

## "We Propose to Run Our Own Business in Our Own Way"

By Ben Hanford.

(From His Book "Fight for Your Life!" For Sale at Labor Book Department.)  
Price, 25 Cents a Copy.



Ben Hanford.

"We propose to run our own business in our own way." So says the president of the big corporation when his thousands of employes ask an increase in wages.

"We propose to run our own business in our own way." So says the senior partner in the firm when their hundreds of employes ask shorter hours.

"I propose to run my own business in my own way." So says the little cockroach capitalist when his half-dozen employes ask half-way decent conditions.

Then all together:

"We propose to run our own business in our own way."

St. George F. Baer, J. Pierpont Morgan, the president of the Typhotetae, the president of the Mine Owners' Association, the editor of every scab newspaper, the owner of a scab subway, the owner of every trolley line, railway, rolling mill, shoe factory, hat factory, bake shop—every last one of them sits up on his hind legs and howls like a wolf or whines like a coyote, "We are going to run our own business in our own way."

Well, why don't you run it your own way?

When could a boss have a better chance to run his own business his own way than while his employes are on strike?

If Mr. Baer wanted to run his business in his own way, why didn't he go right down under ground and dig his own coal out of his own mine when his miners were on strike in 1902? He would have been entirely safe. The eleven thousand militiamen of Pennsylvania could have "protected" him and all the coal he might have dug.

Why, when his men went on strike, didn't August Belmont go down to the subway and go to work, instead of going down to Florida to go fishing?

If all you union-hating gentry want to run your own business in your own way, why don't you run it?

If you want to run your business in your own way, what do you hire scabs for?

If you want to run your own business in your own way, what do you hire any one for?

If a member of the Typhotetae wants to run his own business in his own way why does he hire printers, pressmen lithographers?

If the owner of a newspaper wants to run his own business in his own way, why doesn't he sit right down and write his newspaper, and edit his newspaper, and then make the paper his newspaper is printed on—all in his very own way? Then let him set the type, in his own way, and read the proof in his own way, and make up the forms in his own way. Then let him put the forms on the press and wash and ink the rollers in his own way. Then he can fire the boiler, get up steam, run the press and print his precious paper—all in his own way. And let him read it himself—in his own way.

Who or what would stop him? He would not need even a Gatling-gun injunction.

"We propose to run our business in our own way." So you say—all you union-haters. And you lie—you lie every one of you lie, and know you lie, when you say it.

YOU do not propose to run your own business in your own way. You propose your business shall be run in YOUR way, all right.

But you propose some one else shall run it, while YOU get the profit.

That some one else that you propose to have run your business is a WORKINGMAN, and if HE does not willingly run YOUR business for you in your own way, and so far forgets himself as to ask for something it is not to your interest to give, and strikes in an effort to get what he asks for, you do not even try to run your own business.

Quite the contrary. Instead of going to work and running your own business, you do your best to starve, club or shoot that workingman back into your shop to run it for you.

So far, Mr. Union-Hater, you have had pretty fair success in making workingmen run your business for you in your own way. But there will come a day. You don't believe it? Ask the ghosts of ten thousand tyrants of ten thousand years that are past.

If a man wants to run his own business in his own way, the first necessary thing for him to do is to go to some place where there are no other men—that means the desert. Then he can indeed run his business in his own way. He can do everything just as he likes. No one will interfere with him. No troublesome union workingmen will ask higher wages or shorter hours. Nor will they boycott his product for lack of the label.

Only the isolated man can—or should—have a business of his own. Only the solitary man can—or should—run his business in his own way.

Mr. Union-Hater, one of these days the workingmen who run your business will cease to ask you for better wages or shorter hours, or any of these things that trouble you so.

One of these days men who run your business FOR YOU will discover that if they can run it FOR YOU they can run it FOR THEMSELVES. Then, instead of asking you for more wages, they will ask you for the business.

Better still, they may TAKE IT WITHOUT THE ASKING.

"I propose to run my own business in my own way."

Such a man should go to the desert—and run it.

## The Same Old Work In the Same Old Way

Some Information for the Socialist Comrades of St. Louis—Underground Work Brought to Light.

Some three weeks ago a rumor reached the editor of St. Louis Labor to the effect that a certain Dr. Howard Lindsay, expelled member of the Socialist Party, and formerly one of Harry Hawes' Democratic ward workers in the Jefferson Club, was giving out the information that a movement had been started by local Socialists well known to him for the purpose of securing the revocation of the Charter of Local St. Louis, and then with a new Charter reorganize the entire local party movement.

A week or so later other comrades made similar reports and added that certain individuals closely associated with said Dr. Lindsay were circulating petitions in favor of a movement of having the Charter of Local St. Louis revoked.

We paid no attention to the matter and refused to discuss it. When several days ago the editor was asked for information by comrades who had also heard the same rumors, he could only reply that he knew nothing about it, at least nothing outside of rumors above mentioned.

Last Monday morning a comrade called up the editor of St. Louis Labor and informed him of a secret meeting of "Socialists" somewhere in the 22d Ward (Dr. Lindsay's Ward!), which had been called for the purpose of devising ways and means to have the Charter of Local St. Louis revoked. The comrade in question stated that he had not attended the secret meeting himself, but that he re-

ceived his information from a man who was there, and that at said meeting the 22d Ward membership was strongly represented; that among those present were several members of the Executive Board (Boswell, Harvey and one or two more whose names he could not remember). We told the comrade that information of that sort should be reported to the party organization, provided there was any truth about it; but unless something more definite or reliable is known it was of no use to talk about it.

Last Monday evening a comrade appeared in the office of St. Louis Labor and handed the editor a post card which had been written, mailed and delivered on Saturday, May 8, 1909. The card read as follows:

St. Louis, Mo., May 8, 1909.

Dear Comrade:—

Don't fail to attend a meeting of the comrades Sunday evening, Grand Central Hotel basement, Jefferson avenue and Pine street, May 9; Pine street entrance. Business of importance. We count on your assistance. We are trying to organize a movement to get the Charter of Local St. Louis revoked, and a new one issued to us. Everything will be explained at the meeting. With best wishes,  
J. S. KIEFNER, Secretary, 4359 Lee Ave.

The foregoing invitation is plain enough. It now develops that the "gentlemen" and "Socialists" held several underground meetings at the Grand Central Hotel basement or elsewhere, where the question of Charter revocation and "ridding the party of the bunch at headquarters" was gone into in all seriousness. It further develops that the individual circulating the Charter revocation petition is a certain Robison or Robertson, one of Dr. Howard Lindsay's bosom friends, who still resides at the Lindsay boarding house on Washington avenue.

Kiefner, who signs himself on the post card invitation as the secretary of the underground movement, was one of the leading spirits of the line-up for Dr. Lindsay during the trial which ended with landing the latter individual outside the Socialist Party. Even after the expulsion of the gentleman named the underground outfit secretary made strenuous efforts to save the "honor" of his protegee. When, however, the Local Executive Board would not stand for any more tomfoolery and ordered the reorganization of the 22d Ward Club, the Line-up dropped their man Lindsay like a hot potato, i. e., apparently so. In fact they were only mad at him because he made such a botch job out of his mischievous work and permitted himself to get caught in the act. The moral, intellectual and, to some extent, the social relations, however, were not entirely broken off.

It will therefore not be very surprising to the Socialists of this city to learn that with few exceptions the same people who rallied to the "clean flag" of the ex-Jefferson Club ward heeler, Dr. Howard Lindsay, are now morally, intellectually and socially tied together in the Underground Basement movement for "cleaning the party" and trying to have its charter revoked.

The St. Louis Socialists may also be informed of the latest attempts of the above-named "Doctor" to break into the St. Louis trades union movement. As a former street car conductor he had induced the East St. Louis Street Car Men's Union to provide him with a delegate credential which would entitle him to voice and vote in the St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union. These credentials were presented at the last meeting in April. Delegate Jim Conroy spoke heartily in favor of accepting the credentials and seating Dr. Howard Lindsay as a delegate, but the central body thought best to go slow in the matter. It was decided to refer to the Lindsay credentials to the secretary for investigation, and report at the following meeting. Last Sunday Assistant Secretary Shanessy reported that the investigation was superfluous, because as soon as the East St. Louis Street Car Men's Union learned of the St. Louis central body's action, they notified him (Shanessy) that they had for the present abandoned the idea of sending fraternal delegates to the St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union.

The experience of recent years, the crooked work of the Jefferson Club Labor skates against the Socialist Party, and especially the desperate attempts of the Democratic Frazee-Conroy-DeLeonite Fry-Young combination to get the most active Socialists and old-time union men out of the Central Trades and Labor Union, and in addition the work of the Democratic organ, St. Louis Republic, during all that trouble of several years ago, convinces the undersigned that some of the old-time wires are reconnected between some of "Our Good Old Democratic Friends the Enemy and the Underground movement so ably and tersely described in the post card and secret meeting call signed by the underground secretary.

So far as we could learn, not one of the St. Louis Socialist ward clubs, with perhaps one exception, had any knowledge of this latest underground work, and the Executive Board knew absolutely nothing about it until last Monday evening, when the undersigned handed a copy of the above postal card to the meeting.

We owe this information to the comrades and friends of the Socialist movement of St. Louis. Too much of this kind of work has been going on in our movement, and in the trade unions throughout the country, and the sooner it is stopped and the line closely drawn the better it will be for the movement. Men who can not do their work in the Socialist movement in open daylight are not deserving the name Comrade. What have we our Ward Clubs, our Local Executive Boards, our City Central Committee, our Local and our general meetings and Initiative and Referendum provisions for if we permit would-be Socialists to operate along the lines of the capitalist political ward heeler?

In conclusion, it may be stated that the "charge" on which the Basement workers are trying to base their cause for Charter revocation is the nomination of Owen Miller on the Socialist Freeholders' ticket at the recent elections. Miller, as is well known, is not a member of the Socialist Party, and our party, in general meeting, in convention, in Executive Board meetings, in Campaign Committee sessions, and in every public meeting, stated and repeated over and over again that the Board of Freeholders was no elective or executive office with any salary attached, but simply a committee of citizens whose duty it is to prepare a Charter document to be submitted for indorsement or rejection by the Referendum vote of the people.  
G. A. HOEHN,  
Editor St. Louis Labor.

## WARREN HELD GUILTY

Jury of Republicans Declares Appeal Editor Guilty in Taylor Kidnaping Reward Case.

Fort Scott, Kas., May 8.—Fred G. Warren, managing editor of the Appeal to Reason, was found guilty by the jury which had been chosen to try him for misuse of the mails, after the jury had been out 22 hours. The penalty is from one to five years in the penitentiary. Despite the fact that Warren is a Socialist, a number of men were allowed to get on the jury who had declared under oath that they were prejudiced against Socialism and Socialists. The judge sitting in the case, United States Circuit Judge Pollock, allowed the prosecution to enter these jurors.

Warren, who was defended by Clarence S. Darrow of Chicago and General L. C. Boyle of Kansas City, will appeal. He was indicted two years ago for sending out thousands of envelopes across which were inscribed in red ink this statement:

"A reward of \$1,000 will be paid to any persons who will kidnap ex-Governor Taylor of Kentucky and return him to that state."

This declaration was actuated by the decision of the United States Supreme Court holding that the Idaho authorities had not kidnaped, Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone in taking them from Colorado to Boise for trial.

Former Governor Taylor was here as the star witness for the state, but was questioned briefly by the government and not cross-examined at all. He stated that the offer of reward was no thrust at him personally, but was rather aimed as a blow at the courts. He said in an interview he would never return to Kentucky to live. The defense was greatly surprised at the opening of the trial to discover that Taylor, who was lately pardoned by Governor Willson of Kentucky for connection with the Gobel murder, was to be one of the witnesses. Warren's defense was that he had as much right as a private citizen to offer a reward for the capture of any fugitive as sheriffs and chiefs of police, who burden the mails daily with cards containing offers of reward for arrest of certain persons. The jury was out 22 hours. Warren expressed the hope the jury would convict rather than disagree.

When Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone were kidnaped in Colorado at the time of the strike of the Western Federation of Miners by detectives and taken to Idaho Roosevelt began thundering against the men on trial as "undesirable citizens" to divert popular attention from the crime. As an offset to the thunderings of the president, Warren sent out the letters and cards offering a reward for the kidnaping of Taylor and bringing him back to justice. Taylor was a fugitive from justice in Indiana at that time, and the governor of Indiana, Hanly, refused to give him up because he was a Republican.

## AT PALM BEACH

By Robert Hunter.

David was, you remember, the valiant young chief of the hosts of Israel. Surrounding him were many mighty warriors.

Tired and exhausted after a terrible battle with the Philistines, David one evening exclaimed:

"O, that one would give me drink of the water of the well of Bethlehem that is at the gate!"

When night came three stalwart men dashed over the hills, into the very midst of the sleeping Philistines, and filled a vessel from the well of Bethlehem.

Having started the sleeping enemy, they cut their way through, bounded over the hills, back into the camp of David.

They brought the water and gave it to David to drink, and when David saw that his men had risked their lives for this draught he took the water, poured it on the ground as an offering to the Lord, saying:

"God forbid that I should do this thing. Shall I drink the blood of these men who have put their lives in jeopardy? For with the jeopardy of their lives they bought it."

With the jeopardy of men's lives all things are bought. Coal, iron and ore are bought by the jeopardy of men's lives. All food, clothing, shelter are bought by the jeopardy of men's lives.

Each year millions lay down their lives to feed, clothe and shelter humanity.

In field and forest, in the bowels of the earth, before red-hot ovens and white-hot furnaces men sweat and toil in jeopardy to feed and clothe and shelter the world.

Only yesterday in the world's chronicle this continent was a wilderness. Today it is transformed.

Fields are rich with produce. Cities are dotted over hills and valleys and plains. Factories and workshops and railroads cover the land. Flocks and herds are on every hillside—all because with the jeopardy of men's lives have these riches been bought.

Every bit of bread we eat, every soft bed we sleep in, every kindly house that shelters us, every stick of wood that warms us has been bought with the jeopardy of men's lives.

And do we ever ask with David, "Shall I drink the blood of these men whose lives have been put in jeopardy to bring these things?"

Last night I saw two hundred men and women sit through the night at gaming tables. Hundreds and thousands were lost at a throw of the dice or the turn of the wheel.

Women, beautifully gowned, with bare arms and necks encircled with pearls and diamonds, men with flushed faces sat drinking the blood of the workers whose lives were put in jeopardy to bring them their riches.

Precious fellow lives toil, day after day, night after night, without hope or prospect of hope, precious, precious little children in factory and mill, toil from the dawn of life to the dusk of life to produce this wealth.

Millions are ever in jeopardy, living dark, sunless, anxious lives to maintain the men and women of the upper world.

And the blood of the lowly is drunk, nervously, thoughtlessly, greedily, with few to exclaim:

"My God, forbid that I should do this thing. Shall I drink of the blood of these men who have put their lives in jeopardy? For with the jeopardy of their lives have they bought it."

## THE FRENCH STRIKE SITUATION.

Postal, Telephone and Telegraph Unions Enter Into a Syndicate With Right to Walk Out—Allied With Revolutionary Federation.

Paris, May 10.—The famous P. T. T., that is the postal, telegraphs and telephones employes' association, threw down the glove of battle to the government by transforming itself into a syndicate or union, under the law of 1884, thus placing the association on the same footing with workmen's union, with the right to strike against the state employer, as the workmen have the privilege of doing against private employers.

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.

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**Increase the Circulation of St. Louis Labor!**  
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# SUGGESTIONS FOR NEW CITY CHARTER

## An Address to the Board of Freeholders on Charter Revision

To the Board of Freeholders on Charter Revision.

Gentlemen—The Socialist Party begs leave to offer the following suggestions on the new City Charter for the kind consideration of the Board:

### I.

#### Form of Government.

In order to guarantee to the people the democratic and most popular management of their public affairs we must insist either on the present form of our municipal legislative organization consisting of City Council and House of Delegates, or we must adopt the One House plan of a Municipal Council to be elected by the voters on the basis of the system of proportional representation. The latter form seems to us the better one for this reason: It is in violation of all laws of justice and fair play when one political party with 50,000 votes gets into possession of every legislative and administrative office of the city, because it happens to secure a plurality of perhaps 1,000 or less votes over the party with the next highest vote; thus the citizens voting for the other parties, although representing a majority of the entire vote cast, will not have any representation. Each political party should be represented in the Municipal Council according to the number of votes cast at the election of such Council.

### II.

#### Municipal Legislation.

The legislative power of St. Louis shall be vested:

- (1) In the Municipal Council or Assembly,
- (2) In the rank and file of the voters by means of direct legislation, better known as Initiative and Referendum.

Whenever a certain per cent of the qualified voters of St. Louis propose by petition, any bill, the Municipal Council shall submit such bill for a general referendum vote to the people, and if the majority of the qualified electors voting at such referendum election favor such bill, it shall become a law and go into effect forthwith. This kind of legislation is known as the Initiative.

The Referendum gives to the people the right to have submitted to a general vote for endorsement or rejection any bill or ordinance passed by the Municipal legislative body, except general appropriation ordinances and emergency measures.

#### Veto Power of the Mayor to Be Abolished.

The Mayor's duties shall be confined to executive and administrative affairs, and he shall have no right to veto any bill or ordinance passed by the Municipal legislative body, or enacted by the people through the Initiative and Referendum. The people alone shall have the power to say whether a law shall stand or not.

The present veto power is a relic of mediæval feudalism and should find no recognition in modern democratic government.

#### The Right of Recall.

The members of the Municipal Council, and all other elective Municipal officials, shall be subject to recall by the qualified voters of the city whenever they fail or neglect to carry out the wishes of the people.

### III.

#### Municipal Ownership of Public Utilities.

Section 1 of Article 1 of the new Charter, defining the powers of the municipality, should be so enlarged as to include the right of the city to own and operate any and all public utilities, such as gas and electric light and power plants, street railways, bridges, ferries, wharves, railroad terminals, telephones, etc., and to furnish to the citizens and inhabitants such public service at such rates and under

such conditions as shall be fixed by the legislative department of the city.

Our old City Charter gives to the Municipality the right to own and operate water works and furnish water to the people at reasonable rates. But it grants no such rights in connection with the operation of light and power plants and other public utilities. While today the Municipality of St. Louis owns and operates a municipal lighting plant and furnishes light for the new City Hall, the Four Courts, the Courthouse and several other public buildings at a marvelously low rate, the city has no right under the old Charter to sell light to private consumers. According to official information published by Chief Engineer Wood the City Hall lighting plant furnished the city buildings with light during April, 1909, at 865-1000ths of a cent per kilowatt hour, the total cost of which was \$585. The same current purchased from the private lighting company at the rates the city is paying for other buildings would have cost \$3027.74, or nearly six times as much. These figures give an approximate idea of the benefits derived from municipal ownership of public utilities.

### IV.

#### Work of Administration.

The legislative and administrative functions of government should be separated, the Municipal Council to confine its work strictly to measures of legislation. The administrative functions shall be placed under the jurisdiction of the various departments of the city. The responsible heads of these administrative departments shall be elected by popular vote, as the heads of some of the departments are already elected today.

### V.

#### Woman's Suffrage and Civil Service.

Women shall have the same right to vote in all municipal elections and to hold public office as men.

In all departments of the municipal government where offices are to be filled by appointment Civil Service or the Merit system shall be strictly enforced; no applicant shall be accepted or rejected for political reasons, and no person efficient in office shall be discharged on account of his political views or affiliation.

### VI.

#### Reorganization of City Hospital Service.

The new City Charter should contain provisions which would make possible the reorganization of the Hospital Service on the following basis:

- (1) The separation of the Health Department from the Hospital Department.
- (2) Vesting of control over the hospitals in a Board of Trustees similar to the School Board, and elected by the people.
- (3) Provision for an Executive Superintendent.
- (4) Provision for medical staff of experienced physicians, appointed by the Board of Trustees for a term of years.
- (5) Provision for an interne body of physicians, to be chosen on the basis of competitive examination conducted by the staff.

Such internes shall be responsible to, and under the guidance of such medical staff.

The reasons for the above asked changes are to secure more efficient service. Unfortunately, most of the important offices in connection with our present City Hospital management are appointive jobs based on political favoritism, much to the detriment of efficient service and welfare of the patients.

Respectfully submitted,  
SOCIALIST PARTY OF ST. LOUIS, MO.  
St. Louis, Mo., May 21, 1909.

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By BEN HANFORD



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# The Principles The Socialist Party Advocates

Human life depends upon food, clothing and shelter. Only with these assured are freedom, culture and higher human development possible. To produce food, clothing or shelter, land and machinery are needed. Land alone does not satisfy human needs. Human labor creates machinery and applies it to the land for the production of raw materials and food. Whoever has control of land and machinery controls human labor, and with it human life and liberty.

Today the machinery and the land used for industrial purposes are owned by a rapidly decreasing minority. So long as machinery is simple and easily handled by one man, its owner can not dominate the sources of life of others. But when machinery becomes more complex and expensive, and requires for its effective operation the organized effort of many workers, its influence reaches over wide circles of life. The owners of such machinery become the dominant class.

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

As the economic power of the ruling class grows it becomes less useful in the life of the nation. All the useful work of the nation falls upon the shoulders of the class whose only property is its manual and mental labor powers—the wage worker—or of the class who, have but little land and little effective machinery outside of their labor power—the small traders and small farmers. The ruling minority is steadily becoming useless and parasitic.

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

The wage workers are therefore the most determined and irreconcilable antagonists of the ruling class. They suffer most from the curse of class rule. The fact that a few capitalists are permitted to control all the country's industrial resources and social tools for their individual profit, and to make the production of the necessities of life the object of competitive private enterprise and speculation is at the bottom of all the social evils of our time.

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

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

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

To maintain their rule over their fellow men, the capitalists must keep in their pay all organs of the public powers, public mind and public conscience. They control the dominant parties and, through them, the elected public officials. They select the executives, bribe the legislatures and corrupt the courts of justice. They own and

control the press. They dominate the educational institutions. They own the nation politically and intellectually just as they own it industrially.

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

The struggle of the working class against the capitalist class, while it is a class struggle, is thus at the same time a struggle for the abolition of all classes and class privileges.

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

The basis for such transformation is rapidly developing within present capitalist society. The factory system, with its complex machinery and minute division of labor, is rapidly destroying all vestiges of individual production in manufacture. Modern production is already very largely a collective and social process. The great trusts and monopolies which have sprung up in recent years have organized the work and management of the principal industries on a national scale, and have fitted them for collective use and operation.

The Socialist Party is primarily an economic and political movement. It is not concerned with matters of religious belief.

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

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

The Socialist Party, in national convention assembled, again declares itself as the party of the working class, and appeals for the support of all workers of the United States and of all citizens who sympathize with the great and just cause of labor.

We are at this moment in the midst of one of those industrial breakdowns that periodically paralyze the life of the nation. The much boasted era of our national prosperity has been followed by one of general misery. Factories, mills and mines are closed. Millions of men, ready, willing and able to provide the nation with all the necessities and comforts of life, are forced into idleness and starvation.

Within recent times the trusts and monopolies have attained an enormous and menacing development. They have acquired the power to dictate the terms upon which we shall be allowed to live. The trusts fix the prices of our bread, meat and sugar, of our coal, oil and clothing, of our raw material and machinery, of all the necessities of life.

The present desperate condition of the workers has been made the opportunity for a renewed onslaught on Organized Labor. The highest courts of the country have within the last year rendered decision after decision depriving the workers of rights which they had won by generations of struggle.

The attempt to destroy the Western Federation of Miners, al-



though defeated by the solidarity of Organized Labor and the Socialist movement, revealed the existence of a far-reaching and unscrupulous conspiracy by the ruling class against the organizations of labor.

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

The Congress of the United States has shown its contempt for the interests of labor as plainly and unmistakably as have the other branches of government. The laws for which the labor organizations have continually petitioned have failed to pass. Laws ostensibly enacted for the benefit of labor have been distorted against labor.

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

Individual competition leads inevitably to combinations and trusts. No amount of government regulation, or of publicity, or of restrictive legislation will arrest the natural course of modern industrial development.

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

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

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

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

#### Program.

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

#### General Demands.

1. The immediate government relief for the unemployed workers by building schools, by reforesting of cut-over and waste lands, by reclamation of arid tracts, and the building of canals, and by extending all other useful public works. All persons employed on such works shall be employed directly by the government under an eight-hour workday and at the prevailing rate of union wages. The government shall also loan money to states and municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on public works. It shall contribute to the funds of labor organizations for the purpose of assisting their unemployed members, and shall take such other measures within its power as will lessen the widespread misery of the workers caused by the misrule of the capitalist class.

2. The collective ownership of railroads, telegraph, telephones, steamboat lines and all other means of social transportation and communication, and all land.

3. The collective ownership of all industries which are organized on a national scale and in which competition has virtually ceased to exist.

4. The extension of the public domain to include mines, quarries, oil wells, forests and water power.

5. The scientific reforestation of timber lands, and the reclamation of swamp lands. The land so reforested or reclaimed to be permanently retained as a part of the public domain.

6. The absolute freedom of press, speech and assemblage.

#### Industrial Demands.

7. The improvement of the industrial condition of the workers.

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

(b) By securing to every worker a rest period of not less than a day and a half in each week.

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

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

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

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

#### Political Demands.

8. The extension of inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the amount of the bequests and to the nearness of kin.

9. A graduated income tax.

10. Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women, and we pledge ourselves to engage in an active campaign in that direction.

11. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall.

12. The abolition of the Senate.

The abolition of the power usurped by the Supreme Court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of the legislation enacted by Congress. National laws to be repealed or abrogated only by act of Congress or by a referendum of the whole people.

14. That the constitution be made amendable by majority vote.

15. The enactment of further measures of general education and for the conservation of health. The bureau of education to be made a department. The creation of a department of public health.

16. The separation of the present bureau of labor from the department of commerce and labor, and the establishment of a department of labor.

17. That all judges be elected by the people for short terms, and that the power to issue injunctions shall be curbed by immediate legislation.

18. The free administration of justice.

Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole power of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry and thus come to their rightful inheritance.—(National Platform Adopted at the 1908 Convention.)

**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.

## WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE DEPARTMENT

### WHY WOMEN SHOULD VOTE?

Objections Answered.  
By Alice Stone Blackwell.

#### I.

The reasons why women should vote are the same as the reasons why men should vote—the same as the reasons for having a republic rather than a monarchy. It is fair and right that the people who must obey the laws should have a choice in choosing the law-makers, and that those who must pay the taxes should have a voice as to the amount of the tax, and the way in which the money shall be spent.

Roughly stated, the fundamental principle of a republic is this: In deciding what is to be done, where everybody's interests are concerned, we take everybody's opinion, and then go according to the wish of the majority. As we can not suit everybody, we do what will suit the greatest number. That seems to be, on the whole, the fairest way. A vote is simply a written expression of opinion.

In thus taking a vote to get at the wish of the majority, certain classes of persons are passed over, whose opinions for one reason or another are thought not to be worth counting. In most of our states, these classes are children, aliens, idiots, lunatics, criminals and women. There are good and obvious reasons for making all these exceptions but the last. Of course no account ought to be taken of the opinions of children, insane persons, or criminals. Is there any equally good reason why no account should be taken of the opinions of women? Let us consider the reasons commonly given, and see if they are sound.

#### Are Women Represented?

Women are represented already by their husbands, fathers and brothers.

This so-called representation bears no proportion to numbers. Here is a man who has a wife, a widowed mother, four or five unmarried sisters, and half a dozen unmarried daughters. His vote represents himself and all these women, and it counts one; while the vote of his bachelor neighbor next door, without a female relative in the world, counts for just as much. Since the object of taking a vote is to get at the wish of the majority, it is clear that the only fair and accurate way is for each grown person to have one vote, and cast it to represent himself or herself.

#### Men and Women Different.

American men are the best in the world, and if it were possible for any men to represent women, through kindness and good will to them, American men would do it. But a man is by nature too different from a woman to be able to represent her. The two creatures are unlike. Whatever his good will, he can not fully put himself in a woman's place, and look at things exactly from her point of view. To say this is no more a reflection upon his mental or moral ability than it would be a reflection upon his musical ability to say that he can not sing both soprano and bass. Unless men and women should ever become just alike (which would be regrettable and monotonous), women must either go unrepresented or represent themselves.

#### Women Not Represented in the Laws.

Another proof that women's opinions are not now fully represented is the lack in many states of humane and protective legislation, and the poor enforcement of such legislation where it exists; the inadequate appropriations for schools; the permission of child labor in factories, and in general the imperfect legal safe-guarding of the moral, educational and humanitarian interests that women have most at heart. In many of our states, the property laws are more or less unequal as between men and women. A hundred years ago, before the equal rights movement began, they were almost incredibly unequal. Yet our grandfathers loved their wives and daughters as much as men do today.

#### Is "Influence" Enough?

If the laws are unjust, they can be corrected by women's indirect influence.

Yes, but the indirect method is needlessly long and hard. If women are forbidden to use the direct route by rail across the continent and complained of the injustice, it would be no answer to tell them that it is possible to get from New York to San Francisco by going around Cape Horn.

#### Mother and Child.

The slowness with which some of the worst inequalities in the laws are corrected shows the unsatisfactoriness of the indirect way. In most states, a married woman has literally no legal rights over her own children, so long as she and her husband live together. Here is a case which actually happened, and which might happen today, in 34 out of the 46 states of the Union:

A Chinaman had married a respectable Irishwoman. When their first baby was three days old, the husband gave it to his brother to be taken to China, and brought up there. The mother, through the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, appealed to the courts. But the judge promptly decided that the husband was within his rights. He was the sole legal owner of the baby; he had the sole legal right to say what should be done with it. For more than half a century, the suffragists of the United States have been trying to secure legislation making the father and mother joint guardians of their children by law, as they are by nature; but thus far the equal guardianship law has been obtained in only 12 states and the District of Columbia. Massachusetts got it in 1902, after 55 years of effort by Massachusetts women. In Colorado, after women were given the right to vote, the very next legislature passed an equal guardianship law.

In Massachusetts, the State Federation of Women's Clubs, the Woman's Relief Corps, the State W. C. T. U., the Children's Friend Society and 64 other associations united in asking for the bill. The only society of women that has ever ranged itself definitely on the wrong side of this question is the "Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women." It circulated for years, under its official imprimatur, a leaflet in defense of the old law which gave the husband the sole control of the children.

In Massachusetts, in 1902, the laws of inheritance between husband and wife were made equal; but it had taken more than half a century of work to secure this self-evidently just measure. The experience in many other states has been similar. The roundabout way is almost always long and slow.

#### The Ignorant Vote.

It would double the ignorant vote. Statistics published by the National Bureau of Education show that the high schools of every state in the Union are graduating more girls than boys—some of them twice or three times as many. The whole number of boys in attendance at public high schools in the United States in 1905-6 was 305,308; of girls, 417,384. Because of the growing tendency to take boys out of school early in order to put them into business, girls are getting more schooling than boys. Equal suffrage would increase the proportion of voters who have received more than a merely elementary education.

#### The Foreign Vote.

It would double the foreign vote. During the three years ending June 30, 1904, there arrived in the United States 2,223,166 immigrants. Of these only 664,527 were women, less than one-third. There are in the United States more than three times as many native-born women (32,467,041) as there are foreign-born men and foreign-born women put together (10,341,276). Equal suffrage would largely increase the proportion of native-born voters.

The foreign vote is objectionable only so far as it is an ignorant vote. Intelligent foreigners, both men and women, are often very valuable citizens. On the other hand, the ignorant foreign immigrants who come here are fully imbued, both men and women, with all the Old World ideas as to the inferiority and subjection of women. It is not until they have become pretty thoroughly Americanized that they can tolerate the idea of women's voting. The husbands are not willing that their wives should vote, and the wives ridicule the suggestion. Experience shows that until they have become Americanized, the foreign women will not vote. And, after they have become Americanized, why should they not vote, as well as any one else?

(To be continued.)

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Entered at the Post Office at St. Louis, Mo., as second-class matter.

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

## LABOR'S PRESS

How many people in the movement are really acquainted with the desperate struggle for life of the Socialist and trade union press? Have you any idea of the number of labor publications buried within the last twenty-five years? To name them would fill several pages of this paper.

And to what extent does the Socialist or Unionist support his press? Why, the average comrade or brother thinks he has sacrificed half of his earthly life by paying one year's subscription to a labor paper!

What would the movement be today without its press?

St. Louis Labor is no exception. It has had its troubles. Its struggle for existence is about the same as that of the rest of our papers throughout the country. **Common Sense** of Los Angeles, the **Seattle Socialist**, **Chicago Daily Socialist**, **New York Evening Call** and the rest of them have a hard road to travel. The last twenty months of industrial depression have not made things any better, because our press is dependent mainly and solely on the working people, who have suffered severely during the last year.

Speaking of its own troubles, the **New York Evening Call** says: "The life of The Call—our Call—hangs by a thread."

"The Board of Management has been holding frequent sessions. Suspension has been considered."

"At one time some of us felt that The Call should be stopped immediately—the life thread broken."

"Wisely, or unwisely, it has been decided to make one last supreme effort."

"A good part of the office force and of the editorial staff are on the point of breakdown. They have worked long hours, amidst many anxieties, under conditions almost heart-breaking. A number of the old staff have had to abandon their work, and two or three have seriously broken down under the strain."

"It is the old trouble. Money is needed. Every week a heavy deficit is faced, and there is no capital to draw upon."

"We need more help, more men in the business department, more men on the editorial staff."

"We need immediately ample cash to meet promptly our weekly obligations."

"We know that nearly everyone has sacrificed, and the Board of Management is reluctant to ask that more sacrifices be made."

"We need The Call. New York needs it. The workers need it. The Socialists need it."

"We are too many not to have a voice, and THIS IS our voice."

"We come to you, then, comrades, throughout all the East. We want to ask every man who would save the life of The Call to do all he can."

The **Chicago Socialist** is compelled to sing about the same song; its appeals for help have become a standing feature of the paper—a feature which no one hates and detests more than the editorial and business managements.

## The Warren Case

The daily capitalist press, in a short dispatch from Fort Scott, Kans., announced that Fred D. Warren, editor of the **Appeal to Reason**, was found guilty of using the mails for circulating scurrilous and obscene literature. Of course, there is a well defined purpose in this kind of capitalist newspaper work. To expect that the "molders of public opinion" would tell a true story of the Warren case, is unreasonable, because capitalist papers are not published for that purpose.

Every reader of Socialist and labor papers knows that Fred D. Warren made the Governor Taylor kidnaping reward offer for a specific purpose: to compare the kidnaping of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone in Colorado with Governor Taylor's connection with the Goebel murder case in Kentucky, and to attract general attention to the Colorado outrage.

Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone were kidnaped, taken to a special train by armed guards, and hurried from Denver to Idaho, without being given time to communicate with counsel or even with their families. All the ordinary processes of extradition were violated, all

the rights legally accorded to common criminals were denied these men. When they appealed to the courts, the courts ruled that, while they had been unlawfully arrested and deported, yet their trial should go on under circumstances unfavorable to themselves and favorable to the prosecuting authorities, who had sworn that they should never leave Idaho alive. To call attention to this outrage, the **Appeal to Reason** offered a reward to anyone who should seize former Governor Taylor, the Republican politician of Kentucky, who had been indicted for the murder of the Democratic Governor—Goebel—had taken refuge in Indiana, and was being shielded by the Republican Governor of that state. The announcement of this offer was "defamatory" only in the sense that it recited the facts brought out before the jury that indicted Taylor. Taylor was not kidnaped, and on the witness stand at Fort Scott he (Taylor) stated, according to reports, he did not think that Warren had any malicious intentions against him, but simply desired to call public attention to the Colorado trouble.

It requires no exceptional intellect to see the yellow streak in the Fort Scott verdict against Warren. A verdict of not guilty would have been a moral conviction of the originators of the persecution. Whether Fred D. Warren will go to jail or not is hard to tell at this time. But suppose the Supreme Court should uphold the Fort Scott verdict, what of it? Will it change the fact that Warren achieved his purpose in attracting the attention of thousands of people to the Colorado outrage? Or will any sensible human being believe for a moment that the conviction and imprisonment can prevent the Socialist press from continuing the heroic struggle for Labor's rights and emancipation?

Is it a mere coincidence that the persecution against Warren and the **Appeal to Reason** comes about the same time when the Citizens' Industrial Alliance wages war against Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison and the American Federation of Labor?

No. It is the modern capitalist warfare against the Socialist and Labor movement. It is a feature of the great conflict between the capitalist class and the organized proletariat.

## The Gambling Basis

Secretary Wilson of the Department of Agriculture, says the wheat corner "is a deliberately planned robbery," and adds: "The speculators sent agents out all over the United States to gather statistics on wheats, directing them to get bad reports, and they got them, and published them. Their reports are lies. There is plenty of wheat in the United States, and there is no reason why the price should be so high."

The argument of Mr. Wilson is a good one. A deliberately planned robbery! Exactly. But the same can be said of any other branch of industry and commerce under modern Capitalism.

What is true of wheat, may be applied to meat, sugar, cotton, wool, leather, oil or any other commodities. The spirit of the "deliberately planned robbery" reigns supreme in the general office of every industrial and commercial enterprise. It is the spirit of money making, of profit hunting, of getting something for nothing, of lying, cheating, deceiving, robbing. Make as much as you can in any possible way and manner, honestly if you can, and if you can't do it honestly, be sure and make money.

Make a million dollars, honestly—or otherwise; cheat, deceive, lie or rob, but make the million dollars. Make the million in the name of business, for the label "business" will hide all the wrong and evil like a good coat of paint and polish will cover up the old worm-eaten wood.

Men and women have made their millions by "deliberately planned robbery," but the manner in which their money was made is forgotten, their millions remained, and their reputation as good, law abiding, pious people and prominent, influential citizens is as excellent today as could be desired by any honest man or woman. \$1,000 contribution to the building fund of a new church, \$500 for an orphan's home, \$200 for hospital purposes, \$100 for the Fresh Air Mission, a few dollars for an anti-tuberculosis institution, and several other charity donations will remove all of the nauseating smell from the millions made by "deliberately planned robbery." These things happen every day. Old pious Mr. Kerens, the St. Louis capitalist who monopolized the Arkansas-Eureka Springs railroad and who made his millions in any old way, honest or dishonest, has built a Kerens Memorial Church in Eureka Springs, gave \$200,000 or more to the new St. Louis Cathedral, and his reputation today is as good as any human being's reputation can be under present conditions. We simply take him as an example; he is neither worse nor better than the rest of the people who make their millions by "deliberately planned robbery."

The entire capitalist system of production and distribution is based on the same principle. M. de Montesquieu, the great French author, wrote 150 years ago: "In countries where the spirit of commerce permeates everything and moves the people in their daily life, every human action becomes an object of traffic, and every moral virtue is subject to the laws of commerce; the most insignificant things which the sense of humanity demands for the good of mankind are made or given for money. The spirit of commerce produces in man a certain sentiment of exact or abstract justice, opposed on the one side to highway robbery, and on the other side to those moral virtues which induce us not to constantly and most rigidly discuss our own interests, and disregard or neglect the interests of our fellow men."

M. de Montesquieu's words are as true today as they were 150 years ago.

## Heroic Action is Necessary

Gold mine stock dealers, machinery improvement company speculators, airship builders, colony schemers, etc., may be respectable people and expert business men, but their operations should be confined to the arena of capitalism. Socialist papers that lend a helping hand to these grafters on the Socialist Party movement should be called to account without delay by the rank and file, if our national boards and executive officers lack the necessary moral courage to act. Whether the schemers are "Comrade Wilshire," or "Comrades Henry Kuhn and McCaffery," or Comrade Sandbagger matters very little; the main issue is to prevent capitalist business experts from making the Socialist Party membership and the "Socialist Comradeship" in general their field of operation.—St. Louis Labor.

The **Miners' Magazine** in an editorial some two months ago called attention to the fact that men prominent in the Socialist Party were using their membership in the party to promote schemes that had for their object merely the personal aggrandizement of the men who were promoters. If a halt is not called on these gentlemen gifted with the genius of the up-to-date "frenzied financier," then it is

only a question of a short time when the Socialist Party will be shattered into fragments. If the Socialist Party is to be used merely as a pasture or grazing reservation to satiate the appetites of spoils-hunters who use the endearing term of "comrade" to drug their victims, then the Socialist Party has been launched in vain and its doctrines will mean but little to the men and women who have been swindled by the Socialist gamblers. No party can live whose membership will permit a few who have attained popularity to prostitute the party to subserve their personal interests. The Socialist Party can not afford to remain blind to the questionable methods of a few "privileged characters" who, while proclaiming "the brotherhood of man," increase their bank accounts from the hard-earned savings of the unsophisticated, who look upon a membership card in the Socialist Party as a certificate of honesty.

The conditions that prevail in the Socialist Party demand immediate remedies, and if a "house cleaning" is not ordered, the party that entered on the mission of wresting human liberty from the grasp of a soulless master class is menaced with destruction. It is true that the party, though shattered and demoralized through the operations of speculators, will recover and rebuild, but the officials who are at the helm of the Socialist Party should not remain inactive until the "wolves in sheep's clothing" have glutted their appetites through impositions on the membership of the party. **THE TIME TO ACT IS NOW.**—Miners' Magazine.

## Editorial Observations

"Unemployed Melt Away!" exclaims the **Globe-Democrat**. Yes, melting away in the sunshine of capitalist prosperity and—starvation!

"The Open Shop," by Clarence S. Darrow. This pamphlet should be read by every man and woman interested in the labor movement. Price, 5 cents a copy.

"The Crisis." Published by Samuel A. Bloch, Chicago. Single copy, 10 cents. Contains three articles by Robert Hunter: (1) Trade Unions and the Courts; (2) The Tyranny of Injunctions; (3) The Power of Unity.

"Socialism the Creed of Despair." A debate between President George B. Hugo of the Massachusetts Manufacturers' Association, and James F. Carey of the Socialist Party of Massachusetts. This pamphlet should get the widest circulation. Jim Carey's reply to Mr. Hugo is a clever piece of work. Price of the pamphlet, 10 cents a copy. For sale at the Labor Book Department.

In the first twenty days of April there were thirty-four murders committed in one county in Alabama. Every city in the land is increasing its police force, to cope with the growing audacity of the criminal classes. In this city the papers do not print half the burglaries committed, as they think rightly that such publication would prevent immigration. And still we boast that this is the most glorious country in the world, and that "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" are nowhere so well safeguarded as here. No wonder the American colonies are growing in all the capitals of Europe.—**The Western Watchman** (Catholic).

J. W. Van Cleave, the president of the Citizens' Industrial Alliance of St. Louis, has tendered his resignation. The gladiator who foamed and frothed against organized labor, found this strenuous life too severe on his nervous organization. He discovered that the tax on his mental energies presaged a physical break-down, and he yearned for a few months of that "simple life" that will restore his weakened faculties and improve his exhausted physical condition. Another "union smasher" will take his place, and when the successor of Van Cleave has become a wreck both physically and mentally, organized labor will still be bombarding the citadel of Capitalism and demanding that justice shall prevail.—**Miners' Magazine**.

We sincerely hope the Socialists of New York, and throughout the Atlantic States, will rally to the support of the **New York Evening Call** and by their co-operation put the paper on a self-sustaining basis. The **Evening Call** is a publication of which the Socialist and labor movement can feel proud, and justly so. With the limited funds at their command, with a limited force in the editorial and business departments, our New York comrades are issuing a Socialist daily which deserves the undivided support of the movement. To let the paper die would be a calamity not only to the movement in New York, but throughout the Eastern States. And even our movement in the West could not escape the discouraging and demoralizing effects of such a loss. Put your shoulders to the wheel, comrades of New York!

Dear Bread, Low Wages, and Clubs. A week or more ago **The Call** predicted what kind of "precautions" the city authorities were going to take to deal with the bread question on the East Side. Prices of bread go up. Bakers' wages go down. Our Democratic Administration—just like the Good Government Administration of Mayor Low—will take no action to keep prices down or keep wages up or protect the poverty-stricken working people from the misery that results. But the instant there is a rumor that some of the people may grow desperate and behave in a disorderly manner in protesting against high prices or in carrying on a strike against low wages, then the Democratic Administration—again just like the Good Government Administration—is wide awake and active. It has its army of bluecoats on the spot, armed with clubs and revolvers, to "preserve order and protect property."—**New York Evening Call**.

## INDUSTRIAL BATTLEFIELD.

### Mine Accidents in the United States Since 1900.

1901—Killed, 134; injured, 184; number of tons of coal mined per life lost, 179,525.  
1902—Killed, 159; injured, 223; number of tons of coal mined per life lost, 154,533.  
1903—Killed, 159; injured, 223; number of tons of coal mined per life lost, 152,979.  
1904—Killed, 140; injured, 211; number of tons of coal mined per life lost, 191,434.  
1905—Killed, 194; injured, 250; number of tons of coal mined per life lost, 181,873.  
1906—Killed, 368; injured, 299; number of tons of coal mined per life lost, 156,313.  
1907—Killed, 356; injured, 448; number of tons of coal mined per life lost, 123,026.  
1908—Killed, 625; injured, 852; number of tons of coal mined per life lost, 62,987.

Many of these explosions and accidents could have been easily avoided had the mining laws of the state been properly enforced and complied with.—From the **United Mine Workers' Journal**.



# Latest News From the Field of Organized Labor

## CONVICT LABOR IN NEBRASKA.

### The Crescent Clothing Co. of St. Louis Makes Application for Prison Labor for Making Working Clothes for Men—Opposes the Branding of Such Goods as "Prison Made."

William Lyman Cunningham, representing the Crescent Clothing Co. of St. Louis, on April 19, showed his good faith in asking for convict labor by filing with the board of public lands and buildings a proposed contract for all of the convict labor the state is able to give him and to take the entire available lot of men when the contract of the Lee Broom and Duster Co. expires, providing the Crescent Company is paying more for the labor when the former contract expires. The broom company is paying 85 cents a day for 250 men and paying an additional sum for rent of buildings and power sufficient to make the total of 57½ cents a day per man. This contract is for three years and the state can not annul it during that time except in the event the state itself desires to put in a factory of some kind.

The average number in the prison is now about 450, and 100 of these are usually needed for farm and prison work, under direction of the warden.

The contract is to make working clothes for men, but the contractor offers to furnish clothing supplies for all state institutions for the cost of the labor, the state to buy the raw material at the market price from the Crescent Company. Like the broom contract, the proposed contract provides that if the state or general government requires the goods to be branded "Prison Made," the contractor has a right to cancel the contract. One provision not well received is that the state can not hire its prisoners for the same line of work for a period of three years after the expiration of the proposed contract. Pay shall be forthcoming monthly from the contractor thirty days after the labor has been performed, and if the pay is delinquent for more than sixty days the contract shall be cancelled.

One state officer fears if an overall factory is established the men now working in the broom shops will shirk their work and try to get into the clothing shop, hoping to find the latter easier. That it will be easier is doubted by those familiar with the two kinds of labor.—Lincoln (Neb.) Journal, April 20.

## WARNING OF DANGER.

### Adolf Strasser Discusses Important Problems for Cigarmakers.

Adolf Strasser, one of the oldest members of the International Cigarmakers' Union, speaking of some proposed changes in the constitution of his organization, says:

Twenty-five years ago the Cigarmakers' International Union was not confronted with the dangers which surround it now. The American Cigar Co., backed by the still more powerful corporation, the American Tobacco Co., was not in existence. The so-called "United Cigar Manufacturers," another powerful corporation, with a capital of \$20,000,000, was unknown.

The "United Cigar Stores," a branch of the American Tobacco Co., which is gradually absorbing the retail cigar trade of the country, by opening up new stores constantly in every section of the country, was a stranger to us twenty-five years ago.

The powerful combination of cigar manufacturers of Tampa and Key West, Fla., with drastic rules in reference to strikes and lockouts, was not in sight.

The island of Porto Rico, with its cheap and efficient labor in one craft, of which over one-half is controlled by the American Cigar Co., was still a province of Spain twenty-five years ago.

There are other dangers lurking in the pathway, which will be mentioned from time to time.

Anybody who pretends to believe that the Cigarmakers' International Union will have smooth sailing for the next ten years to come is laboring under a most serious delusion.

Bluster and flim-flamming of the rank and file does not constitute leadership; neither does it represent any constructive force. It lives from hand to mouth preying upon its victims like the spider upon the fly, and blown to atoms when the first storm appears upon the horizon.

A chain of benefits backed by a sound financial system and an ample reserve fund are important features in a trades union. But without common-sense leadership the strongest trades union can not maintain its strength and usefulness.

By underestimating the resources of the employers, financially and otherwise, and overestimating their own power, local unions destroyed union factories of old standing, setting the cigarmakers adrift to shift for themselves.

With proper amendments to the arbitration clause which will enlarge its usefulness many dangers now in sight can be minimized and probably avoided.

## VAN CLEAVE SAYS ADIEU.

### Valedictory of Manufacturers' Head Predicts Strife—Says His Retirement Is Not Due to Attacks Made Upon Him by Labor Federation.

The daily press of last Tuesday reported the following: Denying that his retirement from the presidency of the National Association of Manufacturers is because of any attacks made on him by labor, James W. Van Cleave, who departs Saturday for New York to attend the annual meeting of the associations, cautions the membership that his successor will be compelled to undergo vigorous attacks from this source.

In his parting salutation to the organization he has headed, Mr. Van Cleave reviews the work of the association and brands those who have attacked him as lawbreakers. He also says the strain incident to the presidency of the organization is so great that one man can not long remain at the head. In the current number of American Industries, the manufacturers' magazine, he says:

"Manifestly the man who heads a movement to expose and extirpate a national wrong will be misrepresented and attacked by the lawbreakers. I have no complaint on this score. I have no regrets for anything which I have done. Under the instructions of the association I would do the same things over again regardless of consequences to myself.

"I am not retiring on account of any attacks which the American Federation of Labor has made upon me, or which it can make. I want to give this statement all the emphasis that words can place upon it.

"And here, bespeaking for my successor your hearty support, let me warn him, whoever he chances to be, that he can not hope to escape the wrath of the common enemy. Without the slightest shadow of provocation on my part, the labor leaders attacked me. They declared war upon me for the purpose of showing their power, and with the hope of striking terror into the hearts of business men in general, and of bringing them into subjection to the decrees of the junta of labor bosses. Their sole ground of hostility to me was that I was president of the National Association of Manufacturers."

## CHINESE REVOLUTIONISTS ABROAD.

Owing to the tyranny of the existing regime, the Chinese revolutionists are forced, as in the case of the Young Turks, to conduct their agitation from outside the Celestial Empire. According to a Tokyo paper, the following figures roughly indicate the numbers and disposition of those Chinese who are now working abroad for

the overthrow of the present government in China:

Tokyo and Yokohama	1,500
Kobe	500
Singapore	200
Annam	500
Siam	1,000
Java	100
The Philippines	150
San Francisco	10,000
Vancouver, B. C.	10,000
Paris	100
London	50
The Transvaal	1,000

The journal quoted remarks that these figures include an unrecorded proportion of foreigners who are supporting the revolutionary movement.

It is interesting to note that an abortive conference was held recently by about six hundred Chinese mechanics employed in the Admiralty and private shipyards at Hong Kong for the purpose of forming a union for the standardization of wages. The police captured three ringleaders.

## CENTRAL TRADES AND LABOR UNION.

### St. Louis Central Body Transacts Considerable Business.

In the absence of President Owen Miller, Delegate Schillig of Cigarmakers' Union 44 acted as chairman at last Sunday's meeting of the Central Trades and Labor Union at 3535 Pine street. Secretary Kreyling is out of the hospital, but could not yet attend the meeting, and Delegate Shanessy acted as secretary.

On motion of the Legislative Committee, the following resolution concerning the City Charter Revision Work was passed by unanimous vote:

**Whereas**, A bi-partisan board of 13 Freeholders was elected at the municipal election on April 6 for the purpose of revising and re-writing the City Charter; and

**Whereas**, This Board of Freeholders has publicly requested suggestions and ideas from the various labor, civic, political, religious, business and other organizations, as well as from individual citizens, that will aid the said Board in preparing that sort of a City Charter which will best meet the requirements of all the people of the city; therefore, be it

**Resolved**, By the Central Trades and Labor Union, representing 40,000 citizens and union workmen of the City of St. Louis, that we favor that form of municipal government which will guarantee to the people the most democratic and popular management of their public affairs; and we believe that this can best be brought about through the retention of the present dual form of legislative government, with this very material change, however: That the legislative and administrative functions of the Council and House of Delegates be separated, the legislative powers remaining intact in these two bodies, the administrative functions to be placed in the hands of the various departments of the city; that the heads of the various departments of the city government be selected by popular vote of the people of the city, as a few heads of departments are now elected, and that the head of each department be held wholly responsible for the proper conduct of all the business of his particular department; and be it further

**Resolved**, That the Board of Freeholders devise ways and means of so apportioning the revenue of the city that there shall be placed to the credit of each of the various departments sufficient funds to properly but economically conduct its business; and be it still further

**Resolved**, That we urge upon the Board of Freeholders the advisability of incorporating into the new Charter what is known as the Initiative and Referendum; also the recall, whereby incompetent, negligent or dishonest officials may be removed at any time by majority vote of the people of the city; and be it still further

**Resolved**, That copies of these resolutions be forwarded to the Board of Freeholders. Respectfully submitted,

J. P. McDonough, Chairman; Geo. W. Wilson, J. J. Sommers, H. M. Blackmore.

Dr. Wm. Preston Hill was granted the floor to address the meeting on Charter Revision work. He advised the delegates present to be on their guard and watch the work of the Board of Charter Revision. The corporations, politicians and contractors who were usually attending to this kind of lawmaking work would take care of their interests. If the new Charter to be prepared by the Board will not be a liberal and progressive one, all that's left to the people then would be to defeat it at the polls. The speaker's remarks were freely applauded.

The request of the Million Population Club to have a bill indorsed for a municipal advertising department, which would involve the expenditure of \$5,000 a year by the city, was discussed at length, and not concurred in by a vote of 64 noes and 41 ayes.

A lively debate was caused by a report of Cigarmakers' Unions No. 44 and No. 281 informing the delegates that the manager of the American League Baseball Park had broken his contract with the union. Another attempt will be made to have the differences amicably adjusted and if no satisfactory settlement can be reached the place will be declared unfair.

## MACHINISTS' STRIKE EXPECTED.

### Baltimore & Ohio Workmen Object to the Piecework Scale.

Baltimore, Md., May 7.—At a meeting the machinists of the Mount Clare shops of the Baltimore & Ohio railroad, numbering about 300, voted to strike, and this action may lead to the men in all the shops of the Baltimore & Ohio system, numbering about 1,000, being called out. The primary cause of the action is a notice by the company putting the erecting shops at Mount Clare on a piecework scale.

This defiance, which is nothing short of open revolt, came as a sudden and sensational sequel of Premeir Clemenceau's failure to receive a deputation of postal employes who called to present demands for the redemption of promises which they claim the government made when the recent strike was declared off.

The most serious aspect of the situation is the fact that the leaders in the new movement are undoubtedly hand in glove with the moving spirits of the General Federation of Labor, which is now universally recognized as a revolutionary organization, and which has for a long time been preparing for a general strike to destroy "capitalism." The suppression of this organization frequently has been contemplated by the French government.

## FRENCH STRIKE BEGINS.

### Railway Mail Clerks Walk Out—Others to Follow—General Vote to Quit Work Sequel to Decision of Chamber of Deputies to

Postpone Debate on Postal Situation. Paris, May 11.—The Chamber of Deputies, after a stormy session of four hours today, adjourned the debate on the interpellations on the postal situation until May 13. The response of the postal employes was quick and decisive.

Within half an hour the Federal Committee had issued an order for a general strike and the railway mail clerks walked out in a body. An hour later a meeting of 6,000 postal employes at the Hippodrome took up the gage of battle and unanimously voted to strike.

No great excitement was shown, but determination and resolution to force the hand of the Government were apparent.

"The Government is playing for time, we must not be caught napping," was the spirit of the meeting as expressed by Pauron, a dismissed postman and one of the most active organizers of the movement.

During the debate in the chamber Messrs. Sembal and Willma, Socialists, defended their right to organize themselves into a syndicate as the only way of redressing their grievances and charging the Government with failure to keep its promises at the conclusion of the previous strike, especially with regard to the retirement of M. Simyan, undersecretary of posts and telegraphs.

M. Deschanet considered the crisis very grave. He laid the responsibility for the present situation largely on "parliamentarism," which he said was working in a vicious circle and he construed that the only remedy would be the introduction of real civil service, based on merit, to end favoritism and the spoils system.

## SCAB TOBACCO FOR UNCLE SAM.

### Contract Awarded to American Tobacco Co.

The American Tobacco Co., the scab trust, has been awarded the contract of furnishing the United States navy with 110 tons of chewing tobacco for the fiscal year at a cost of \$79,260. Thus we have another example of the kind of trust-busting that takes place in Washington. Rightly the tobacco workers are denouncing the politicians from sheol to breakfast. But so long as the votes come their way regularly the political bunco artists merely smile.

## A. F. OF L. DEFENSE FUND REACHES \$100,000 MARK.

Soon after the sentencing of Samuel Gompers, John Mitchell and Frank Morrison to jail for an alleged contempt of court, Mr. Gompers said that there was no money in the A. F. of L. treasury which was available to use to fight the case. A little later a meeting of the executive board of the American Federation of Labor was held and it was decided to ask for voluntary offerings from the various unions throughout the country. With that end in view an appeal was sent out to the locals in the April number of the Federationist, and it was announced that the very gratifying sum of \$100,525.23 was at that time in the treasury to the credit of the defense fund. This is a most excellent showing and one that the members of Organized Labor can well be proud of. More money is still coming in, and it looks as though our leaders will not have to go to jail on account of lack of funds to keep them out. Those who have not contributed should do so at once. With a good defense fund behind them a good deal can be accomplished.—Ex.

## THE FACT IS

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

## The Buck's Stove & Range Co.

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

## Is Still Unfair to Organized Labor

Judge Wright of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, to whom the case was appealed, sentenced

### GOMPERS, MITCHELL AND MORRISON

to twelve, nine and six months' jail imprisonment for alleged violation of the injunction, which would mean that Organized Labor shall be deprived of the freedom of press and speech and that a union man or woman would not even be allowed to think of the possibility to

**BOYCOTT THE BUCK STOVE & RANGE CO.**  
or any other firm that may be unfair to Organized Labor.

## A VISION OF THE FUTURE.

By Robert G. Ingersoll.

I see a world where thrones have crumbled and where kings are dust. The aristocracy of idleness has perished from the earth.

I see a world without a slave. Man at last is free. Nature's forces have by science been enslaved. Lightning and light, wind wave, frost and flame, and all the secret, subtle powers of earth and air are the tireless toilers for the human race.

I see a world at peace, adorned with every form of art, with music's myriad voices thrilled, while lips are rich with words of love and truth—a world in which no exile sighs, no prisoner mourns; a world on which the gibbet's shadow does not fall; a world where labor reaps its full reward; where work and worth go hand in hand; where the poor girl trying to win bread with the needle—the needle, that has been called "the asp for the breast of the poor"—is not driven to the desperate choice of crime or death, of suicide or shame.

I see a world without the beggar's outstretched palm, the miser's heartless, stony stare, the piteous wail of want, the livid lips of lies, the cruel eyes of scorn.

I see a race without disease of flesh or brain—shapely and fair, the married harmony of form and function—and, as I look, life lengthens, joy deepens, love canopies the earth; and over all, in the great dome, shines the eternal star of human hope.

## Socialist Party Picnic.

Get a supply of tickets to sell for our Socialist summer family picnic, to be held on Sunday, June 20, at Risch's Grove. This will be an early opportunity for all Socialist families to spend a good, enjoyable day amidst beautiful country surroundings and be within easy reach of the city. No Socialist can afford to miss it.

## Picnic in the County.

Local Longwood, St. Louis County, will give a family picnic on Sunday, July 11, at Raabe's Grove, 9041 South Broadway.

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

Hereafter the Douglas shoes will not bear the stamp of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. For years this firm was friendly to Organized Labor. All should bear in mind this change when making such purchases.

**Vital Problems in Social Evolution.** By Arthur Morrow Lewis. Chicago. Chas. H. Kerr & Co. Price, 50 cents. This little work contains a series of ten lectures delivered by the author.



# STUDIES IN SOCIALISM

## THE MISSION of the WORKING CLASS

By Rev. Charles H. Vail.

I wish to begin by briefly pointing out the economic basis of scientific Socialism. It is frequently thought that Socialism is merely a scheme, a Utopian theory without economic foundation, like the many social theories which have appeared in the world's history. The scheme of Charles Fourier and St. Simon, and before them Sir Thomas More and Plato, are of this class. These men were actuated by noble motives and endeavored to point out the road to a nobler civilization. Their schemes, however, were purely idealistic. They were not in possession of sufficient economic data to enable them to formulate a scientific system of industry. But they did well, grandly well, considering the light they possessed. They perceived the evils of our social system, their criticisms sparkle with satire and evidence a historical penetration and sagacity truly remarkable. But they were children of their age, and consequently did not perceive the genesis of capitalist exploitation or comprehend the law of economic evolution.

These forerunners of scientific Socialism aimed to run society into a special mould. They formulated a plan which they thought society could put on, as a man puts on a suit of clothes, ready made. These Utopianists were true altruists, but it was left for Karl Marx to clearly point out the genesis of surplus value and the evolutionary tendency in economics.

The Socialism of to-day is not a scheme or device of anyone; it is a scientific philosophy, and rests upon an historical, economic and scientific basis. It points out with accuracy the laws of economic evolution. Its principles are universal and world-wide, and are destined at no distant future to usher in a higher state of civilization.

The Socialist, then, is not a visionary, but an educator. His mission is not to teach theories, but to point out the truth regarding working of economic laws. The Socialist is a discoverer in the realm of economics. He has ascertained by careful analysis of the economic and social conditions that, in the natural course of evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on the one hand, and the constructive action of the trusts and other combinations of capital on the other, is destined to work out its own downfall and usher in the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Now let us note some of the stages through which industry has passed, in order that we may see clearly the origin of the modern working or proletariat class.

1. The Handicraft Stage—the period of small production. This era of small industry extended from time immemorial down to the middle of the Sixteenth century. In the latter part of this period the laborers themselves owned individually the tools with which they worked. The tools, of course, were small and paltry, and so capable of individual ownership on the part of the workers. As the laborer owned his own tools and bought or produced his own materials, there was no dispute over the division of the product. The total product was his without deduction. In these days the capitalist and laborer were combined in the same person. The only qualification that needs to be made is, that from the middle ages onward the master workman might have two or three journeymen and as many apprentices. The journeymen, of course, worked for wages, and so the master could secure a small profit out of his labor, and might, consequently, be called a potential capitalist. Wage labor, however, was the exception, not the general rule. Where men worked for another it was not so much for wages as for the purpose of fitting themselves for mastership. But this condition endowed the master with the potentialities of a capitalist, though as yet he was prevented by the strict rules of the guild from extending his power. These fetters must first be broken before the capitalist regime could gain a foothold. Capitalist production presupposes the freedom of the laborer. He must cease to be attached to the soil as a serf or bound by the rules of the guild. Capitalist production also presupposes the separation of the laborer from the means whereby he realizes his labor. The method by which this end was accomplished is familiar to all. The appropriation of the people's land by the nobility, the eviction of the peasants and fencing in of the commons, the destruction of the guilds by Henry VIII., and confiscation of their property—these acts of usurpation and spoliation, together with the discharge of the feudal retainers, caused by the breaking up of the feudal bands, furnished for the would-be capitalists a large body of free and outlawed proletarians who had no alternative but to sell themselves into wage slavery.

2. The Manufacturing Stage—the period of manufactures. All obstacles being now removed the master workman can extend the field of his operations. The small shop of the master workman is transformed into the manufactory, and the number of journeymen are increased in like proportions. Wage labor, hitherto the exception, now becomes the general rule. It is here that the capitalist appears, and consequently the beginning of capitalist production. Profits proper also made its appearance and became the source of further capital. The chief characteristic of the age was the introduction of division of labor; social production superseded individual production.

3. The Factory Stage—the period of modern industry. This stage was introduced by a series of inventions and discoveries which completely revolutionized the method of production. The names of Wyatt, Kaye, Paul, Hargreaves, Arkwright, Crompton, Cartwright, Watt, Whitney, Horrook, Roberts and Bullough are familiar to all. "These inventors," says Prof. Ely, "may in a sense, be called the fathers of modern Socialism, for without their inventions it could not have come into existence." The preparatory stage of this industrial revolution dates from 1730 to 1770. The age of the great mechanical inventions from 1770 to 1792. The age of the application of steam to manufacture and improvements in the great inventions from 1792 to 1830.

Along with this revolution in the total came the revolution of labor; the skill of the workman was transferred to the machine. Here the machine makes use of the workman instead of the workman making use of the tool. Production now passed out of the manufacturing shop and entered the factory. The small capitalist of the manufacturing era gave place to the large capitalist who was served by regiments of wage slaves.

This production, based upon mechanical invention and a far reaching division of labor, was essentially a social production. The individual production, which rested upon the individual ownership by the workers of their instruments of production, was now supplanted by social production resting upon individual ownership by the capitalists of the instruments of production. Private property in the instruments of production, which formerly meant private property of the producers in their own tools, came to mean, as soon as production became socialized, private property of non-producers in the tools of social labor. This private ownership of social tools meant the private appropriation of the product of social labor. The method and instruments of production had been changed, but the method of appropriation remained the same.

This contradiction between the new form of production and the old form of appropriation is the basis of the whole social conflict today. This incompatibility between social production and capitalist appropriation is the cause of the class struggle between the proletariat and capitalist classes. A clear comprehension of this contradiction in our capitalist system of production reveals the economic basis of scientific Socialism. We find here the fundamental contradiction from which arise all the contradictions inherent in capitalism. The solution of the social problem is merely a solution of this

contradiction. A clear understanding of the causes which led to this condition will reveal the way out.

We have seen that the change in the form of production, brought about by the industrial revolution, wrought the downfall of the small producers and reduced the once independent handicraftsmen and agriculturists to the level of wage slaves. The result of this transformation of the limited implements of production into mighty powers, turned these into social implements, thus precluding individual ownership on the part of the workers. The vast cost of the new machinery, and the large amount of capital requisite for the new method of production, gave rise to a capitalist class—the owners of the instruments of production. But the laborers must have access to the means of production or starve; but this access is obtainable only through the competitive wage. The effect of this loss of control by the workers over the means of production is the direct cause of their dependence. This monopoly of the means of livelihood forms the basis of every kind of servitude.

Now it must be perfectly clear to all that if the laborer's servitude is caused through the appropriation by a class of the means of production, their emancipation can only be accomplished by their again becoming the owners of the instruments of toil. But individual ownership is impossible, owing to the subdivision of labor and the immense sale of production. The solution, however, is not hopeless, for the change in the nature of production gives us a clue to the means by which this contradiction may be eliminated. As production has been socialized, the means of production should also become socialized. Tools used in common should be owned in common. We should make the method of ownership correspond to the method of operation. The private ownership of the instruments of production is becoming more and more incompatible with the nature of these instruments. Their magnitude and social character mark them for social ownership and control.

Here, then, is the solution of the contradiction between social production and capitalist appropriation. This incongruity can only be abolished by restoring to the people the control of their economic interests. Although it is impossible for them as individuals to regain this control—for the industrial system of the future must be systematized—nevertheless, they can bring these interests under collective control, substituting for the present irresponsible rule of the few responsible public agents who will manage the affairs of society in the interests of all the people.

(To Be Continued.)

## UNFAIR LIST

### of the American Federation of Labor

The following is the complete "Unfair List" of the American Federation of Labor. Many of the daily newspaper readers who hear so much about the "Unfair List" during these days may be anxious to know what names of firms the A. F. of L. "Unfair List" contains.

Under these circumstances it becomes the duty of the labor press to keep its readers properly informed. What are papers published for if not for giving correct information?

It is for this reason mainly that we hereby present the "Unfair List" of the American Federation of Labor:

BREAD—McKinney Bread Co., American Bakery Co., St. Louis, Mo.; Gordon & Pagel, Detroit, Mich.; The National Biscuit Co., branches throughout the country.

CIGARS—Carl Upman of New York City; Kerbs, Wertheim & Schiffer of New York City, manufacturers of the Henry George and Tom Moore Cigars.

FLOUR—Washburn-Crosby Milling Co., Minneapolis, Minn.; Valley City Milling Co., Grand Rapids, Mich.

GROCERIES—James Butler, New York City.

TOBACCO—American and Continental Tobacco Companies.

WHISKY—Finch Distilling Co., Pittsburg, Pa.

CLOTHING—N. Snellenberg & Co., Philadelphia, Pa.; Clothiers' Exchange, Rochester, N. Y.; B. Kuppenheimer & Co., Chicago.

CORSETS—Chicago Corset Co., manufacturers Kabo and La Marguerite Corsets.

GLOVES—J. H. Cownie Glove Co., Des Moines, Ia.; California Glove Co., Napa, Cal.

HATS—J. B. Stetson Co., Philadelphia, Pa.; E. M. Knox Co., Brooklyn, N. Y.; Henry H. Roelof, & Co., Philadelphia, Pa.

SHIRTS AND COLLARS—United Shirt and Collar Co., Troy, N. Y.; Van Zandt, Jacobs & Co., Troy, N. Y.; Cluett, Peabody & Co., Troy, N. Y.; James R. Kaiser, New York City.

BOOKBINDERS—Boorum & Pease Co., Brooklyn, N. Y.

PRINTING—Hudson, Kimberly & Co., printers of Kansas City, Mo.; Times, Los Angeles, Cal.; Philadelphia Inquirer, Philadelphia Bulletin; The Butterick Pattern Co., New York City.

POTTERY AND BRICK—Northwestern Terra Cotta Co. of Chicago, Ill.; Corning Brick Tile and Terra Cotta Co., Corning, New York.

CEMENT—Portland Peninsular Cement Co., Jackson, Mich.; Utica Hydraulic Cement and Utica Cement Mfg. Co., Utica, Ill.

GENERAL HARDWARE—Landers, Frary & Clark, Aetna Co., New Britain, Conn.; Brown & Sharpe Tool Co., Providence, R. I.; John Russell Cutlery Co., Turner's Falls, Mass.; Henry Disston & Co., Philadelphia, Pa.; New York Knife Co., Walden, N. Y.

IRON and STEEL—Illinois Iron and Bolt Co. of Carpentersville, Ill.; Casey & Hedges, Chattanooga, Tenn.; Lincoln Iron Works (F. R. Patch Mfg. Co.), Rutland, Vt.; Singer Sewing Machine Co., Elizabeth, N. J.; Erie City Iron Works, Erie, Pa.; Pittsburg Expanded Metal Co., Pittsburg, Pa.; American Hoist and Derrick Co., St. Paul, Minn.; Standard Sewing Machine Co., Cleveland, Ohio; Manitowoc Dry Dock Co., Manitowoc, Wis.

STOVES—Wrought Iron Range Co., St. Louis, Mo.; United States Heater Co., Detroit, Mich.; Gurney Foundry Co., Toronto, Ont.; Home Stove Works, Indianapolis, Ind.; Buck Stove and Range Co., St. Louis, Mo.

BAGS—Gulf Bag Co., New Orleans, La., branch Bemis Brothers, St. Louis, Mo.

BROOMS and DUSTERS—The Lee Broom and Duster Co. of Davenport, Ia.; M. Goeller's Sons, Circleville, Ohio; Merkle-Wiley Broom Co., Paris, Ill.

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WIRE CLOTH—Thos. E. Gleeson, East Newark, N. J.; Lindsay Wire Weaving Co., Collingwood, Ohio.

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HOTELS—Reddington Hotel, Wilkesbarre, Pa.

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Thomas Taylor & Son, Hudson, Mass.

C. W. Post, Manufacturer of Grape Nuts and Postum Cereal, Battle Creek, Mich.

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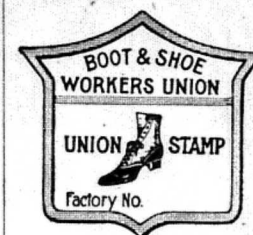
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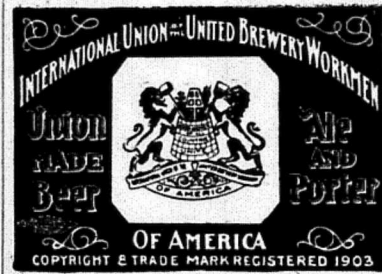
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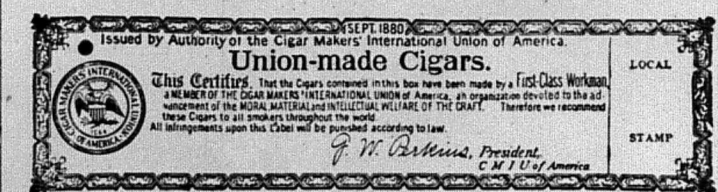
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# Missouri Socialist Party

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

### Some New Outposts.

County Organizer Glenn Thurston is determined to put Jasper County in the lead. He has reorganized Carthage with a local of ten members, and the former secretary, A. Ellison, is again at the helm. The struggle for existence has broken up the old local, many members having moved away. Comrade Thurston rounded up the Socialists of Gordon School, near Joplin, and started a local of nine members. There are other promising points in the county and the organizer will get after them.

F. C. Adams and five other Socialists of DeLassus decided to quit hiding their light under a bushel and have organized a local at that point. They will get in touch with the county secretary, G. W. O'Dam, and help push. The miners are on strike at some places in St. Francois County, even the unorganized men. They find it necessary to take a stand against the grinding oppression of the lead mine magnates.

### Barton County.

Iantha.—Comrade McAllister made us two lectures at schoolhouses in this vicinity. The first night the audience was small, but gave good attention and McAllister soon put them in good humor. The next night, at another schoolhouse, we had a splendid crowd of the best citizens in the township. I don't think there was ever a lecture in this township that had as much effect. McAllister poured hot shot into them for two hours and then could hardly dismiss them. We had a high old time, and I tell you the farmers in this locality are ripe, dead ripe.—Frank Eddleman.

### A State Encampment.

Local West Plains has voted in favor of a State Socialist Encampment to be held not earlier than July 4, somewhere near Springfield, and to last at least three days. Texas comrades have made use of the encampment idea to good advantage and it seems to be on the spread down there. While it may not be feasible to have a state-wide encampment, yet locals that are reasonably near each other could club together and have an encampment covering one or more counties, as may be convenient. This requires a strong, active local to take charge of the affair and make the local arrangements. In addition to speakers there should be other features, such as music, debates, games and races, etc. Locals that are interested and would take part in encampments are requested to write to the state office.

### Be Up to Date.

There is a nice lot of new due stamps at the state office that are just the thing to get those delinquent members in good standing. Get a supply of these stamps and go after them. If for any reason you don't get results the first time, then be persistent and try again. Nothing of value is accomplished at the first effort. Each local should have someone whose business it is to collect dues and see that the membership keeps in good standing.

### Mills Along the Rock Island.

There will be "big doin's" when Mills arrives and gives the boys some of his brand of fireworks. There are about ten dates arranged so far, nearly all on the Rock Island line. Comrade Mills has a choice assortment of arguments and he can fit them to anybody who gets in front of him.

### The Referendum on Last State Election.

As there is about enough money on hand to pay for the referendum that was called for by five locals some time ago, the Quorum has ordered same sent to the locals for disposal. Ballots have been mailed to all locals in good standing. Those not receiving same, or that require more, should notify the state office. The vote closes on June 10.

There is urgent need of more funds to carry on the work and locals that have not paid the 5c assessment are requested not to delay longer. Of the five locals calling for the referendum all have paid something of the expense except Local Kansas City.

### PROPOSED AMENDMENTS.

Local Milwaukee on April 26 voted for the inclosed proposed amendments to the national constitution. We should be glad to get the indorsements of other locals.

These proposed amendments speak for themselves. They put the election of the national executive committee where it was before the middle caused by the action of the national convention last year. The only changes from the constitution of 1904 consist in giving more time for the amendments, in requiring nominations from five locals in order to place a candidate on the ballot, and making elections biennial instead of annual. The object of the biennial elections is not to burden the membership with too frequent referendums. Many of our branches complain greatly of having too much of their time taken up by referendums. The object of requiring nominations from five locals in order to place a candidate on the ballot is to make the national ballot shorter. The ballot with a lengthy list of candidates, most of whom the comrades in general have never heard of, is exceedingly combersome. We hope that you will try to get the indorsement of as many locals in your state as possible. Fraternally yours,  
**CARL P. DIETZ,**  
 Secretary, Milwaukee, Wis.

### Amendment Proposed to Art. VI., Section 1 of the National Constitution.

The National Executive Committee shall be composed of seven members from the membership of the party; and they shall hold office for two years. The members of the Executive Committee shall be elected by referendum vote. The call for nominations shall be issued on the 1st day of October in years with uneven numbers. Each local shall be entitled to nominate seven candidates. Thirty days shall be allowed for nominations, ten for acceptance and declinations, and fifty for the referendum. Nominations from five locals shall entitle a candidate to be placed on the ballot. The seven candidates receiving the highest vote shall be elected. Vacancies shall be filled in a similar manner. Members of the Executive Committee may be recalled by a referendum vote, in the manner provided for referendums in Article XI, hereof, except that in such cases the initiative shall not be held open for thirty days, but shall be sent out immediately.

Amendment proposed to Art. VII., Section 1, of National Constitution:

Amend Section 1 to read "biennially" instead of "annually." Indorsements of the above amendments should be sent to J. Mahlon Barnes, 180 East Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

### PROPOSED AMENDMENTS.

Des Moines, Iowa, May 7, 1909.  
 To the Editor: As it is evident that another referendum is necessary in order to straighten out the tangle we have got ourselves into regarding the election of National Executive Committee, Local Des Moines, of which we are members, has initiated an amendment which embodies the good features of all the other amendments that have been suggested, and eliminates their bad features. It is also generally understood that our national platform will have to be amended on the subject of land before it will be satisfactory. So

we have included an amendment on that subject. Our amendments are as follows:

1. Amend Article VI, Section 1, of the National Constitution by substituting the following:

The National Executive Committee shall be composed of seven members, elected in each odd numbered year by preferential referendum. The call for nominations shall be issued on the first day of October. Each local shall be entitled to nominate seven candidates. Thirty days shall be allowed for nominations, ten for acceptances and declinations, and fifty for the referendum. Nominations by five locals shall entitle a candidate to be placed on the ballot. The names of the candidates shall be prepared for printing in alphabetical order. The ballots shall be printed in as many equal portions as there are candidates. On each successive portion after the first, the top name shall be transferred to the bottom. Each member voting shall place the figure "1" opposite the name of his first choice, the figure "2" opposite the name of his second choice, and so on, voting on each and every candidate. If he fails to vote on all candidates, his ballot shall not be counted. The seven candidates receiving the highest vote, preferentially computed, that is, receiving the lowest sum total opposite their names, shall be elected. Vacancies shall be filled by the next highest.

2. Amend Article VII, Section 1, of the National Constitution by striking out the word "annually" from the first sentence and substituting the word "biennially."

3. Amend the National Platform by striking out the words "and all land" from No. 2 of the General Demands.

4. Amend the National Platform by inserting the following paragraph in the Principles, immediately following the words "and have fitted them for collective use and operation":

There can be no absolute private title to land. All private titles, whether called fee simple or otherwise, are and must be subordinate to the public title. The Socialist Party strives to prevent land from being used for the purpose of exploitation and speculation. It demands the collective possession, control or management of land to whatever extent may be necessary to attain that end. It is not opposed to the occupation and possession of land by those using it in a useful and bona fide manner without exploitation.

The preferential system is the only means of securing the absolute choice of the membership with one ballot. Without it nearly all committees are elected by a minority of those voting. Our amendment eliminates the seven divisions, which are subversive of the object desired. We use the preferential system in Iowa in electing national committeemen and have found it simple and satisfactory.

This amendment also does away with the unfair advantage which the candidates at the top of the list would otherwise have. It provides for a rotation of the names, which is completely fair to all candidates.

All other amendments proposed have provided a plan of filling vacancies requiring just as much time and expense as the original election. Ours provides the easiest method possible, namely, to have them filled by the next highest. Under the preferential system, this is entirely fair. Under any other system, it would not be so, because the next highest would be elected by an insignificant minority.

The land amendment was originally written by one of our own number, but was re-worded by Morris Hillquit, and is initiated exactly as re-worded by him. We believe that nearly all comrades realize that it is absurd to have the collective ownership of all land as one of our immediate demands. The plank belongs in the principles, not in the demands. It also needs to be amplified enough to relieve it of misunderstanding. This our amendment does.

We request all locals to bring these amendments up at their next meeting and consider them. If you deem them worthy, indorse them and notify the National Secretary that you have done so. Twenty seconds or indorsements are required in order to send them to the referendum.

Of course, any local can second one or more of them, without seconding all of them, if it so desires.

Fraternally yours,  
**J. J. JACOBSEN,**  
**JOHN M. WORK,**  
**W. C. HILLS,**  
 Committee.

### WOMAN IN BUSINESS.

#### What Is to Become of Them When They Are Too Old to Work?

"What is going to become of all the unmarried business women when they are too old to work?" was the rather startling question propounded at a meeting of a woman's club.

"A business man, member of a leading publishing house, said to me: 'Have you ever noticed what a lot of nice old maids there are in our employ? What will finally become of them?'"

"These women are 'nice.' They are usually in receipt of a good salary, but they haven't saved anything. Improvident? No, not necessarily."

"They live in accordance with the American standard of living, and they can afford to live in that way with the money they earn, besides it is required of a woman in good position to dress well. If they were saving, 'provident' you would call it, how could they save, at the best, enough to secure them from want for the rest of their natural lives? Their business usefulness ends at fifty years of age, say. Some firms generously pension women worn out in their employ, but these are few. Something will have to be done to meet this emergency. Proud, independent, superior as they are and so many of them!"

"There should be a day for thinking about marriage," suggested a member of the club, "just as there are Labor Day and Memorial Day and others. Men in the cities are too busy, their lives are too strenuous to think about marriage. If there was a day set apart for thinking about it and a parade of all the nice men and women, who would in that way see each other in the light of candidates for matrimony, something might come of it, and this growing celibacy be put a stop to which threatens to depopulate the world, and these fine women would not then be left to a lonely dependent old age."

"This question is not one to be treated with levity," remarked the first speaker with a frown. "It has not obtruded itself upon the students of social economy as it will do. Spinsterhood was never so general before as it is becoming. Just run your mind over the women of this class whom you know."

Mark my words, this question is bound to become the foremost social and economic question of the next ten years.—New York Times.

Here is a Good Pamphlet for Democratic and Republican Workingmen to read after the Nov. 3 elections: "What Help Can Any Workingman Expect from Taft or Bryan?" Price 5c a copy. This pamphlet is better now than before the day of election. Gradually the "free-born sovereigns of labor" are sobering up and a little reading on these lines may make thinking men out of them.

### 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.

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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.

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.

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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.



# Socialist News Review

## Referendum "A" Defeated.

National Referendum "A," 1909, upon which vote closed April 24, was defeated. The adverse majority on the several provisions were as follows, in the order in which they appeared on the ballot: 2431, 5617, 6410, 4414. A complete report appears in the April issue of the Official Monthly Bulletin.

## The Pinkerton White Expelled From Union and Party.

Local Trinidad, Colo., reports the expulsion of M. E. White. White has been prominent as an organizer for the American Labor Union and the Western Federation of Miners. It has been discovered that he has been for years an employe of the Thiel Detective Agency. He was also expelled by the Western Federation of Miners. Local Denver, Colo., reports the expulsion of Mardocia Larkin and Fred Montrose for voting for candidates other than those of the Socialist Party.

## Walter Thomas Mills' Lecture Tour.

Walter Thomas Mills has just finished a very successful series of meetings in Minnesota and the Dakotas. His recent tour in Wisconsin proved very successful in every way, financially as well as otherwise. Many of the locals paid all expenses and made a small profit, and Comrade Mills turned over \$55 to the state office besides. Mills is now a member of the Wisconsin Socialist movement, being a member of the Fourth Ward branch in Milwaukee, where he has his headquarters. He is available for lectures anywhere in the United States or Canada. Tours are now in process of arrangement and dates may be secured by any state or lecture organization through Comrade Carl D. Thompson at the Milwaukee headquarters, 344 Sixth street. Comrade Mills will spend the latter part of April and May in Indiana, Iowa, Illinois and Missouri. Later trips will be arranged to the eastward and also through the west.

## POLICE OUTRAGE IN DETROIT.

### May Day Demonstration Brutally Broken Up.

Detroit, Mich., May 10.—The Socialists of this city are arranging a big protest mass meeting, at which hot shot will be poured into the police for the outrage of May Day, when the police attacked and brutally beat old men and even threatened little girls because they were wearing red ribbons.

As the details of the police attack come to light the outrageous nature of the whole affair becomes more apparent. A Socialist who was merely walking along the street with his two daughters, all wearing the Socialist emblems—a red carnation pinned above a red ribbon—was attacked and severely beaten because he stepped between a policeman and one of the little girls, when the officer of the "law" had brutally told the girl to "Take off them ribbons."

An old man going back to the park after the police raid to look for his little boy, who had been lost in the scramble, was set upon and beaten so severely that a newspaper man interfered and forced the police to quit beating the man. The newspaper man then accompanied the man to the park and assisted him until the boy was found.

The man who tried to defend his little girls from the police had his face cut open by a policeman's club and his lip sliced. This man and the little girls were arrested and taken to the police station, but were afterwards released. The Socialists declare the police will be sued for false arrest.

Superintendent Downey has been forced to admit that he knows of no law against carrying red flags, except the will of the authorities. It was this which caused about 200 mounted police and special squads to attack less than fifty Socialists before the parade from Grand Circus park down Woodward avenue had even yet begun.

In the evening following the attack a mass meeting was held, with Herman Richter presiding. Addresses were made by W. E. Bohn, George H. Sherman and others. The police were in the hall in large numbers, but they seemed to have recovered from their afternoon frenzy and silently took the grilling handed them by the Socialist orators.

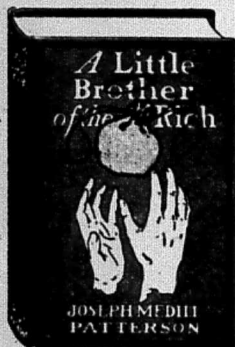
## Local Referendum.

The vote on the referendum to amend our local constitution closes on May 20. Ballots in order to be counted must reach Headquarters not later than the 20th.

OTTO KAEMMERER, Secretary.

## SOME BOOK BARGAINS.

### A Little Brother of the Rich.



Joseph Medill Patterson has thoroughly exposed the rottenness and degeneracy of "high society" in his latest book, "A Little Brother of the Rich." It has created a sensation and Comrade Patterson has seemingly portrayed conditions as he actually found them. Get a copy and be ready for the next individuals that tells you of our "upper classes." Price, \$1.15.

### The Moneychangers.

This latest book from the pen of Upton Sinclair is a sequel to "The Metropolis," which appeared some time ago. Sinclair delves deep into the doings of our "best citizens" in Wall Street. He depicts the panic of 1907 as being caused by rival speculators quarreling over the possession of a woman. Price, \$1.20.

- The Metropolis, by Upton Sinclair.....\$1.20
- The Jungle, by Upton Sinclair..... .50
- The Iron Heel, by Jack London..... 1.50
- Bitter Cry of the Children, by John Spargo..... .50
- Looking Backward, by Edward Bellamy..... .50

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## OUR MOVEMENT IN MILWAUKEE.

### Amusing Debate in the Legislature.

One of the richest things of the present session of the Wisconsin Legislature has been the debate on the bill for non-partisan city elections. The whole debate turned on whether it would or would not knock the Social-Democrats of Milwaukee. The friends of the bill claimed that the Social-Democrats could not elect their ticket in a non-partisan election. The enemies of the bill pointed to the fact that the Social-Democrats elected two school directors in the recent election. The debate grew pretty warm, but it turned exclusively on this one point. The capitalist politicians are beginning to realize that the most important issue for them is anti-Socialism. Or as a speaker before the Republican Municipal League recently phrased it, "The Social-Democrat is the big gray wolf—the common enemy."

The Milwaukee City Council has finally decided to sustain Mayor Rose in his veto of the \$360,000 school bonds. Although the Social-Democrats thus lost, they fought to the last for the full amount of the bonds, while all the "reform" Republicans and Democrats, with the exception of one alderman, fopped over to the

mayor's side. Another instance of the unreliability of the "reformers!" It is said pressure was brought to bear upon them because the Social-Democrats were winning altogether too much public approval in their brave fight for the public schools. But the bond case is not yet settled. It will be carried up to the Supreme Court.

Another proof of the growth of the Socialist movement transpired in a certain Catholic church of Milwaukee. One of our comrades was expelled from his church because he was a Social-Democrat. Immediately five of the church choir, consisting in all of sixteen members, resigned from the choir, thus completely breaking it up. This church now has a choir of children, the priest thus hoping to escape Socialist influence. But he ought not to be too sure. There are many Social-Democratic children nowadays. Some of them took an active part in our recent election, distributing literature and bringing out the voters on election day.

The Social-Democratic bill forbidding night work for women, or women working in factories for more than 60 hours a week, has been killed. E. H. THOMAS, State Secretary.

## Timely Quotations

### Lassalle.

(Founder of German Social Democratic Movement.)

The working class is the rock on which the church of the future must be built. The working class is not only that; it is also the rock against which from now onward the reactionary forces will bruise themselves.—Quoted by Kautsky at the Vienna Socialist Congress.

### Marx.

(Founder of International Socialism.)

The International was founded to establish a real organization of the working class in place of Socialist and half-Socialist sects. \* \* \* The growth of Socialist sectism and of the real Labor movement are always in inverse proportions. As long as the existence of sects is historically justified, the working class is not yet ripe for an independent historical movement. As soon as Labor reaches maturity all sects become retrograde.—Marx (1871), "Sorges Briefwechsel," p. 38.

The Trade Unions must be won over at all costs. A real step forward of the movement is worth a dozen programmes.—"Neue Zeit," IX, 1, p. 560.

### Engels.

(Colleague of Marx.)

The first great step which every country that comes into the movement must take is always that of forming the working class into an independent political party.—Letters to Sorge, "Socialist Review," March, 1909, p. 26.

It is far more important that the movement should spread, proceed harmoniously, take root, and embrace as much as possible the whole working class, than that it should start and proceed on theoretically correct lines from the beginning. \* \* \* The one great thing is to get the working class to move as a class. That once obtained, they will soon find the right direction.—Ibid., p. 28.

### Liebknicht.

(Late German Socialist Leader.)

We have shown that force itself is not revolutionary, but rather belongs to the counter-revolution.

We have seen the necessity of emancipating ourselves from certain catchwords, and of developing the power of the Party in the direction of clear thought and brave and methodical action, instead of displaying in its phrases of revolutionary violence which too often serve to hide a lack of clearness and vigorous action.—Quoted in Jaures "Socialist Studies," p. 91.

It would be disingenuous to imagine that we could put our own principles into practice against the will of the immense majority of the nation. This is a fatal error for which the French Socialists have paid dear. Is it possible to put up a more heroic fight than did the workmen of Paris and Lyons? And has not the very struggle ended in bloody defeat, the most horrible reprisals on the part of the victors, and a long period of exhaustion for the proletariat?

Not to contract but to expand should be our motto. The circle of Socialism should widen more and more until we have converted most of our adversaries to being friends, or, at least, disarmed their opposition.—Ibid., p. 102.

The frothy and theatrical phrases of the fanatic supporters of the "class-struggle" dogma are at bottom a cover for the Machiavellian schemes of the reactionaries.—Ibid., p. 102.

### Kautsky.

(Chief Exponent of Marxism.)

We learnt from England the first forms of the rational Labor movement. Chartism, Trade Unionism, Co-operation—in all these things England showed us the way. \* \* \*

I regard the Trade Unions as an equally indispensable weapon in the proletarian class war as a Socialist Labor Party, and both are intimately dependent on one another.

Just as absurd as the opposition and indifference of many Trade Unions to a Socialist Party would be the opposition or indifference of the latter to the Trade Unions. In the Trade Unions we have the most capable portion of the proletariat organized, that which is to form the backbone of a Socialist Party, and a Socialist movement has only succeeded in striking firm root where it includes the mass of the Trade Unions.—Preface to English edition of his "The Social Revolution."

### Jaures.

(Leader of French United Socialist Party.)

It is because in these matters programmes, even when they are clearly determined and deliberately planned, are subordinate to the force of events. You have proof of this during the great French Revolution, which began with decrees of expropriation and compensation with the thought of purchasing most of the feudal rights; and which afterwards, carried away and exasperated with the struggle, proceeded to that expropriation without indemnity. \* \* \*

I know and declare that the rights of Labor are sovereign, and I shall assist with all my heart in any effort necessary to establish a new Society.—Quoted by Robert Hunter, "Socialists at Work," pp. 240 and 241.

To Marx belongs the merit, perhaps the only one of all attributed to him which has fully withstood the crying tests of criticism and time, of having drawn together and unified the Labor movement and the Socialist idea.—"Socialist Studies," p. 43.

Those who talk alternately of the vote and the rifle, those who, when universal suffrage favors them, give it their allegiance, and, when it goes against them, reject it, trouble the march of the Party by the incoherence of their thought.—Jaures' "Studies in Socialism," p. 93.

### Dr. Victor Adler.

(Leader of Austrian Socialist Party.)

The fact that this International Textile Conference is held in Vienna we owe to the support which for the last ten years we have given both to the Trade Unionist and Socialist sides of our movement—which in Austria forms one whole united party.

It is to the people, organized in their unions and Socialist societies, that we owe this surpassing political power.

In Austria the question has never presented itself whether Trade Union action should be entirely distinct from Socialist action in the field of politics. We would be inclined to think the man mad who ventured to support any such contention.—Speech at the South International Textile Conference, Vienna.—Quoted in "Labor Leader," July 24, 1908.

### Robert Hunter.

That Socialism cannot be realized so long as Labor remains disorganized and unconscious of its power, both the Marxists and the

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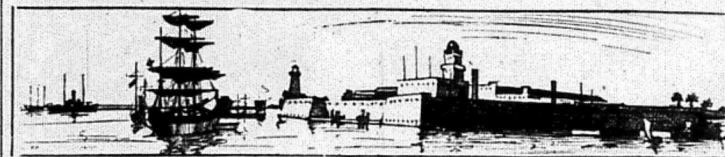
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The April Review contains a hundred large pages. Here are some of its other features:

Robert Hunter writes of the British Labor Party, replying to Victor Grayson's March article.

H. Quelch of the English Social Democratic Party writes in support of Grayson.

Mary E. Marcy contributes the first of a series of delightful Stories of the Cave People, which will teach economic determinism to children in a way that they will enjoy. Grown-ups will like these stories nearly as well as the children will. Illustrated.

Joseph E. Cohen continues his Study Course. The April installment is on Socialism and Science.

Louis Duchez, under the title The Proletarian Attitude, answers Carl D. Thompson's February article.

James Oneal contributes a short and graphic story entitled The Terror.

The International Notes, edited by William E. Bohn, are increasingly interesting; this month he explains the causes of the great strike at Paris.

As usual, John Spargo writes interestingly of Literature and Art, and Max S. Hayes of the World of Labor. We have now a News and Views department, in which any comrade with something worth saying has his chance to say it briefly.

Charles H. Kerr, who now edits the Review, has editorials this month entitled: "Do We Need a Labor Party," "The Rebate Decision," "Trade Schools and Wages," and "Stick to the Main Issue." Other articles and poems complete the make-up of the best number yet.

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reformists are agreed, and it is this consideration that has led three of the ablest politicians in the Socialist movement to place even higher than doctrine the unified organization of the workers. Liebknicht, De Paep, and Hardie have all sacrificed the programme in the interests of solidarity.—"Socialists at Work," p. 207.

## ST. LOUIS SOCIALIST PARTY NOTES.

Meetings of Local Executive Board.

The Executive Board of the Socialist Party meets every second and fourth Monday of the month at 212 South Fourth street.

Campaign Contributions to Deficit Fund.

Every Socialist should contribute what he can to the Campaign Deficit Fund. Fifty cents, from every party member alone would wipe out this deficit. Do your duty, comrades.