone trimmings. It contains 75 rooms, with the offices, kitchen, dining room and library. The building originally cost \$75,000. The two-story addition will adjoin the main building on the north and will increase the library, kitchen and dining room facilities. The tuberculosis sanitarium is to the south of the main building and near it are the 20 tents of the sanitarium. This building is three stories in height, the total cost being \$27,000. The superintendent's cottage is north of the main building, while the laundry, heating plant and barns are in the rear. A magnificent stone gateway spans the entrance to the grounds.

The trustees have within the last few years devoted special attention to the treatment of tuberculosis, a disease to which printers are particularly subject because of the nature of the work. The methods employed by the Union Printers' Home in its successful battle against the "white plague" are attracting attention all over the country. At the International Congress on Tuberculosis, held in Washington last fall, the Printers' Home was represented by a prize-winning exhibit, and the model tent was presented, upon request, to the National Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis, for display during the winter tour of the principal cities of the United States.

During the last few years a special commission has made a study of the disease and as a result of its investigations the most approved and scientific methods have been adopted. The results have been little less than marvelous. So satisfactory have the results been in the "City of Sunshine," as Colorado Springs is familiarly called, that a proposition made at the Boston convention last August for the transfer of the tuberculosis sanitarium to Arizona was defeated by a decisive majority.

In 1904, ten tents were erected near the sanitarium building. They have proven a valuable acquisition to the hospital service and their efficiency has been so thoroughly and satisfactorily demonstrated that the number has recently been doubled. The experimental stage in the tent treatment of tuberculosis has long since passed, and officials of the union are authority for the statement that fully 50 per cent of the patients who have had the advantage of tent life have recovered health and strength and have been enabled again to assume their business duties. The percentage would be higher for the fact that too many are not sent to Colorado until they are in the last stages of the disease. Those who come here in the earlier stages are, with the proper care and treatment, sure of a prolongation of life, if not of permanent and absolute recovery.

Colorado Springs is an ideal site for the location of an institution such as the Union Printers' Home. This city, at the foot of Pike's Peak and the center of one of the most renowned scenic areas in the world, enjoys all-the-year-round climate that is nearly ideal. Never too hot in summer nor too cold in winter, with almost perpetual sunshine, a bracing, invigorating and uncontaminated air, a dry, porous soil that is never muddy, this is a most desirable place for the old to spend their declining years and the ill to regain lost health and vitality. Official records of the Colorado College weather bureau show that there are only 12 days a year on which the sun does not shine at some time of the day; that there are 180 absolutely cloudless days, and 308 either clear or partly cloudy. Throughout the year there is a comparatively equable temperature, a minimum of precipitation and a low humidity. The year round the sun shines 70 of every 100 hours it is above the horizon. The atmosphere is absolutely aseptic and free from germ life. There have been here more permanent recoveries from pulmonary complaints than in any other climate. Colorado Springs' fine weather is very nearly a continuous blessing.

The affairs of the Union Printers' Home are managed by a board of trustees, elected by a mail vote of the entire membership. As the union is not an incorporated body, they hold the property; and an agent is appointed as a check against any illegal use of the property. The members of the present board of trustees are: President, J. M. Lynch, Syracuse, N. Y.; Secretary-Treasurer, John W. Hays, Minneapolis; Thomas McCaffery, Colorado Springs, vice-president; J. White, San Francisco; L. C. Shepard, Grand Rapids; Thomas F. Crowley, Cincinnati, and T. D. Fennessy, Los Angeles. Since June 1, 1898, Charles M. Deacon has been superintendent of the home, in which position he has been highly efficient. George Nichols of Baltimore, Md., is the agent.

The Open Shop. By Clarence Darrow, Chicago. Chas. H. Kerr & Co. Price, 10 cents. An able exposition of the most vital problem in the American trade union movement.

Work for the Success of the Socialist Party Ticket in the Municipal Campaign. Get busy, comrades!

DOWN IN ALABAMA.

Demoralized Conditions in the Mining Region.

That no question is ever permanently settled until it is settled right, is fully demonstrated by the frequent letters to the Journal, and to the editor personally, that come from Alabama.

The discontent and murmurings, and in many cases lament, is always present and it but resembles the rumbling of the distant thunder that portends the coming storm.

The practical miners have nearly all left the state. Some of those who are left have gone to the farm or into other callings in life to eke out an existence until the storm breaks out again, and are even devoutly praying that it will come, and come soon, all demonstrating the folly of attempting to suppress human liberty, whether the attempt be made in Alabama or Russia, or elsewhere.

The mines are full of non-practical miners. The mine inspector's report of the explosion that occurred there recently at Short Creek lays the blame on the incompetency of the men employed in the Alabama mines. The output of the mines is curtailed by this lack of experience and the expense of operation is greatly increased, all demonstrating that well-paid, competent and contented labor is the best and cheapest.

This reminds us of a similar condition in one of the northern states some years ago.

This resurrection of the miners' hopes in Alabama will come despite any effort of the U. M. W. of A. Indeed, the men who are located there are hoping that the organization will take action, and take it soon, but whether it does or not, the spirit manifest is such that they will take action themselves sooner or later regardless of the action, or lack of it, of the organization, and will force the issue.

Governor Comer, the spoiler of the Alabama miners' hopes, their tents and belongings, thought, perhaps, he was settling the question for all time, but he was very shortsighted, his study of economics and the labor problems very limited, or he would have known better than attempt to crush the desires of miners for liberty and a living rate of wages. The last condition of the operators is worse than the first.

The signs of the times among the miners of Alabama all portend a continuance of the struggle for justice until it is conceded, and the men who oppose it and stand in the way had better clear the track. Justice must be done even in Alabama and delay will only make the feeling more bitter.

PAN-BRITISH LABOR CONFERENCE

To Be Held in 1910 to Discuss Labor's Interests.

The following letter from J. Ramsay MacDonald, M. P., secretary of the Labor party of Great Britain, is self-explanatory and should receive the consideration of the different organizations throughout the British possessions:

London, Eng., March, 1909.

Dear Sir,—

The following resolution was unanimously carried at the annual conference of the Labor party which was recently held at Portsmouth:

"This conference authorizes the executive to enter into communication with the labor and Socialist organizations within the British Dominions to ascertain whether they favor the holding of an all-British Labor conference in 1910 to consider matters of interest common to the working class in all parts, and empowers it to proceed with the arrangements if the replies justify such action.

The colonial conference will be held in 1910 in the ordinary course and it has long been felt desirable by us that, concurrently with this conference, there should be one representative of all the labor and Socialist organizations in the Empire, meeting to discuss imperial concerns and policies in which these organizations have a common interest. Before arrangements can be made for the holding of such a conference it will be necessary for the Labor party to know what response is likely to be given to the invitation conveyed in the resolution. I, therefore, hope you will be good enough to publish this in your next issue and that secretaries of organizations interested may draw the attention of their executives to it and communicate the result to me at the very earliest possible moment.

Yours faithfully,

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD,
Secretary.

SOME TIMELY ADVICE.

The Working Class Must Fight Their Own Battle.

There is one word that labor needs to learn.
"Trust yourselves and yourselves alone."
Hearst is for all I know a good and sincere man.
Bryan is for all I know a good and sincere man.
Roosevelt is for all I know a good and sincere man.
But they cannot help you. You alone can help yourselves.
Hearst and Bryan and Roosevelt do not know what you want as you yourselves know what you want.

There are doubtless Republicans and Democrats here and there who would like to befriend labor; but how can any man expect to have others befriend him when he does not befriend himself?

There was a time when labor was ignorant, stupid, fitted for but little else than slavery.

Today labor can stand on its own feet; can express its own will; can fight its own battles.

And the sooner it stops seeking for some Moses to lead it out of the wilderness the better for labor.

In the past, it has been looking for friends. It has been begging for sweet words, flattering phrases, and loving acts.

It has not demanded its rights. It has begged for its rights; it has pleaded for its rights.

The time arrives for it to realize it must build up an organization of its own; it must have its own party; go to its own ward meetings and express its own will.

It must have its own representatives in every legislature in this country.

It must learn to fight, to be brave, self-reliant and determined. It must be suspicious of friends, and confident of itself.

It must cease to beg, and become proud of its own power.

It must learn that every man who labors is a friend, and that every man who exploits labor is an enemy, no matter with what sweet words he speaks or how friendly and loving he may appear.

If labor cannot help itself, then God help labor.—The Crisis.

WERE LOCKED OUT.

The Truth About the Trouble of the Hatters.

We publish below the causes of the Hatters' lockout, and call attention to the "sympathetic strike" practiced by the bosses, despite their tears of sorrow every time this plan is advocated by workers. The Guyer Hat Company of Boston caused the lockout. The Associated Hat Manufacturers joined the Guyer Company, and declared a sympathetic strike by abrogating THEIR contracts and discarding the union label.

The facts are as follows:
The Guyer Company in June, 1908, opened a factory in Philadelphia, shipping therto a part of their Boston force. The workers insisted that this was part of the Boston factory, but an arbitration board held it was a separate institution. The unionists accepted the decision.

December 1, 1908, without notice to employees, and in defiance of the contract, the Guyer Company closed down its Boston finishing department and transferred same to Philadelphia—but NOT to the factory the arbitration board passed on. ANOTHER SMALL PLANT WAS STARTED.

The Hatters then withdrew the label from the Boston factory

because IT WAS SHUT DOWN. The Manufacturers' Association now defend their action of supporting the Guyer Company by insisting that the Hatters broke their contract because they did not notify them they had taken the label from a company that had closed its doors in midwinter, and boldly announced its intention of going into a cheaper labor market.

This is a brazen subterfuge and a weak defense for the un-American "sympathetic strike" favored by those who would destroy a strong union of men and women.—Atlanta Journal of Labor.

MINE WORKERS' JOURNAL REFUSES DOUGLAS SHOE

Cannot See Its Way Clear to Giving Publicity to Concern Antagonistic to Union Label.

This paper does not carry the ad of the Douglas Shoe Company. Why? Because it could not if it wished? No, indeed!

The Journal, in this very issue, could have on one of its pages the advertisement of this particular shoe.

But it isn't there. And what is more, it will never appear in this paper until the manufacturer thereof makes his peace with the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

The Douglas Shoe Company presented this paper with probably the same proposition that was extended to almost every labor publication in the country.

We turned it down. It meant the loss of a neat sum of money, running into the hundreds, but it was refused nevertheless.

The Douglass Company was anxious; most of its business in the past has come from union men.

It made another proposition—would we accept a contract at a higher figure?

No, we would not. And that ended it—the ad of the Douglas Shoe Company will not be found in the Journal.

As above stated, we have rejected a proposition that meant several hundred dollars and then some. We did not do it because we are not in need of all the advertising we can get hold of, but a principle was involved—the principle of advertising something which we ourselves could not consistently purchase—an article that once bore the union stamp and which could at the present time contain that important adjunct if its manufacturer had complied with the conditions which the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union requested.

For ten years previous to the falling out of this concern with the union this shoe could be relied upon as containing the union stamp. Union men, when in need of footwear, could go to a shop handling this particular line and feel certain that when investing their money for a pair of Douglas shoes they were getting just what they wanted—a strictly union-made, label-bearing article.

Things are different now. The stamp is no longer in the shoe. Something must be wrong.

Unions do not deprive an employer of the right to use the label for an insignificant reason.

Nor did the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union prevent the Douglas company from using the union stamp on account of a small breach of contract.

And now that this concern is no longer able to place the union stamp in its products, it attempts to hold its old-time prestige among workmen by spending thousands of dollars in advertising in labor papers that are supposed to represent all that is good and true in unionism. Be it said to the credit of the labor press, however, that out of 270 labor publications in the United States, only twenty-seven have accepted the advertisement of this non-label using concern.

In Pennsylvania the Labor World, Pittsburg; Journal, Harrisburg; Statesman, Williamsport; Leader, Lancaster, sold their principles and demonstrated that they misrepresent labor.

This ad should not appear in a single labor paper representing itself as an exponent of union labor. We know it requires considerable sacrifice to turn down a proposition of this kind, as labor papers as a rule do not receive the support they are entitled to; but, as the Shoe Workers' Journal truly says, "they cannot carry water on both shoulders," and it is a case of either dropping the advertisements of non-union goods or losing the respect of all union men and friends of organized labor.—Exchange.

To which we might add, Amen. The Douglas Shoe Company made exceptionally fine propositions to the United Mine Workers' Journal; propositions which, if accepted, might have put the balance on the right side of the ledger. But nix. We do not want unclean money, and would rather have it in debt than advertising unfair shoes.—Editor United Mine Workers' Journal.

THE PRICE OF BREAD.

Bulletin Speaks Out in Plain Language.

The increase in the price of bread may not make much difference to the men in the various bread lines throughout the country, for they are "down and out" anyhow, and will have to stand in line for a "hunk" of dry bread whether the price of wheat rises or falls, whether bread sells at four or eight cents a loaf.

The press dispatches this week said in referring to James A. Patten's coup of \$3,000,000 from his corner in May wheat:

"After glancing carelessly at half a dozen letters from Anarchists and cranks, in which all sorts of threats were made against him if the price of breadstuffs continued to advance, Patten calmly announced despite a sudden slump, that wheat would go even higher than it had been."

"Anarchists and Cranks?" If it is true that Mr. Patten received such letters at all, they were likely written by men driven to desperation, who are out of work and hardly able to buy the "staff of life" at a low rate without an exorbitant increase.

We do not condone even threats, much less violent acts, but when the bread winner of a large family of children, either out of work, or at work at low wages, finds flour raising from six to eight dollars a barrel, and bread from four to eight cents a loaf, as it has done in the large cities of the United States, is there any wonder there is a vicious feeling being fostered by the poor against the speculating rich.

Scores of small dealers in New York city have been compelled to go out of business entirely. At St. Louis, Minneapolis, Chicago, Columbus, New York, and throughout the country, prices are soaring, and the sufferers are the unfortunate working class.

The press comes to the rescue of Patten and says "it is not Patten's fault, it is the system," and James J. Hill comes to poor Patten's rescue and says:

"Patten and his associates had merely taken advantage of a normal situation which was made apparent to them by their business foresight. He declared that Patten knew there was a decrease in the production of wheat and a corresponding increase in the demand for it, and in his bull movement he was merely taking advantage of the situation."

After all is said and done, there is reason in the argument of the press. "The system is at fault," and where does the remedy lie? Why, in the hands of the very sufferers—the working class—by the ballot. By legislation the damnable system could be wiped out.—Bulletin of Clothing Trades.

PRESIDENT GOMPERS GOES TO EUROPE.

Samuel Gompers, delegate to the British Trades Congress, will leave New York about the middle of June for England. B. A. Larger and John P. Frey, the other fraternal delegates, will leave a month or so later. The Congress meets at Ipswich. Messrs. Gompers, Larger and Frey, each separately, will visit places other than the convention city, on behalf of the organization they represent.

MEAN TACTICS.

Cheap Labor Overalls Drummer Tells a Merchant How to Fool Trade Unionists.

That the manufacturers of cheap non-union articles will resort to all kinds of low and dirty tactics to fool the workingman is a well known fact, but the writer ran up against a new game last week and would advise purchasers to be on their guard.

The argument that he put up to the Lowell merchant was this: "Now, you want to make money. If you handle my goods you will net at least one dollar a dozen more on mine than you will on Carter's. I don't want you to discontinue Carter's goods, they are a good article. What I would suggest is that you place a pile of my goods on your counter right next to Carter's union labeled overalls and when a man calls for a pair of union made overalls show him Carter's, then you can give him a pair of mine. If he comes back and makes a kick about not having the label, you can apologize and say there must be some mistake. Take him over to the Carter pile, show the label, and exchange the overalls for him. By so doing you make him feel right, and he will go away satisfied. If he does not come back you make eight cents more on your transaction than if you sold him Carter's goods."

Now, what do you think of that? Mr. Rube from New Hampshire did not get an order for his non-union trash, and Joe says that he never will get one, and that he will continue to sell Carter's as long as they bear the union label.

The foregoing is not an advertisement. We simply publish it that trade unionists may be on their guard, and at all times look for the union label before having the article wrapped up.—Merrimack Valley Labor Journal, Lowell, Mass.

LABOR STANDS BY ACTION AGAINST PROHIBITION.

Central Union Opposed to Commission Plan for City Government—Wants Larger Council.

The action of the Central Trades and Labor Union, at its special meeting, called to go on record against the present bill in the General Assembly making state-wide prohibition possible, was indorsed last Sunday at the meeting of the organization at 3535 Pine street.

A resolution in favor of the elective form of municipal government on the plan of proportional representation instead of government by commission, was introduced by L. Kammerer. The resolution provided for a council composed of at least twenty-eight members; or the continuation of the present two-chamber system. The resolution was sent to the Legislative Committee for investigation and will be reported on at the next meeting. The union has heretofore passed a similar resolution, and it is thought the present one will be adopted.

The sum of \$750, which has been collected from various labor unions of the city, was ordered sent to the American Federation of Labor, to defend the cases of Samuel Gompers and John Mitchell before the United States Supreme Court. Owen Miller, the president, presided, and J. C. Shanessy acted as temporary secretary in David Kreyling's absence.

HOURS-OF-LABOR LAW UPHELD.

Judge Landis Renders Decision and Test Case Will Be Appealed.

Chicago, April 21.—Judge Landis, in the United States District Court here to-day, in the test case against the Santa Fe in the "nine-hour law governing telegraphers, upheld the law. The contention between the Government and the railroads is as to what the law means.

The Santa Fe at Corwith, Ill., employed two operators, who, by the expedient of a three-hour rest in the midst of twelve-hour tricks, really performed actual labor only nine hours each per day.

The Government alleges that this constituted a violation of the law. Judge Landis admitted that the construction of the statute was open to question, and by agreement of counsel the defendant was allowed to plead guilty and was fined \$100. The decision will be appealed, as the case is the first one started under the "hour of labor" law.

GOVERNOR COMER'S REVENGE.

Refused to Appoint Delegates to Child Labor Convention.

Sure! Governor Comer, of Alabama, the Peabody of the South, refused to appoint representatives to attend the recent conference held in New Orleans by delegates from the Southern states, to consider the child labor evil and agree upon uniform plans to deal with the question. Comer had the nerve to claim Alabama's laws relating to child labor were just right. He is the owner of the Avondale cotton mill, which is said to be filled with little children, and some of the delegates at New Orleans roasted the old hypocrite. And this Comer was boomed by some of the alleged labor papers and trade unions of Alabama as "our friend." Now said papers and unions are defunct and Comer is the whole works.—Cleveland Citizen.

A. F. OF L. LABEL DEPARTMENT.

Later particulars of the meeting in Washington (D. C.) to organize a label department of the A. F. of L. are at hand. There were fifty-two delegates in attendance. They adopted a working constitution and comprehensive plan for booming the products of organized labor, made arrangements for immediate financial aid for the lock-out hatters, elected officers, selected Washington as permanent headquarters, and adjourned to meet in Toronto, Canada, next November. The following officers were elected: John B. Lennon, president; John F. Tobin, first vice-president; T. C. Parsons, second vice-president; Max Morris, third vice-president; Owen Miller, fourth vice-president; John J. Manning, fifth vice-president; Thomas F. Tracy, secretary-treasurer.

RICHARD BRAUNSCHWEIG DEAD.

Richard Braunschweig, general treasurer of the Woodworkers' Amalgamated Union, died in Reading, Pa., last week. He was well known in labor circles throughout the country.

Proceedings of the National Convention of the Socialist Party, 1908.

Contains a complete stenographic report of the proceedings of the entire session. It presents the entire argument upon every question that was discussed. It is handsomely and durably bound and contains a complete alphabetical index. Fifty cents per copy; no reduction in quantities.

CONGRESS OF THE FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY.

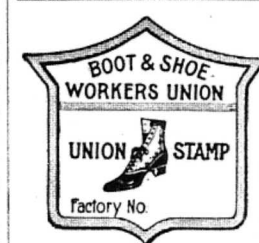
Reports from St. Etienne say that the sixth congress of the Socialist Party, which had been in session there, adjourned without taking definite action regarding the question of the participation of Socialist candidates in the second ballots or devising what special method of propaganda should be used in agitating among the peasants. Both these matters were referred to special committees, who will work out plans and submit them to a referendum vote of the party. The most notable feature of the congress was the strength shown by the partisans of Gustave Herve, the famous anti-parliamentarian, who recently served a term in prison for his attacks on the army. In fact, many of the delegates were of the opinion that the social revolution could only be brought about by so permeating the army with the spirit of revolt that the capitalist government would not be able to depend upon it to shoot down the people when the day of triumph of the proletariat dawned. The report of General Secretary Louis Dubreuilh showed that the present membership of the party is 51,692, an increase of 2,344 during the past six months.

Umbrellas Parasols and Canes
Large Variety at Lowest Prices.
H. J. JOST
1424 S. Broadway.
REPAIRING AND RECOVERING.

CHAS. WERZ & CO.
Wood, Brass, Metal, Engraving on Glass, Etc.....
SIGNS
1505 CASS AVE., ST. LOUIS
Kinloch, Central 1451

Steiner Eng. and Badge Co.
11 N. 8th St. St. Louis.
We Solicit Your Orders for
Badges and Banners
Call on Us, or Will Furnish Samples.

CHAS. SPECHT
NOONDAY CIGAR CO.
..FINE CIGARS..
Wholesale and Retail
708 CHOUTEAU AVENUE



By Insisting Upon Purchasing UNION STAMP SHOES

You help better shoemaking conditions. You get better shoes for the money. You help your own Labor Position. You abolish Child Labor.

DO NOT BE MISLED
By Retailers who say: "This shoe does not bear the stamp, but is made under UNION CONDITIONS."

THIS IS FALSE. No shoe is union unless it bears the Union Stamp.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union

246 Summer St., Boston Mass.
John F. Tobin, Pres. Chas. L. Baine, Sec.-Treas.

Cigars { PEN MAR - 10c
SUNRISE - 5c
Brandt & Stahl 319 Walnut Street

ASK FOR MANEVAL'S BREAD

Because It is Strictly Union-Made

and as good as money and skill can make it. We are the only large independent Union Bakery in the city, so when you buy Bread insist on getting MANEVAL'S, as every loaf bears the Union Label.

MANEVAL BREAD CO.
Both Phones

Bartenders' Union Local 51

Patronize only Saloons displaying Union Bar Card and where the Bartenders wear the Blue Button



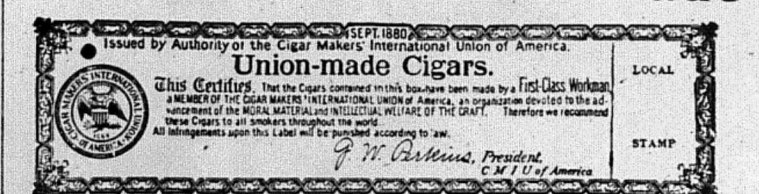
OFFICE: 918 PINE STREET : BOTH PHONES

DRINK ONLY UNION BEER



This label is pasted on every barrel and box as a guarantee that the contents are the product of UNION LABOR

Remember, no CIGARS are Genuine Union-Made



UNLESS THE BOX BEARS THE Blue Union Label

THE PROGRESSIVE WOMAN
PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE SOCIALIST WOMAN GIRARD, KANSAS.
SUBSCRIPTION RATES:
Single Copy 5c
One Year..... 50c
Bundle of 5 Copies or more, at the Rate of, each 2c

J. Hahn Bakery Company
(WHOLESALE AND RETAIL)
Union Label Bread
Delivered to All Parts of City.
2801-5 S. 7th St. Both Phones.

SHERIDAN WEBSTER
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW.
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COLUMBIA BOX COMPANY
19th and N. Market Sts.
Boxes of All Kinds
Union Label Boxes

STUDIES IN SOCIALISM

Value, Price and Profit

By Karl Marx.

In colonial countries the law of supply and demand favors the workingman. Hence the relatively high standard of wages in the United States. Capital may there try its utmost. It can not prevent the labor market from being continuously emptied by the continuous conversion of wages laborers into independent, self-sustaining peasants. The position of wages laborer is for a very large part of the American people but a probational state, which they are sure to leave within a longer or shorter term. To mend this colonial state of things, the paternal British government accepted for some time what is called the modern colonization theory, which consists in putting and artificial high price upon colonial land, in order to prevent the too quick conversion of the wages laborer into the independent peasant.

But let us now come to old civilized countries, in which capital dominates over the whole process of production. Take, for example, the rise in England of agricultural wages from 1849 to 1859. What was its consequence? The farmers could not, as our friend Weston would have advised them, raise the value of wheat, nor even its market prices. They had, on the contrary, to submit to their fall. But during these eleven years they introduced machinery of all sorts, adopted more scientific methods, converted part of arable land into pasture, increased the size of farms, and with this the scale of production, and by these and other processes diminishing the demand for labor by increasing its productive power, made the agricultural population again relatively redundant. This is the general method in which a reaction, quicker or slower, of capital against a rise of wages takes place in old, settled countries. Ricardo has justly remarked that machinery is in constant competition with labor, and can often be only introduced when the price of labor has reached a certain height, but the appliance of machinery is but one of the many methods for increasing the productive powers of labor. This very same development which makes common relatively redundant simplifies, on the other hand, skilled labor, and thus depreciates it.

The same law obtains in another form. With the development of the productive powers of labor the accumulation of capital will be accelerated, even despite a relatively high rate of wages. Hence, one might infer, as Adam Smith, in whose days modern industry was still in its infancy, did infer, that the accelerated accumulation of capital must turn the balance in favor of the workingman, by securing a growing demand for his labor. From this same standpoint many contemporary writers have wondered that English capital having grown in the last twenty years so much quicker than English population, wages should not have been more enhanced. But simultaneously with the progress of accumulation there takes place a progressive change in the composition of capital. That part of the aggregate capital which consists of fixed capital, machinery, raw materials, means of production in all possible forms, progressively increases as compared with the other part of capital, which is laid out in wages or in the purchase of labor. This law has been stated in a more or less accurate manner by Mr. Barton, Ricardo, Sismondi, Prof. Richard Jones, Prof. Ramsey, Cherbuliez and others.

If the proportion of these two elements of capital was originally one to one, it will, in the progress of industry, become five to one, and so forth. If of a total capital of 600, 300 is laid out in instruments, raw materials, and so forth, and 300 in wages, the total capital wants only to be doubled to create a demand for 600 workingmen instead of for 300. But if of a capital of 600, 500 is laid out in machinery, materials and so forth, and 100 only in wages, the same capital must increase from 600 to 360 in order to create a demand for 60 workmen instead of 300. In the progress of industry the demand for labor keeps, therefore, no pace with the accumulation of capital. It will still increase, but increase in a constantly diminishing ratio as compared with the increase of capital.

These few hints will suffice to show that the very development of modern industry must progressively turn the scale in favor of the capitalist against the workingman, and that consequently the general tendency of capitalistic production is not to raise, but to sink the average standard of wages, or to push the value of labor more or less to its minimum limit. Such being the tendency of things in this system, is this saying that the working class ought to renounce their resistance against the encroachments of capital, and abandon their attempts at making the best of the occasional chances for their temporary improvement? If they did, they would be degraded to one level mass of broken wretches past salvation. I think I have shown that their struggles for the standard of wages are incidents inseparable from the whole wages system, that in 99 cases out of 100 their efforts at raising wages are only efforts at maintaining the given value of labor, and that the necessity of debating their price with the capitalist is inherent to their condition of having to sell themselves as commodities. By cowardly giving way in their everyday conflict with capital, they would certainly disqualify themselves for the initiating of any larger movement.

At the same time, and quite apart from the general servitude involved in the wages system, the working class ought not to exaggerate to themselves the ultimate working of these every-day struggles. They ought not to forget that they are fighting with effects, but not with the causes of those effects; that they are retarding the downward movement, but not changing its direction; that they are applying palliatives, not curing the malady. They ought, therefore, not to be exclusively absorbed in these unavoidable guerrilla fights incessantly springing up from the ever-ceasing encroachments of capital or changes of the market. They ought to understand that, with all the miseries it imposes upon them, the present system simultaneously engenders that material conditions and the social forms necessary for an economical reconstruction of society. Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work!" they ought to inscribe on their banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wages system!"

After this very long and, I fear, tedious exposition which I was obliged to enter into to do some justice to the subject-matter, I shall conclude by proposing the following resolutions:

Firstly. A general rise in the rate of wages would result in a fall of the general rate of profit, but, broadly speaking, not affect the prices of commodities.

Secondly. The general tendency of capitalist production is not to raise, but to sink the average standard of wages.

Thirdly. Trade unions work well as centers of resistance against the encroachments of capital. They fail partially from an injudicious use of their power. They fail generally from limiting themselves to a guerrilla war against the effects of the existing system, instead of simultaneously trying to change it, instead of using their organized forces as a lever for the final emancipation of the working class, that is to say, the ultimate abolition of the wages system.

ASSIST THE BAKERS!



DOES THE BREAD UNION

YOU EAT BEAR THIS LABEL?

IF NOT, WHY NOT?

St. Louis is the headquarters of the \$3,000,000 BREAD TRUST. Its managers have been fighting organized labor for years. They are opposed to short hours and high wages,

They tell you and their customers they are your friends and are friends of organized labor. Yes, they are your friends as long as they can get your money; but for the men in the bakeshop they have no use, if they belong to their respective unions.

Therefore, union men and women and citizens, show that you are opposed to slavery and that you are further opposed to a concern which tries to monopolize the bread market of St. Louis.

Therefore, we ask the public in general for their support; you can give us your support by asking for bread with the Union Label.

Shun the product of the following firms—they are Trust bakeries: Heydt Bakery Co., Condon Bakery Co., Hauck-Hoerr Bakery, St. Louis Bakery Co., Welle-Boettler Bakery, Home Bakery Co., Freund Bros. Bread Co. Ltd., McKinney Bread Co.

Herman Winters of Kansas City is now in St. Louis as special organizer of the Bakers' International Union. He is doing good work for his Union, and with the assistance of Peter Beisel and others he is succeeding in getting many new members.

They want the men to fall at their feet and ask them for a job, so they can pay the employes small wages and work them the hours they feel like.

THE PROBLEM

Liquor, Sobriety, Temperance and Prohibition Notes and Comments

For partisan political reasons the capitalist press has been too cowardly to educate the people on the question of Sunday Lid, Temperance and Prohibition. The result is the present Prohibition wave. The Democratic and Republican press feared the "Liquor Interests" on the one side and the "Water Interests" on the other.

In attempting to enforce the Sunday closing law Gov. Folk repeatedly referred to the "law-breaking elements," meaning those of his fellow citizens who are opposed to his method of enforcing old obsolete laws. Now, the same law has been on the statute books for decades. Mr. Folk's own Democratic party and the Republican party disregarded the law, except two or three weeks in the year, when for political purposes attempts were made to enforce it—in order to whip the saloon keepers into line. If Gov. Folk's terminology is correct then his entire Democratic party consists of "law breakers," and Mr. Folk was elected by "law breakers" on a law-breakers' platform. The same machine repeatedly used the Sunday closing law as a means to fill the Democratic campaign treasuries.

The Socialist Party has always declared that intemperance—like poverty and crime—is chiefly the result of the economic environment and industrial conditions. Our present capitalistic system of private, competitive production for profit, i. e., the system of producing and distributing the necessities and comforts of life, is productive of certain social conditions under which the people are compelled to work and live. Under Socialism the liquor question will cease to be a problem. Today the working people are forced to work so hard and long as to exhaust the very resources of their health and life. This condition of physical and mental exhaustion may be temporary at first, but gradually it will become permanent with a great many working people; to a certain extent this is also true of the business men who sacrifice their health and vitality in the wild chase for "making money."

This compulsory intemperance of work—of working for a living, naturally leads to intemperance or excesses in drinking, and the exhausted condition of the overworked individual creates the appetite for stimulants or strong intoxicating liquors. Our present competitive business system with its "get-rich-quick" business methods leads to the adulteration of almost everything the people eat and drink, and it is this capitalistic system of production and distribution which introduces the poisons into the liquor business. Profit first—the health and life of the consumers cut no figure! This is the business motto of today, in the liquor traffic as well as in any other branch of business where foodstuffs are produced or distributed.

The saloon keeper of today is by no means an independent business man; he is simply the sales agent of the brewery firm, the slave of the firm, working on commission. In most cases the saloon keeper is an ex-wage worker who may have lost his job in the factory, who may have become "too old" to satisfy the employer's lust for profit and gain. He had to live. His family depended on him for a living. What else could he do but invest his savings in a little corner grocery or in a saloon, in order to support his family! It is a question of making a living for his family.

Sunday closing, no matter how rigidly it may be enforced, will not solve the temperance question or the liquor problem. We are fully aware of the evils connected with the saloon business, but these evils can not be abolished by putting the lid on one day or seven days in the week. The liquor or saloon problem is a social problem. To put the lid on the saloon means to hide evils, not to abolish them. And evils in hiding, with the lid on, will develop into crime more rapidly than would otherwise be the case.

One of the greatest moral factors working in favor of real temperance based on self-control and the free exercise of personal liberty is the Trade Union and Socialist Party movement. The modern Trade Union and the Socialist Party movement of the last fifteen or twenty years has accomplished much more towards spreading real, commonsense temperance among the great masses of the common people than all temperance, prohibition and Sunday closing movements together will ever be able to accomplish. In the same ratio as the masses of the working people get interested in our great, world-wide labor movement, and in the same ratio as they will study the great labor problem and Socialism and join the Socialist Party, in the same ratio they will become more temperate in their habits of life and more judicious in their enjoyment of life. Their appetite for low, coarse entertainment and social intercourse will gradually die out and a higher ideal will take its place. The desire to improve themselves and their fellowmen, both morally and intellectually, and to bring about better economic and social conditions for the many millions of wage workers and those dependent on them, will revolutionize their very life and lift them on a higher plane of morality.

In Belgium, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Scandinavia and other countries the labor and Socialist movement has had a marvelously beneficial effect on the masses of wage workers in the direction of diminishing the drink evil. In Belgium some thirty or forty years ago the capitalist profit-hunters just floated the industrial districts with the cheapest kinds of poisonous whisky, thus demoralizing the working class to such an extent that the early Socialist agitators almost despaired, fearing that they might never be able to get these elements interested in Socialism or in the trade union movement. As the Socialist movement was growing the "whisky devil" was losing ground and was finally wiped out. The Belgian Socialist leaders, Volders and Vandervelde and others, were by no means prohibitionists, but they succeeded in impressing on the minds of the poor wage workers that intemperance and ignorance were the enemies of the labor movement, because they are a constant danger to popular freedom. Tyrants and oppressors alone could profit by keeping a nation in a state of drunkenness and stupidity.

Today little Belgium has one of the best-disciplined Organized Labor armies in the world and a Socialist movement which is the pride of every Socialist of Europe and America. In Germany drunkenness and crimes diminish where the Socialist movement is strongest. This is proved by official statistics. To give an idea of the great moral influence and democratic discipline of the Socialist movement, we may recall the historical demonstration of 200,000 Social-

ists in Berlin in August, 1900, at the funeral of their great leader, William Liebknecht. By agreement the government withdrew the entire police force from the streets during the hours of the funeral demonstration, leaving the responsibility for upholding law and order exclusively to the committees of the Socialist Party. Everything went along in perfect order, not one accident nor the least disturbance occurred.

When some years ago cholera raged in Hamburg the government could not secure the services of officials for distributing the health department's literature in the cholera districts. Immediately the central committee of the Socialist Party offered its services; a call to the Socialists of Hamburg—and within two hours 100,000 board of health circulars were distributed all over the city.

Self-control, self-confidence, self-discipline characterizes the International Socialist movement, and it is under such powerful moral influences that the temperance and liquor questions will gradually solve themselves—without Sunday closing, without the lid, without moral revival movements under the leadership of some capitalist politicians.

When the health and strength of our children are no longer ground out of them in factory and workshop; when a day's work is short enough to leave time for labor to secure rest and recreation; when human beings no longer live in hovels and fill their lugs day and night with foul and tainted air; when the worker receives his full share of the products of his toil; when he can provide for himself and family nourishing food, warm clothing and proper shelter, then the unnatural craving for strong stimulants will die away. Under Socialism there will be no selling of liquor for profit, hence no one will have a business incentive for urging its use by others, and as year follows year the consumption of intoxicating liquor will grow less and less. Laws prohibiting the sale of liquor—either entirely or upon one particular day of the week—have usually failed of enforcement, and even when rigidly enforced the beneficial results have been slight in proportion to the extent of the evil.

Our Book Department

Books On

Socialism, Labor, Science and Nature

Author.	Title.	Cloth.
AVELING—	The Student's Marx.....	\$1 00
BAX—	The Religion of Socialism.....	1 00
BEBEL—	Woman and Socialism.....	1 00
BELLAMY—	Looking Backward, a novel, paper, 50c.....	1 00
BELI-AMY—	Equality, a novel, paper, 50c.....	1 25
BEALS—	The Rebel at Large.....	50
BENHAM—	The Paris Commune, paper, 25c.....	75
BLATCHFORD—	God and My Neighbor.....	1 00
BLATCHFORD—	Britain for the British.....	50
BLATCHFORD—	Merric England, paper, 10c.....	50
BOELSCHE—	The Evolution of Man.....	50
BOELSCHE—	Triumph of Life.....	50
BOUDIN—	The Theoretical System of Karl Marx.....	1 00
BROOKS—	The Social Unrest, paper 25c.....	1 50
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BUCHNER—	Force and Matter.....	1 00
BUCHNER—	Man in the Past, Present and Future.....	1 00
CARPENTER—	Love's Coming of Age.....	1 00
CARPENTER—	Civilization; Its Cause and Cure.....	1 00
COMAN—	Industrial History of the United States.....	1 25
CONVENTION REPORT, 1904,	paper, 50c.....	1 00
DARWIN—	Descent of Man.....	75
DARWIN—	Origin of Species.....	75
DARROW—	Crime and Criminals, paper, 10c.....	50
DIETZGEN—	The Positive Outcome of Philosophy.....	1 00
DIETZGEN—	Philosophical Essays.....	1 00
ENGELS—	The Origin of the Family.....	50
ENGELS—	Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, paper, 10c.....	50
ENGELS—	Feuerbach.....	50
ENGELS—	Landmarks of Scientific Socialism.....	1 00
FERRI—	The Positive School of Criminology.....	50
FITCH—	The Physical Basis of Mind and Morals.....	1 00
FRANCE—	Germ of Mind in Plants.....	50
GHENT—	Mass and Class, paper, 25c.....	1 00
HAECKEL—	The Riddle of the Universe.....	1 50
HAECKEL—	Last Words on Evolution.....	1 00
HAECKEL—	The Evolution of Man.....	1 00
HILQUIST—	History of Socialism in the United States.....	1 50
HUME—	The Abolitionists.....	1 25
HUNTER—	Poverty, paper, 25c.....	1 00
INGERSOLL—	Shakespeare, a Lecture, paper, 25c.....	1 00
INGERSOLL—	Voltaire, a Lecture, paper, 25c.....	1 00
JAURES—	Studies in Socialism.....	1 00
KAUTSKY—	Ethics and History.....	50
KAUTSKY—	The Social Revolution.....	50
LABRIOLA—	Materialistic Conception of History.....	1 00
LAFARGUE—	The Sale of an Appetite.....	50
LAFARGUE—	The Right to Be Lazy.....	50
LAFARGUE—	Evolution of Property.....	1 00
LAMONTE—	Socialism, Positive and Negative.....	50
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Socialist News Review

SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING OF LOCAL ST. LOUIS SOCIALIST PARTY.

The Party to Take Decided Stand on the Question of Prohibition.

The meeting will be held at the Party Headquarters, 212 South Fourth street, Sunday night, 7 o'clock, May 2. A special committee has been created by the Executive Board to consider this question and make their report to this meeting where final action will be taken thereon. Comrades should bring their membership cards Otto Kaemmerer, Secretary.

DISCUSSION ON PROHIBITION.

Tomorrow, Sunday, May 2, at 8 o'clock p. m., the St. Louis Local will discuss "Prohibition" at Headquarters, 212 South Fourth street.

LABOR BILLS KILLED.

There was a grand slaughter of Social-Democratic bills in the Wisconsin legislature this week. The bills providing for a minimum wage for the employers of so-called public utilities, for an eight-hour working day for workmen on public buildings, for an eight-hour day and weekly payment of wages, for the recall of bad public servants, for parcels post, for postal savings banks, restraining injunction orders, and the resolution asking the Congress of the United States to introduce old age pensions, were all ruthlessly killed. To Social-Democratic resolutions, however, were adopted. The resolution asking for the abrogation of the treaty between the United States and Russia passed the Wisconsin Senate, and the resolution requesting Congress to take steps for securing international peace passed the Assembly.

SOCIALIST PARTY MUNICIPAL CAMPAIGN FUND--AN APPEAL.

Comrades and Sympathisers of the Socialist Party. Our Party still has some unpaid bills incurred in the campaign just closed which should be promptly paid. Comrades, do your full duty and what you can to this fund. By a united response of the socialists these obligations could be easily met and we could at once begin laying these obligations could be easily met and we could at once begin laying to meet in the near future.

The following contributions have been received up to Monday, April 26:

Fred Steinmann	1.00	B. F. Lamb	.50
Chas. Blasberg	1.00	George Weim	.25
P. Fritsche	.25	O. Zeuffe	.50
Chas. Krell	1.00	A. Erdmann	.50
F. X. Denk	.50	Jack Vetter	.25
F. Langanke	.25	Collection St. George Hall, two meetings	4.35
Emil Bleicher	.25	Collection Wenz's Hall	4.53
Geo. Smith	.25	Amount previously reported	733.58
Chas. Rumberg	1.00		
(O. Zeuffe, List 104.)			
Henry Dlesing	.25	Total	\$750.21

THE GREAT ANNUAL DEBATE.

The Socialist students in the university of Madison scored a notable victory last week. The subject before the great annual "semi-public debate" at the University was whether the gradual introduction of Socialism in the United States would subserve the best interests of the people. The negative side admitted the evils of the present system, but argued for reform and regulation. The Social-Democrats brought forth irrefutable arguments to prove that reform and regulation have failed. State Secretary Frear, Legislative Reference Librarian McCarthy and Prof. Harper, the famous biologist, consulted the committee, to whom the debate was referred. And they decided that the Socialists had won their case. The debate has excited much interest and caused the university students to study up the basis for Socialism.

33 LIES FROM THE OUTLOOK ARTICLE BY THEODORE ROOSEVELT AGAINST SOCIALISM.

Will be answered by Robert Rives La Monte in the May International Socialist Review, in a way that will satisfy every man of common sense as well as every student. The Ornament of Big Nose is the title given by Mary E. Marcy to the second of her stories of the Cave People. These stories are admirably adapted to show young people the necessary connection between the mode of production and people's habits and ideas. Manuel Sarabia tells in the May Review how he escaped the clutches of the Bloody Diaz, while Arthur Scales, in an article entitled The American Inferno, tells what happens to free born American citizens when they happen to be workmen without money and to fall into the hands of "our" police. John Murray's third instalment on the Mexican Political Prisoners is the best of the three, and drives another nail through the mask behind which Diaz is seeking to hide his atrocities in the United States. No capitalist paper has yet dared to tell the truth about this butcher of the south--too much American capital is invested in Mexico. But John Murray's array of facts and his relentless logic are shedding a flood of light upon the career of this man with "thirty thousand executions to his account."

W. B. Rubin, one of the foremost lawyers in Wisconsin, who has long fought and won the battles of the union man in and around Milwaukee, contributes an article that will interest everybody. It's a little light on economic determinism (without the big words). May Beals-Hoffpauir contributes a vivid, realistic story, and Prof. Thomas C. Hall writes of Historical Christianity and Socialism in his usual charming style. The leading editorial is on the General Strike in French and what we can learn from it.

Price 10 cents. Charles H. Kerr & Company, Chicago.

Brewery Firemen's Local No. 95 of U. B. W.

Will give a picnic at Wolz's Grove, on Gravois avenue, on Sunday, May 2. Tickets will be 10 cents.

RESOLUTIONS AGAINST RUSSIAN EXTRADITION TREATY.

At a mass meeting of the Pouden Conference held at the Grand Central Palace in New York the following resolution was adopted: "The release of Jan Janoff Pouden and Christian Rudowitz represents a victory of American public opinion over an attempt of the Russian despotism to force to historic right a free republic to withdraw its protection from those who have been defeated in their fight against political tyranny. But this victory was the outcome of a long and persistent legal contest, which has demonstrated that the Extradition Treaty with Russia endangers the safety of political refugees from the Czar's dominions.

"Both these cases have revealed an embarrassing conflict of two standards of justice, Russian and American.

"Contrary to the theory and practice of American jurisprudence, the accused were, in fact, compelled to furnish proof of their innocence.

"Under the extradition law, no provision is made for bail; consequently Jan Janoff Pouden was held a prisoner for fifteen months pending the decision in his case.

In extradition cases the issue of fact is not submitted to the verdict of a jury. It is decided by an inferior federal official, sometimes a lay magistrate, who may not be even learned in the law.

"Russia may base her demands upon documentary proof obtained in a preliminary examination, in which all the safeguards of the rights of the accused are absent. The documentary proof submitted by the Russian government need not under the Russian laws be sworn to; such evidence would be incompetent in any criminal proceeding originating in our own territory.

"The defense, on the other hand, must rely upon witnesses, who are compelled on cross-examination to answer questions that can not honorably be answered, because to do so would mean to betray their comrades who are still within the reach of the Czar's police.

"Thus, the time-honored right of political asylum is reduced to a mockery. In view of the foregoing, be it

"Resolved, That we, citizens of New York, on the 17th of April, at Grand Central Palace in mass meeting assembled, request our government to give to the government of Russia due notice of termination of the convention for the extradition of criminals, made in 1893; be it further

"Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be forwarded to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of State, to both Senators from the State of New York and to every member of Congress from the City of New York.

Missouri Socialist Party

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

Get Them Naturalized.

A new booklet, entitled "The Law of Naturalization Made Easy to Understand," has been printed in German, Hungarian, Bohemian, Polish, Swedish and Slavonic. It can be had of the State Secretary for 10c. This gives you a good opportunity to make a voter out of that Socialist immigrant. Comrades in all the larger cities are acquainted with the man who talks Socialism the year round and they can not vote on election day because he has no citizen papers. There is no longer an excuse for such a state of affairs. Make voters out of the various nationalities in your town; insist that they take out their papers. It is a rather long drawn out job at best and should be undertaken at the earliest opportunity. The man who is too indifferent to become a citizen is not entitled to be called a Socialist. Socialists stand for political action, and the first requisite is to be a citizen. Get this little book and find out how to become one.

Get Together.

Both the Hungarian and Polish comrades have a national organization that is affiliated with the Socialist Party of the United States. The arrangement is such that comrades of the respective nationalities are in charge and at the same time they co-operate with the general organization. This enables us to reach the Poles and Hungarians with literature in their own tongue. The names and addresses of Socialists and sympathizers of these and other nationalities should be sent to the state office so that organization and propaganda work can be carried on among them. About the only possible way to organize Socialists speaking only a foreign tongue is to form a separate branch so that the business of meetings will be transacted in their own language.

The National Bulletin.

Every member of the party is entitled to a copy of the National Bulletin that is issued by the National Office. In order to reduce the cost of sending out the same the National Office will endeavor to mail it direct to the membership. It is necessary that the address of members be furnished the National Office so that this can be done. There is much valuable matter in the National Bulletin and this move will give it a far better distribution than heretofore.

Alderman Elected at Cardwell.

Comrade P. A. Fitzgerald was elected alderman during the recent election in Cardwell. This is a good start for the Cardwell boys, and as they announce their intention to stay right on the job, we can look for still better results next time.

Likes W. A. Ward as a Speaker.

Longwood.—I see by the last issue that Comrade Ward is in Neosho. I am acquainted with him and his work, he having preached at Nelson for a season, and preached Socialism from the pulpit. This assisted in building up one of the most enthusiastic small locals that I know of.

I think it is the duty of all locals to encourage such men as Comrade Ward in upholding the principles of our party. Through him and other ministers of the gospel we will reach the great mass of church members with the gospel of Socialism. It is they who can implant the co-operative principles of Christ and the Apostles on present-day conditions of machine production and trust ownership.—J. H. Allison.

THE GOODMAN MEMORIAL COMMITTEE.

To Whom It May Concern:—You are cordially invited to attend the dedication of the headstone of our beloved friend, Louis D. Goodman, to take place at St. Matthew's Cemetery, Sunday, May 2, 3 p. m. Speakers and subjects will be: Mr. Joseph Barrett, Goodman as a Man; Mr. Hugh K. Wagner, Goodman as a Lawyer; Mr. O. Leonard, Goodman as a Poet and Philosopher; Dr. M. Shadid, Goodman as a Socialist. Note—Take Cherokee cars. The Louis D. Goodman Memorial Committee.

TOM MANN AND THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

Melbourne, March 2.—Now in its fourth year, the Socialist Party of Victoria has, ever since its formation, been under the secretarial guidance of Tom Mann. He has been the party's guard and genius. And now we are compelled to regretfully chronicle his official severance from the party. Tom Mann has decided not to again stand for re-election as secretary. Most will hear the news with sorrow, some with dismay. In a very special way, our comrade has been the pivot of the Socialist Party. He has been more; for he also has been the foremost force in Australasia on behalf of Socialism. He has made history, and hereafter it will be impossible

to leave him out of reckoning when the tendencies which make revolution are impartially estimated and clarified.

It would not be too much to claim that Tom Mann's coming to Australasia made things fundamentally new. He brought a new message, a new inspiration, a new method. More than any other figure, he has stood strong against a narrowing insularity and bourgeois arrogance. He has urged internationalism rather than nationalism. He has fought for the universality of labor. He has been essentially a proletarian in outlook and attitude. In the deepest sense—and stripped of all superficial shadowings—he has been Voice of working class philosophy and science, recognizing as destiny and righteousness the impending supremacy of the worker. Of all that is summed up in the term Capitalism—procedure, conception, morality—he has been exposé and foe, ruthless in his analysis, relentless in his attack.

To enlarge upon his wondrous powers of organization, with all that the significant word implies, is not our purpose; nor do we propose to stress the obvious in eulogy of his oratory and other gifts. He is one of the world's big men in his possession of outstanding capacities. Speaker, writer, prophet, scientist, fighter—he is a personality of magnetic attractiveness and swaying power.

Tom Mann is retiring from the secretaryship of the Socialist Party, not in any disagreement with the party policy or principles, and with nothing but love for its cause. He feels called upon to operate in other domains for the time being. The Broken Hill upheaval has revived and brought to flame all his long-standing loyalty to, and belief in, industrial organization. He would join the working class of the commonwealth in an indissoluble bond of perfected cohesion and purpose. He is prepared, we understand, to undertake this work either at the request of the trade unions or the Socialist Federation of Australasia. For our part, we are only human in desiring that the S. F. A. will speedily give effect to a cherished project, and obtain Tom Mann's expert services. We shall recur to this matter. Yet if it be that during Tom Mann's remaining stay in Australia he organize for the unions, or even retain a free hand, nothing is so certain as that, in any case, the work will be as sound as necessary, as lasting as emancipatory.

The Socialist Party of Victoria will neither forget nor cease to esteem its founder. The party rejoices to know that whatever he does, or wherever he be, Tom Mann's labors will be in the spirit and name of Socialism. It could not be otherwise. He personifies Socialism against Capitalism. The party also knows that Tom Mann will be always, to an extent, identified with it. It thanks him for all he has done; desires for him abundant blessing. To Mrs. Mann, his accomplished and able helpmate, the Socialist Party equally extends its cordial appreciation and best wishes. Mrs. Mann is a woman of parts, and her talent and energy have muchly contributed to the formidable achievement known as the Socialist Party of Victoria.

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