

## ANOTHER LABOR VICTORY

**Joe Pointer, a Pattermaker, Elected to British Parliament in Attercliffe By-Election. The Labor Candidate Wins the Battle Over Liberal and Tory Candidates--Enthusiasm Among Trade Unionists and Socialists.**

London, May 10.—Hurrah for Attercliffe! Another battle won for Labor and Socialism! Another comrade will join the Labor Group in Parliament:

Here are the figures:

### ATTERCLIFFE BY-ELECTION.

Result of the Poll.

Joseph Pointer (Labor) .....	3,581
King-Farlow (C.) .....	3,380
R. C. Lambert (L.) .....	3,175
Muir Wilson (C.) .....	2,803

Labor majority over Liberal .....	356
Labor majority over Conservative .....	351

Attercliffe has been added to the list of Labor seats. It has been a great fight, and a famous victory. Let us all give heartiest congratulations to the workpeople of Sheffield, and to Joe Pointer, pattermaker, and first Labor M. P. for the Attercliffe Division.

On Friday last rich Liberals and Tories combined in Parliament to defeat the Labor Party's Right to Work bill. A few nights earlier they joined hands to throw out a bill to compel the municipalities to do their duty by hungry and underfed children. They believed that Labor was once more politically asleep. They believed they could hit Labor with impunity. With crushing force the workers of Attercliffe have given back blow for blow. There are those who think that when a minority of 30 are beaten in a Parliament of 610, their answer should be a resort to futile scenes and ridiculous demonstrations. The Attercliffe workmen know better than that. They know how to give an answer a thousandfold more effective and revolutionary—the only reply, indeed, to which governments will listen.

If there is a constituency in England which should readily listen to our Labor and Socialist message it is Attercliffe. Capitalism is written all over in letters of sweat and tears. It is a dingy, smoky wilderness of houses, works and shops, through which crawls a river of what has once been water. In the Attercliffe road there are, I think, more public houses to the square inch than in any street inside the three kingdoms. And one is met at every corner by the pawnshops with their alluring golden balls and their plentiful supply of pledges, which, like those of wealthy politicians, remain for most part unredeemed.

Then there are the back-to-back houses. Dark and comfortless, they hardly make fitting homes for those who were informed during the election that they were an Imperial race with world-wide destinies.

Attercliffe is a hive of busy industry, and therefore of much dire poverty. The workless workman lounges at the street corner; the pinched face of the child tells its story of penury and want; the worker, haunted by insecurity of employment and the dread of old-age poverty, is too apt to seek a Lethé for his ills in the false glamor of the gin palace.

From the Labor and Socialist standpoint the election was fought on one issue—an issue which includes all—the social condition of the people. The unequal distribution of wealth, sweated wages and long hours of labor, the tragedy of unemployment, a lifetime of toil followed by an old age of pauperism, the unearned increment of the idle rich, the evils of landlordism and private monopoly of the means of life—such were the points effectively driven home from scores of platforms. And how splendidly the workmen responded, how keen the best of them were to distinguish between solid, sensible argument and Tariff Reform quackery and hotch-potch statistics. It did one good to watch the amiable contempt with which they regarded the blotched and beery mercenaries of the Tariff campaign—political scallywags and mountebanks, most of them, of whom every decent Conservative is at heart ashamed.

And the women—what shall I say of them? Their work and enthusiasm were beyond praise. Various societies, apparently pursuing different ends, and certainly employing different methods, united to profoundly stir Attercliffe to a sense of the political bondage of a sex, and in lesser degree of the economic bondage of a class. Inside the committee rooms Miss Lenn of the Woman's Labor League and her band of Labor women toiled like Trojans, performing with smiling faces a vast amount of hard, drudging work.

Pointer made an admirable candidate. An Attercliffe man, he knew intimately the life and needs of the people he sought to represent. He is a Sheffield Councillor, and has been brought into close touch with questions affecting health and housing. He is a pattermaker, who has been victimized and boycotted for daring to hold Socialist views. On I. L. P. platforms he received his training in public speaking. Throughout the contest he rigidly abstained from personalities, and, indeed, did not refer to his opponents and their arguments as much as he might have done. It was a straight, clean fight for principle. But after all, it was not so much the strength of Mr. Pointer that carried the cause to victory; rather it was the strength and justice of the cause that carried Mr. Pointer to victory. And that is as it should be.

Behind Pointer was Arthur Peters, the Labor Party's national agent. Peters is a quiet, rather brusque man. He says little, and does a lot of thinking, planning and working. He never fusses about things, and that is probably why he gets them done so well. He was only seen to smile once during the whole battle, and in some future issue I shall relate the joke which drew a smile from Peters.

He had the co-operation of a number of electioneering experts, like Richardson of Durham, Hague of Gorton, Speed of Chatham. But the local organization was exceedingly defective. In the earlier stages there was practically no election machinery, and a good deal of valuable time was wasted in putting it together. With effective organization, Pointer could have polled from 600 to 800 more votes, and this defeat ought to be immediately remedied.

The time was, also, too short. Three more days would have strengthened and increased the Labor vote, because, when the end came, Labor and Socialist feeling was steadily rising like a rising flood.

The issues were largely fought out on the platform, at the work-gates, in the street. Bruce Glasier came for a day or two, and divided his time between editing election journals and going into the street to denounce capitalism with all the zeal of a Hebrew prophet. The veteran Burgess was on the warpath, working early and late, from a morning meeting of miners to a midnight meeting of tramwaymen. Labor advocates, organizers and candidates came from East and West to help—Holmes of the railwaymen, Stuart of the postal servants, Trevanan of the municipal employes, Pearson and Mosses of the pattermakers.

The National Labor Party rose splendidly to the occasion, though pressed in Parliament by important matters like the Right to Work bill. Roberts, the Party Whip, had charge of the arrangements, and his handling of them left nothing to be desired.

MacDonald spoke at several of the earlier meetings with great power and effect, and gave impetus to a campaign which then seemed sadly lagging; Clynes, whom the Sheffield Telegraph described as one of the rising young statesmen of the Labor Party,

delivered some of his forceful, thoughtful, constructive speeches; Barnes dealt convincingly with the problem of unemployment and poverty; Curran, Jowett, Duncan, Macpherson, Parker, Seddon, Summerbell, Thorne and Wardle argued, pleaded, persuaded. And the excitement rose readily, and new converts were made hourly.

All this time the newspapers treated the Labor man as if his candidature were of no account. One journal, in optimistic mood, predicted he might get 1,000 votes. In betting circles the odds were 10 to 1 against him. But we gave no heed to the tipsters, and sturdily fought every inch of the ground.

On the eve of the election the Labor Party sent down six M. P.'s, including Hardie and Henderson. Shackleton, who was also billed, was detained by an important Amalgamation meeting.

Henderson at his meetings made unemployment the dominant and supreme issue. Before this question, he insisted, all others paled in importance. He told of Labor's betrayal by Liberals and Tories, and strongly appealed to the Attercliffe workmen to send Pointer to strengthen the hands of the little band who in St. Stephen's were fighting for the workers.

At a magnificent rally at the Baths, late at night, some 6,000 people assembled. The "Red Flag" was lustily sung, and Hardie spoke the final word. "The Labor man is being opposed by three lawyers. How can well-to-do lawyers represent workmen? Don't be divided tomorrow; vote together; vote for Labor; vote for Socialism; vote for yourselves." And a mighty cheer went up—a cheer that heralded victory.

Attercliffe is won. More than 3,500 solid votes cast for a workman against all the influences of wealth and privilege and reaction.

All this is not without its lesson. We won because we were united and the enemy divided. We won because after many dark nights the star of our movement is once more in the ascendant. Nothing can arrest the quick advance of our cause—except ourselves.

W. C. ANDERSON.

## THE DENVER BUILDING TRADES

**Disruption of the Organization Probable Unless Harmonious Co-operation Is Desired.**

Denver, Colo., May 16.—Get together! is a timely advice to the Building Trades Unions of Denver.

For some time there has been internal strife among the labor organizations of the city of Denver, Colo. The dissension has been brought about through a few "labor leaders" who have become aroused with indignation through a supposed invasion on jurisdiction reservations.

In Denver there are two organizations of the same craft, known as the Amalgamated Carpenters and the Brotherhood Carpenters. From the most authentic source is gleaned the information that the Amalgamated Carpenters had dwindled to less than a score of members, while the Brotherhood Carpenters boasted of an organization that presented a numerical strength of more than a thousand members.

The Brotherhood Carpenters concentrated their energies toward bringing about the absorption of the Amalgamated Carpenters, but a few men in the Amalgamated Carpenters stolidly refused to permit their organization to lose its identity in the labor movement.

It is claimed that the Amalgamated Carpenters, with but a few members, was given representation in the Building Trades Council of Denver, and when this took place a protest was filed by the Brotherhood Carpenters, which body was already a part of the Building Trades Council.

The Building Trades Council recognized the Amalgamated Carpenters as a legitimate body and bona fide labor organization and refused to give consideration to the protests filed by the Brotherhood Carpenters.

The action of the Building Trades Council was met by the Brotherhood Carpenters withdrawing from the central body, and the flag of war was immediately unfurled in the jurisdiction battlefield.

The master builders and contractors laughed with glee as they beheld the internal craft wars and beheld an opportunity to pit one organization against the other with the sole object in view of ultimately crushing the whole labor movement in the city of Denver.

The exploiters of Denver, through a committee of fifteen, drafted and adopted the following resolutions, which tell but too plainly that Organized Labor is menaced unless heroic measures are adopted to bring about the solidarity of the labor organizations of Denver.

The resolutions are as follows:

"Whereas, We, the committee of fifteen, representing the business associations of the city of Denver, believe that we are now facing a critical period in our new building enterprises through the actions of the various trade unions, and more especially through the fights now pending between the Building Trades Council and the Brotherhood of Carpenters. The building industry of our city is now in a condition of extreme activity, second to that of no other city in the country, and if unmolested by labor dissensions will reach a much higher degree.

"We find that wages in all lines of building trades are as high and in many cases higher than is paid in other cities; that there is no quarrel over the wage question; that there is no disposition on the part of our contractors and builders to refuse recognition to the unions; that the cause of the trouble seems to be entirely within the unions themselves.

"Further, We believe, from information in our possession, that the fight between the unions is of long standing and not of any present issue, and that our builders should not in any manner be retarded in their operations, and the progress and prosperity of our city be interfered with; therefore be it

"Resolved, That we demand, in the best interests of Denver's building advancement, that the unions immediately refer their differences to the heads of their respective bodies either through the medium of the National Civic Federation or by bringing their chiefs upon the ground at once, for action, and that pending the matter of adjustment the men now called off shall be returned to their work and allow our great building industry to proceed.

"Failing to do this within a reasonable time, we believe that the contractors and builders will be justified in making arrangements to fill the places of all those workmen called out by the unions by bringing in other men, and that in such case they should receive the full support of all our business men."

The editor of the Miners' Magazine has no desire to enter into the merits or demerits of the controversy that threatens Organized Labor in the Queen City of the Plains, but appeals to the sober sense and sound judgment of the rank and file to bury the differences and personal animosities that may place labor at the mercy of conspirators who are now directing all their energies to bring about the dissolution of the central body.

### Hunting For Socialist Secrets

The United States Secret Service has been engaged in investigating the Socialist movement and membership in Chicago, says the Chicago Daily Socialist. It is probably doing the same elsewhere, but the Daily Socialist happened to come into possession of the proof of this investigation in Chicago.

From one point of view the whole matter is something of a joke. Hunting for Socialist Party secrets is much like a snake hunt in Ireland, for it is probably the only political party that has no secrets. These bold sleuths have been spending several weeks in hunting for information that would have been cheerfully furnished them in a few minutes if they had called at the Socialist Party headquarters.

From another point of view, however, the matter is more serious. Just what sort of "evidence" it is that is being gathered in Socialist Party meetings? What business has the secret service of the United States government to be interfering with and seeking to throw discredit upon a duly authorized political party?

Is this but the beginning of a campaign of persecution against Socialists and the Socialist press? The result of the prosecution of Fred D. Warren of the Appeal to Reason and some of Roosevelt's frenzied effusions lend color to this conclusion.

If it is, the sooner it begins the better. Nothing helps the Socialist movement like open hostility from the enemy. All such actions demonstrate the fact of class government much more effectively than can be done by any amount of Socialist writings.

### Woman Would Find Wide Field of Activity.

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.

**Socialists of St. Louis!**  
**Increase the Circulation of St. Louis Labor!**  
**This is Your Paper!**

## FOR OUR SOCIALIST PRESS

**An Appeal to the Comrades and Sympathizers.**

The following appeal, together with subscription lists, will be mailed to the Socialists and friends of our movement within the next few days. A letter will accompany the lists and comrades making contributions may be assured that the lists will be handled by reliable men and women.

St. Louis, Mo., May 19, 1909.

**Comrade and Brother:**—The great importance and value of our Socialist and Labor press is known to you and needs no explanation or argument. St. Louis Labor and Arbeiter Zeitung have had a hard row to travel from the first day of their publication down to this. Started with debts, they have been operating under debts ever since.

So far, our local Socialist press has weathered all the storms in the Labor and Socialist movements, and in every battle for the great cause of Organized Labor and Socialism. St. Louis Labor and Arbeiter Zeitung have taken a leading part. The life of our press is a history of the struggles of the working class for the last ten or more years.

We have never made a public complaint. We never asked for financial help, as most of the other Socialist publications throughout the country have repeatedly done. However, it would be nothing short of gross neglect on our part to any longer hide the fact that financial support is needed—and needed at once.

The Executive Board of the Socialist Party of St. Louis and the Arbeiter Zeitung Association, after careful consideration, decided to appeal to you, as one of the many reliable comrades and friends, to make a contribution to the St. Louis Socialist press. We ask you to give at least one dollar to St. Louis Labor and Arbeiter Zeitung. Contributions should be made without delay and will be published in both papers.

Comrade, act without delay. You know what our press means to the Labor and Socialist movement, not only of St. Louis, but the state and the general labor movement as well. Fraternally yours, **The Committee:** T. E. Delmore, H. G. Mueller, Wm. E. Eckart, Gus. Eckhoff, Fred Lindecke, W. F. Hunstock, L. F. Rosenkranz.

### REVOLUTIONISTS ARE GUILTY.

Villarreal's Sisters Ejected From the Courtroom.

(Press Dispatch.)

Tombstone, Ariz., May 16.—The jury in the case of Magon, Villarreal and Rivera, charged with being leaders of a revolutionary plot against Mexico, tonight returned a verdict of guilty with a recommendation of mercy.

The three were publishers of Regeneracion, a St. Louis paper, which, it was charged, tended to incite a revolution in Mexico. Villarreal's sisters reside in St. Louis.

A sensational feature developed during the closing argument of United States District Attorney Alexander when the two sisters of Villarreal, who have been in daily attendance on the trial, dramatically exclaimed that the United States Attorney was a paid ally of Diaz to persecute their brother and the other patriots who sought to better the conditions of their countrymen.

So persistent were the young women, hysterical with pent-up feeling, that the bailiffs escorted them from the courtroom.

Magon, leader of the revolution, intent on the proceedings, also interrupted and declared Mexican funds were spent to aid in the prosecution.



# IN BEHALF OF THE MEXICAN PATRIOTS

## Manifesto to the Workers of All Countries

The publicity which in the last two years has been given to the cause of the Mexican revolution has aroused much sympathy among the workers of all countries, a sympathy that is growing less and less a matter of mere resolutions and words and is becoming more and more practical in its desire to aid. But as there still seems to exist some doubts as to the real aims and objects of the Mexican working class movement, we, members of the Junta of the Mexican Liberal Party, issue this manifesto:

The capitalist press in general, as well as those papers directly subsidized by the Dictator of Mexico, Porfirio Diaz, has ceaselessly been forging public opinion in favor of the employers. Their printed lies have raised barriers which keep the wage slaves of Mexico from coming to a fraternal understanding with their brothers in other lands. It is to remove these doubts, to tear down these barriers, to make clear the solidarity of the international labor movement, that this manifesto is written. This cry from the shadow of the Mexican slave huts is not for mercy or pity, it is a cry of protest against the executioners of the working class. You, our brothers, must not sleep while the common enemy continues its ruthless extermination of the peons of our unfortunate country. The shackles which are being bound upon our limbs are binding yours as well.

The conditions of the working class in Mexico are different from those in other countries; different because Porfirio Diaz has for years been conspiring with foreign capitalists to build up a system which will create dissension between the Mexican workers and the workers of other lands. He has given vast grants of lands, mineral claims and railroad franchises to foreign capitalists, who on their part have hired foreign managers and foremen for their works, in which the foreign workmen were paid often double the wages allowed the Mexicans for the same class of labor. This crafty system of breeding discord among the workers has made it impossible for the Mexicans in the shops, factories and railroads to organize powerful unions as is done in other lands. The result of this great capitalist conspiracy has been to keep the standard of living in Mexico down to a point of starvation and to make great riches for the foreign-friends of Diaz at the expense of the entire Mexican working class.

To create dissension and hatred between the Mexicans and foreign workers has been the plan of the capitalists in order to safeguard their riches. To isolate the Mexican worker and drown his efforts for freedom in rivers of blood is the purpose of Mexico's despoilers. For these things, and for the cause of the Mexican proletariat, we come to you, workers of all countries, to inform you of what is going on in Mexico. Because, with the knowledge of the truth, you can assist in the struggle which has no hate against any one except the executioners of the working class. We desire only to break our chains, to work shoulder to shoulder with you for future progress. The cause which we are defending is yours as well as ours.

To show with what a lavish hand the Diaz government has enriched the American capitalists, it is only necessary to point out that E. H. Harriman owns 2,500,000 acres of oil land west of Tampico, that the Hearst interests control in the neighborhood of 3,000,000 acres near the city of Chihuahua, and that the total area of territory now cornered, on the gulf coast alone, by the joint interests of the Standard Oil and Harriman is over one thousand miles long by an average of seventy miles in width, running through the richest lands of Mexico. These are but a fragment of the concessions granted by Diaz to American capitalists.

A bloody saturnalia has followed the career of Porfirio Diaz, whose record of killings among his own people is popularly estimated to be over thirty thousand lives.

It was at Monterey, in the elections of 1902, that the troops fired into a peaceful body of marching citizens, strewing the streets with piles of dead and dying!

It was in front of the Rio Blanco mills, during the strike of 1906, that sixty-four men, six women and four children were shot down by the soldiery of Diaz!

It was at Cananea, in 1906, that the rurales under Kosterlitzky, and the cowboys of Greene, massacred the striking miners and drove them back to work!

These are but a few of the bloody incidents in the career of the butcher of Mexico.

Mexico's revolution is not purely a political revolution—it is a social revolution which relates to us directly. We are compelled to meet force with force, for so the tyrant Diaz has decided. We did not seek strife, we were driven to it. We have learned the lesson so ably expressed by a great thinker—"Better a handful of force than a bag of rights."

Our program is simple; we do not attempt to realize everything in a day, and so we will begin with the untying of the rope which binds, in order that we may go on to progress. Freedom of the press, speech and education, the right of public assemblage and the turning back to the people of all the great holdings of uncultivated lands; the abolition of capital punishment and the present brutal system of prisons; the abolition of debts which the peons have carried upon their shoulders for many generations, binding them to their masters in practical-slavery from birth to death. These reforms are all in the program of the Liberal Party. The eight-hour day, a minimum scale of wages, and the right of the people of the Republic to participate in all public questions, is also a part of our program. In this fashion the Mexican revolution will open a trench in which will be built a social organism more just, more harmonious with the sentiments of solidarity and love such as will some day rule the world. It is axiomatic that those who work for the individual work of the mass, and that the emancipation of one people shortens the days of the whole world's slavery.

Those nations which have attained comparative freedom should not close their eyes to the miseries of the less fortunate; nor should they turn their backs upon a struggle which is for the benefit of all.

The armed mercenaries of the Mexican Despot drive our countrymen into prisons of torture where life is prolonged merely to make the agony more cruel, and it must be remembered by you that the power to commit these atrocities has been obtained by Diaz, in large part, from his friends, the foreign investors, of whom many come from the United States.

But not only in Mexico are we tracked by the police; in the United States we are also hunted like wild animals. Mexican homes in this country are entered without warrant, the patriots manacled and hurried to United States jails, while others are secretly taken to the border and delivered into the hands of the waiting rurales. Our comrades, Ricardo Flores Magon, Antonio I. Villarreal and Librado Rivera, are in Arizona awaiting sentence upon the charge of violating the United States neutrality laws. If patriotism is a crime in this country, they are guilty. But if the American right of asylum is to be preserved they will be freed. Among the most vindictive persecutors of these political prisoners is the former United States Attorney for Los Angeles, Oscar Lawler, who went so far as to vilify the prisoners in the public press at the same time that he had ordered the jailers to hold them "incommunicado." Lawler's reward for thus cowardly attacking prisoners unable to reply, has been an appointment in the office of the Attorney General at Washington.

In the Federal prison at Leavenworth, Kansas, are our comrades, Antonio de P. Araujo, A. D. Guerra, P. G. Silva and L. Trevino, all made convicts because of their love for their country and determination to fight for the liberties of Mexico. In Texas jails are still other Mexican prisoners, Basilio Ramirez and Calixto Guerra, who have been held since last July and are still awaiting trial.

The power of Diaz in the United States is shown in various ways. In January last, in Tucson, Ariz., a young workingman named, Cenaido Reyes was arrested because of his resemblance to a well-

known member of the Mexican Liberal Party. This young Mexican was not a revolutionist, but because the authorities thought they had captured a man that Diaz wanted he was carried to the border and, without trial, passed over into the hands of the rurales. From that moment to this he has disappeared from the face of the earth, his sorrowing family being unable to ascertain whether he is alive or dead. Such are the secret workings of the Diaz government in this country.

The friends of Diaz in the United States are ever ready to assist him in crushing the attempts of the Mexican people to free themselves. Here is an example of their work: Many of the large coal mine owners in Oklahoma and Northern Texas also own valuable concessions in the coal fields of Coahuila; at the time of the uprising in June, 1908, these employers cut wages and reduced the number of days' work in their American mines in order to prevent their Mexican miners from sending financial aid to the revolutionists.

But in spite of all—the massacres in Mexico and the imprisonments in the United States—we continue our struggle for liberty. We, the Mexican proletariat, must be free, and there is no price that we will not pay to attain this end.

Here ends our manifesto, for our task would be endless if we attempted to make a complete list of the exploitations, deportations, imprisonments and killings perpetrated upon the Mexican people by Porfirio Diaz—acts, in many instances, in which the government of the United States assisted.

Comrades of the world, read carefully our manifesto and then take such action as will best help the cause of freedom. Yours for human emancipation.

ENRIQUE FLORES MAGON,  
PRAXEDIS G. GUERRERO.

For the Organizing Junta of the Mexican Liberal Party.  
San Antonio, Tex., May 10, 1909.

### National Socialist Platform

Adopted at Chicago Convention, May, 1908.

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 unsuspected 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.)

#### The Economic Dependence of Labor.

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.

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

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## WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE DEPARTMENT

### WHY WOMEN SHOULD VOTE?

Objections Answered.  
By Alice Stone Blackwell.

#### II.

#### THE CRIMINAL VOTE.

"To the vote of every criminal man, you would add the vote of a criminal woman."

The vicious and criminal class is comparatively small among women. According to the latest tabulated prison statistics of the United States Census (those for 1904), Alabama had in her state prison and state and county penitentiaries, 1,796 men and 94 women; Arizona, 293 men and 1 woman; Arkansas, 769 men, 23 women; California, 2,359 men, 24 women; Colorado, 848 men, 16 women; Connecticut, 460 men, 14 women; Delaware, 155 men, 5 women; District of Columbia, 41 men, 5 women; Florida, 1,075 men, 30 women; Georgia, 2,243 men, 82 women; Idaho, 139 men, 3 women; Illinois, 2,383 men, 36 women; Indiana, 793 men, no women; Iowa, 832 men, 28 women; Kansas, 2,270 men, 31 women; Kentucky, 1,872 men, 71 women; Louisiana, 1,296 men, 35 women; Maine, 178 men, 5 women; Maryland, 1,389 men, 113 women; Massachusetts, 1,824 men, 39 women; Michigan, 948 men, 1 woman; Minnesota, 620 men, 12 women; Mississippi, 1,021 men, 28 women; Missouri, 2,091 men, 72 women; Montana, 436 men, 8 women; Nebraska, 322 men, 5 women; Nevada, 91 men, no women; New Hampshire, 157 men, 3 women; New Jersey, 1,402 men, 69 women; New Mexico, 240 men, 7 women; New York, 5,392 men, 313 women; North Carolina, 631 men, 43 women; North Dakota, 149 men, 2 women; Ohio, 1,587 men, 41 women; Oklahoma, 22 men, no women; Oregon, 332 men, 2 women; Pennsylvania, 1,966 men, 35 women; Rhode Island, 388 men, 64 women; South Carolina, 632 men, 28 women; South Dakota, 193 men, 3 women; Tennessee, 1,575 men, 62 women; Texas, 4,073 men, 117 women; Utah, 171 men, 2 women; Vermont, 259 men, 15 women; Virginia, 1,478 men, 68 women; Washington, 791 men, 4 women; West Virginia, 982 men, 32 women; Wisconsin, 668 men, 12 women; Wyoming, 189 men, 3 women.

In the prisons of the United States as a whole, including those for all kinds of offenses, women constitute only five and one-half per cent of the prisoners, and the proportion is growing smaller.

Equal suffrage would increase the moral and law-abiding vote very largely, while increasing the vicious and criminal vote very little. This is a matter not of conjecture, but of statistics.

#### THE BAD WOMEN'S VOTE.

"The bad women would outvote the good ones."

In America the bad women are so few, compared with the good ones, that their votes could have little influence. Mrs. Helen Gilbert Ecob, wife of a prominent clergyman who was for some years a pastor in Denver, writes:

"The bad women represent, in any city of the United States, but an infinitesimal proportion of its population, and the vote of that class in Denver is confined practically to three precincts out of 120."

Mrs. Sarah Platt Decker of Denver, ex-president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and also for some years president of the Colorado State Board of Charities and Correction, writes:

"Does not the vote of the disreputable class of women overbalance the better element? No; the women of the half-world are not willing to vote. They are constantly changing their residences and their names. They do not wish to give any data concerning themselves, their age, name or number and street; they prefer to remain unidentified."

Ex-Gov. Warren of Wyoming sums it all up when he says, in a letter to Horace G. Wadlin of Massachusetts:

"Our women nearly all vote; and since, in Wyoming as elsewhere, the majority of women are good and not bad, the result is good and not evil."

#### DON'T UNDERSTAND BUSINESS.

"A municipality is a great business corporation. Men, by the nature of their occupations, know more about business than women, and hence are better fitted to run a city or a state."

Women have a vote in every corporation in which they are shareholders. George William Curtis said: "A woman may vote as a stockholder upon a railroad from one end of the country to the other; but if she sells her stock and buys a house with the money, she has no voice in the laying out of the road before her door, which her house is taxed to keep and pay for."

Moreover, it is not true that a man's experience in his own business teaches him how to carry on the business of a city. Some years ago a fashionable caterer was elected to the Massachusetts Legislature, and was appointed a member of the committee on filling up the South Boston flats. Another member said to him scornfully, "What do you know about filling up flats, anyway?" The caterer answered quietly, "That has been my business for twenty years."

The answer was good, as a joke; but, as a matter of fact, what had his experience of planning dinners taught him about the way to turn tide-mud into solid ground? What does the butcher learn from his business about the best way to pave a street, or the baker about the best way to build a sewer, or the candle-stick maker about the best way to lay out a park, or to choose school teachers or policemen, or to run a city hospital? Does a minister learn from his profession how to keep the streets clean, or a lawyer how to conduct a public school, or a doctor how to put out a fire? A man's business, at best, gives him special knowledge only in regard to one or two departments of city affairs. Women's business, as mothers and housekeepers, also gives them special knowledge in regard to some important departments of public work, those relating to children, schools, playgrounds, the protection of the weak and young, morals, the care of the poor, etc. For what lies outside the scope of their own experience, men and women alike must rely upon experts. All they need, as voters, is sense enough and conscience enough to elect honest and capable persons to have charge of these things.

#### DIVISION OF LABOR.

"The growth of civilization is marked by an increasing specialization and division of labor. Woman suffrage would therefore be a step backward."

The growth of civilization increases the division of labor as between individuals, but lessens it as between the sexes. One woman no longer spins and weaves, and manufactures the clothing for the men of her family, at the same time carrying on all the housework and in addition making butter, cheese and candles, as our great-grandmothers did. This work is now subdivided among a number of specialists. On the one hand, in the olden times women were excluded from almost all the occupations of men. Housework and sewing were practically the only ways open to them to earn a living. Today, out of more than 300 trades and professions followed by men, women are found in all but three or four.

But this objection about the subdivision of labor is really irrelevant. Voting is not labor, in the sense of a trade or profession. The tendency of civilization has been to a greater and greater specialization of labor, but not to a closer and closer restriction of the suffrage. On the contrary, that has been steadily extended. The best results are found not where public affairs are left in the hands of a small class of "professional politicians," but where the largest proportion of the people take a keen interest and an active part in their own government.

#### WOULD LOSE THEIR INFLUENCE.

"Women would lose their influence."

What gives a woman influence? Beauty, goodness, tact, talent, pleasant manners, money, social position, etc. A woman who has

any of these means of influence now would still have them if she had a vote, and she would have this other potent means of influence besides. There is a story of a prisoner who had been shut up for many years in a dungeon, getting sunlight only through a chink in the wall. He grew much attached to that chink. At last his friends came and offered to tear down the wall. His mind had become weakened and he begged them not to do so. If they destroyed the wall, he said, they would also destroy the chink through which he got all his sunlight, and he would be left in total darkness. If he had had his wits, he would have seen that he would have all the sunlight before, and a great deal more besides.

(To be continued.)

#### WOMAN SUFFRAGE NOTES.

Mina Berger, wife of Victor L. Berger, has been elected to the Board of Education in Milwaukee.

Central Labor Union of Philadelphia indorsed woman suffrage and pledged its support to the national petition at a meeting held April 25. The Metal Trades Council of the same city took similar action April 22.

"Yes, along with the initiative and referendum and the recall system in state and municipal government, I believe firmly in woman suffrage," says ex-Gov. Folk of Missouri, in an interview in the St. Paul Pioneer Press. "Woman suffrage could not help but be beneficial in municipal, state and national politics. It will not only raise the social and economic status of women themselves, but it will make for cleaner and better politics."

Glen Kelley, representing Eureka College, has won the \$100 prize offered by the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association for the best essay on Woman Suffrage.

Wm. E. Curtis, the well-known newspaper correspondent, has unearthed the interesting fact that, when the city of Nashville, Tenn., was created in 1806, "everybody who owned a foot of land, women as well as men, black as well as white, were allowed to vote for mayor and commissioners."

## Evolution to Collectivism

By Lucius Hitchcock.

Individualism, so far as the power to do things singly and alone in the business world is concerned, has about run its course. The individual is more and more dependent upon association. He seeks combination as naturally as water seeks the ocean. The unorganized individual becomes an abject slave to conditions beyond his control, or else an object of pity. This is the evolution of things. Capitalism came upon the world almost unconsciously, developing from the first partnership to the great merger, and under the specious plea of the public good, it solicited gifts, franchises and land grants and took over the public domain and the machinery of production, while holding the powers of government obedient to its will, until it weilds today an iron will over the destinies of man. That is collectivism of capital—the "community of interests" with the community left out. Now the counter-evolution is toward the collectivism of the community as a whole. The struggle now, however, is for the control of the powers of government through political action, almost, if not wholly and alone. Are we not yet conscious of the fact that evolution does not proceed along single lines—that it is all-embracing? In fact, does not Karl Marx, in substance, say that the manner of getting a living determines, among other things, the political condition of a people at certain periods of time? Is not economic power in the industrial field essential to go along with political power, if not the means of obtaining that power? Events seem to be proving it. If so, we must begin to evolve plans whereby the people may obtain economic power by evolution in the manner of getting a living. We must organize broadly and generally on the "bread and butter line." Labor has all the power politically and industrially whenever it takes it, but the "bread and butter" question, controlled by our enemy, stands in the way. We have had several isolated Utopian moves toward co-operative lines of action, but none sufficiently far-reaching or practical until recently. There is an organization started in Florida somewhat on the line, and there is one called the Industrial League of America, organized in Missouri, that has some new and essential features. It proposes to accumulate social capital from the wasted dollars now inconsiderately expended by every one with an income, by a small fee of admission, and to place it as a common fund for investment and employment. There are no shares, and the interest held is entirely collective. It is growing gradually. The fund is secured by all safeguards. Whether these moves succeed or not, there are evolutionary forces behind them making a move toward collective capital necessary. Socialists, of all people, are getting the load of the industrial depression; our propaganda and our newspapers on the political field are suffering, and the weak are getting too weak to speak above a whisper the convictions of conscience. Our votes are stolen. Is it not time we were evolving some means of self-help out of the millions of dollars we are now feeding to the merciless machine of capital to grind down the people into the depths of degradation and economic impotency? Let us at least consider it.

Aurora, Mo. LUCIUS HITCHCOCK.

By No Means Hopeless.

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.

## 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

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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

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## "SOCIALISM'S WORLD CHALLENGE"

Last Sunday's Globe-Democrat, in a lengthy editorial on "Socialism's World Challenge," reviewed the French strike situation in its usual frank and unpolished capitalist way. The present labor war in Paris is pictured as the advent of a second "Paris Commune of 1871," and Clemenceau's government is praised to the skies for having 60,000 troops held in readiness to move at a moment's notice.

In real despotic spirit the G.-D. proclaims that the French postal employes and telegraphers are employes of the government, and as such they have no right to discontinue work in a body, i. e., to strike. We remember when Theodore Roosevelt, while in the White House, made similar statements as to the right of organization of the American postal employes.

Naturally enough the entire Paris strike trouble is due to Socialism, according to the Globe-Democrat. Here is the wisdom of the G.-D. editor:

"The strikers are servants of the government, and are thus under pledge to carry out the government's orders, though free to leave the service at any time on giving the regularly stipulated notice. But the welfare of the state gives the government the power to impose the conditions on which its employes can leave it. They are under bonds to execute its orders. Under no sort of an incentive or temptation are they to obstruct its functions or rise in revolt against any of its officials. Socialism is making advances all over Europe, and it has hundreds of thousands of adherents in the United States. In France it often takes the form of communism. There and elsewhere it sometimes lands its adherents into anarchy, in the form in which the United States saw it in the Haymarket riots in Chicago in 1886. Always and everywhere it means revolution, the overthrow of the existing order. In a dangerous phase it confronts France today. A government which would temporize or compromise with this foe could not live, and would not deserve to live."

Yes, the strikers are servants of the government! But what is the government? Who is the government?

The government, in a Republic, is supposed to be the servant of the people. For years the French government tolerated conditions in the Postal and Telegraph Department which became unbearable to the employes. Relief was asked for, but in vain. General dissatisfaction developed into indignation, and finally into open rebellion. A strike of the employes was the result. For several days the entire Postal and Telegraph service was tied up. Clemenceau made promises to the strikers; and the men went back to work, but only to find out that they had been deceived.

A second strike followed. The men organized a union and affiliated with the General Federation of Labor.

And this is about all there is to the Paris strike!

As to the idea that Socialism was responsible for the present labor trouble, we may say that it is not true. It just happens that the Paris trade unions are less Socialistic than their brothers in the provinces. The Paris unions are under the influence of the "direct action men," the Anti-Parliamentarians and other factions that are in conflict with the policy of International Social-Democracy. What the G.-D. says about the "form of Communism," anarchy and the Chicago Haymarket riot is dictated by ignorance and malice. Socialism had as little to do with the Chicago Haymarket trouble as the G.-D. editor with the recent killing of the innocent African gazelle by Theodore Roosevelt. But the history of the Haymarket tragedy is already written and the G.-D. editor can not plead ignorance. The perusal of Governor Altgeld's pamphlet, "Reasons for Pardoning Fielden, Schwab and Neebe," would tell the great editor on Sixth and Pine streets what led up to the Haymarket riot. Not Socialism, but Capitalism and a criminal police machine under Capt. Bonfield made the "Haymarket Riot" on the evening of May 4, 1886. And Capitalism applauded, because that "riot" killed the great Eight Hour movement for the time being.

The post and telegraph employes of France are striking against the unbearable conditions forced upon them by the capitalist government. M. Clemenceau is fighting the battles of French Capitalism. Because the employes would not cowardly submit to Clemenceau's government machinery of exploitation and went out on strike, the capitalist indignation became general. The civilized world was promptly informed of the impending "second edition" of the Paris Commune and the coming Social Revolution.

## The Warren Case

According to a dispatch from Fort Scott, Kas., Judge Potterick suspended sentence and postponed hearing on a motion for a new trial in the case of Fred D. Warren, editor of the Appeal to Reason. It seems plain to the close observer that the court would not risk at this time to pronounce sentence for reasons best known to the gentlemen behind the curtains who are responsible for this latest perversion of justice by a capitalist court and a made-to-order jury.

Comrade Warren, the latest victim of Rooseveltism, openly charges Postoffice Inspector Chance as being a pitiable wretch who lied in the presence of court and jury. Chance testified that Warren had told him that the mailing lists had been destroyed. Postmaster Wasser testified that Warren had said nothing of the kind. The postmaster was present when the conversation took place. He knew that Warren had made no such statement and testified accordingly. He flatly contradicted the inspector. Chance, the inspector, had told a deliberate lie. His object was to have it appear to the jury that Warren felt himself guilty and had destroyed the mailing list which might be used in evidence against him. This incident is characteristic of the whole trial. It is a fair index of the entire proceeding which was instigated by malice, based upon fraud and reached its culmination in the poisoned verdict of a packed jury.

"The Appeal and its managing editor were tried in the house of its enemies!" exclaims the Appeal to Reason.

No doubt about that! And the men who did the "trying" were there by "order du mufti"—by order of the clique in whose interests the Snake-Charmer and Crocodile-Catcher Theodore Roosevelt has been howling against Socialism and the Socialist movement ever since the immortal Marc Aurelius Hanna bid his last farewell to the Holy Alliance of Political High Priests of the Golden Calf.

Speaking of the result of the Warren trial, Comrade Eugene V. Debs writes:

"A verdict of guilty was not a surprise. It was expected. It would have been a surprise only if it had been otherwise.

"Immediately the verdict was rendered the lawyers for the defense entered a motion for a new trial. This motion will be argued in ten days from the time it was entered. In the meantime sentence is suspended.

"The maximum penalty is five years in the penitentiary at hard labor and a fine of five thousand dollars. It is this that has been hanging over Warren's head during the past two years. Ordinarily the suspense would be great, but in this case the defendant has been serene, feeling in his heart that he had committed no wrong, but that he was being persecuted for no other reason than that he was the editor of a powerful Socialist paper which the plutocratic administration had determined to put out of existence.

"Whether Warren is finally sentenced or not, there is a mighty issue involved in his case. No one in his sane mind supposes for an instant that Warren is being prosecuted for violating the postal laws. Thousands of similar publications have been mailed all over the country, but no one has even dreamed of prosecuting a person offering a reward for a fugitive from justice. Had Warren been a Republican or a Democrat this case would never have been heard of.

"But he is a Socialist and the editor of a powerful Socialist paper which is a thorn in the flesh of the gratters now in control of the government, and for years they have had their sleuths on his trail and have been watching for some chance to strike the blow and to cripple if not destroy the paper of which he is the editor."

## Editorial Observations

Comrades, Read the Appeal in Behalf of Our Socialist Press in this week's St. Louis Labor.

The Missouri Legislature Adjourned and the Many Campaign promises of both capitalist parties are still what they were before election: Promises.

After November 6, 1908, the Capitalist Press Announced That Socialism in America was dead. Today the same organs are editorializing against Socialism and the Socialist movement. If Socialism is dead, why can't they let it alone? That post-election death notice must have been a lie.

The Musicians' National Headquarters Will Remain in St. Louis, according to the Minneapolis convention. Owen Miller and O. Ostendorf, both of St. Louis, were elected secretary and treasurer respectively of the American Federation of Musicians at the national meeting of the organization held in Minneapolis Friday.

"Guilty!" Is the Verdict in the Arizona Trial Against the Mexican patriots, Magon, Villareal and Rivera. Guilty of what? Guilty of working for the political emancipation of the Mexican people! Czar Diaz is a commercial relative of Uncle Sam and this may explain the Arizona verdict. American capital in Mexico must be protected, and Diaz is the man to do it.

That the Russian Revolution Was by No Means a Failure Is proven by the recent events in Turkey and Persia. The waves of the Russian Revolution reached Constantinople and Teheran and swept a mighty Sultan clear off his throne into the ocean of oblivion. Neither is the Czarism of today what it was prior to January 22, 1905. "Gentlemen, you can not sit on the points of bayonets!" said the French statesman Talleyrand. And he knew what he was talking about.

Once More a Cablegram From Rome Informs the World That the Pope expressed his disapproval of woman's suffrage. That's immaterial! Have the popes, and bishops, emperors and kings, princes and dukes, lords and all the other social parasites ever approved any real progressive movement in the onward march of human civilization? Of course, there were some exceptions, but they confirm the rule. As a class, the interests of these people lie in an opposite direction.

Mr. Van Cleave's Love for Pinkertonism! In the Current Number of the American Federationist the connection between J. W. Van Cleave and Turner's Manufacturers' Information Bureau is completely established. President Gompers prints several letters from Van Cleave to Turner exposing the double-dealing of Van Cleave as well as the grafting disposition of Turner and the black-hand methods of both. Everybody possessing common sense has been morally certain that the employers' associations and spying and thug agencies are closely associated. The Federationist merely furnishes additional proof.

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

## Socialist News Review

### SPECIAL DEFICIT FUND TO PAY CAMPAIGN DEBTS DURING THE RECENT MUNICIPAL CAMPAIGN.

Comrades, do your duty towards this special fund. A contribution of 50c from each party member would wipe out our deficit completely. Don't delay your contribution. The following contributions have been received:

F. J. Kloth.....	\$ 1.00	Gottlieb Ludi.....	.50
Wm. Kern.....	1.00	Henry Maack.....	.50
Collection Local meeting.....	2.75	Mike Ritter.....	.25
Rudolph Krauss.....	1.00	(J. F. Miller, List 43.)	
H. Siroky.....	1.00	J. F. Miller.....	1.00
(Eighth Ward List.)		H. L. Bergesen.....	.25
Oscar Roelke.....	.50	Fred Fischer.....	.25
Martin F. Payer.....	.25	A. Liscomb.....	.25
Eighth Ward Club.....	2.00	Fred Daschke.....	.25
H. G. Mueller.....	.25	Herbert J. Fischer.....	.25
(Thirteenth Ward Club List.)		Wm. A. Schumate.....	.25
Wm. F. Crouch.....	.50		
Wm. E. E.....	.50	Total.....	\$14.50

A correction: F. N. Denk was credited in previous report as contributing 50c. Same should have been credited as \$1.00.

### SOCIALIST PARTY PICNIC.

All Socialist families and their friends are wanted at the summer picnic given by the St. Louis Socialists at the beautiful Rische's Grove on Sunday, June 20 (all day). There will be dancing, games and entertainment of all kinds to amuse both the young and old folk, and an opportunity to enjoy all the beauties of a country picnic and yet be within easy reach of the city. Tickets are ready and on sale. Get a supply to sell to your friends.

### Win a Seat in France.

Allier, France, May 18.—The Socialists have gained another seat in the French Parliament. In the arrondissement of Moulins a Socialist named Mille has been elected by a substantial majority, receiving 4,997 votes to 3,625 for his opponent.

### Gaylord to Speak in New York.

Comrade Winfield R. Gaylord, State Senator of Wisconsin, has been engaged by the New York State Committee to speak at the big picnic at Brooklyn on Saturday, June 12, and in New York City on Sunday, June 13. He will then give eight days to addresses in the state. Locals or organizations desiring addresses by Comrades Gaylord or Mills should address Carl D. Thompson, 344 Sixth street, Milwaukee, Wis.

### Attempt to Check Socialist Political Movement.

State Secretary Tuck of California reports: "That the legislature of that state passed a direct primary law which contains a filing fee system that will make the nominating of a state and county ticket cost the Socialist Party about eight thousand dollars in fees and involve an expense in securing the required signatures of nearly as much more. The state committee of the party has decided to bring suit to test the constitutionality of the law."

### Walter Thomas Mills' Western Trip.

The State Committee of Oklahoma are making great use of their opportunities. They are arranging from thirty to ninety dates for Socialist lectures at chautauquas in their state. They have engaged Comrade Walter Thomas Mills for these addresses. Comrade Mills has just finished a most successful lecture tour in the Dakotas and entered Indiana last week. He spoke for the locals at Ft. Wayne the 13th; at Huntington, 14th; at Indianapolis, Saturday and Sunday. Monday he spoke at Milton; Tuesday, the 18th, at Carlisle, and at Washington the 19th. A few dates are being arranged by the comrades of Iowa. On June 1 he enters Missouri under direction of the State Committee.

### ST. LOUISAN LEADS ATTACKS ON UNIONS.

Anthony Ittner, Chairman of Manufacturers' Committee That Condemns Methods—Gompers Is Rapped.

New York, May 17.—An attack on the methods of "Organized Labor" broke the otherwise calm routine of the first day's session of the National Association of Manufacturers, which convened today at the Waldorf-Astoria.

This arraignment of labor unions, including a fling at Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, was embodied in a report of the committee, of which Anthony Ittner of St. Louis is chairman.

After considerable discussion the report was referred to a special committee, after the convention had gone on record as endorsing, not an attack on Organized Labor per se, but "the methods of Organized Labor."

The attitude of the delegates was made clear when the motion to refer the report to a special committee was made. Then Mr. Ittner rose and offered a suggestion "that this committee, to which the report is to be referred, has the power to emasculate anything in the report that might appear to the members as improper as an unfair attack on Organized Labor."

### Methods Are "Damnable."

He added that, "we do not fight the labor organizations by themselves; we consider them beneficial, but we fight the methods of Organized Labor—and some of them are damnable." His statements were followed by applause, and the motion was adopted.

Before the report was read it became known that Frederick W. Senyer of Milwaukee, a member of the committee, had refused to sign it on the ground that it contained unwarranted attacks on labor and further, in his opinion, the personal views of the chairman of the committee to the exclusion of the other members. This controversy resulted in a decision to read the long document with a view to ascertain its tone. Its reference to the special committee followed.

That reference to Samuel Gompers, to which Mr. Senyer particularly objected, reads as follows:

"To put Organized Labor in charge of a movement in the interest of industrial education and trade training would be like putting the lamb in the care of the wolf, or the chicken in care of the hawk. Witness the efforts of Mr. Gompers and his lieutenants to obtain class legislation in Congress, their attacks on the power of the courts to issue injunctions, and their proposed amendment to the anti-trust laws.

### Takes Fling at Gompers.

"We see the president of the American Federation of Labor defying the highest court in the land and that, too, while he is under a jail sentence. Who is there amongst us that would assume the task of teaching Gompers the error of his way?"

Labor unions, it is set forth, dominate the society for the promotion of industrial education, and while the report favored trade schools in which the graduate should be a finished workman, it is alleged that in many large cities a skilled workman could not procure employment without a union card.

Although the committee which drafted the report was discharged with thanks and a resolution passed to distribute it broadcast, it is predicted that another disagreement may arise when the special committee which is to consider it makes its report.



# Latest News From the Field of Organized Labor

## SOCIALIST AND LABOR MOVEMENT IN AUSTRALIA

**Situation Strikingly Pictured and Differences on Principles and Policy Plainly Stated by Discussion in Brisbane Worker--Same Conditions Productive of Same Results and Influences in the Development of the Movement in Australia, Europe and America.**

Several weeks ago St. Louis Labor published an interesting communication from Australia giving in detail an interesting discussion of the differences existing in the Socialist and Labor movements.

We herewith present the continuation of the same discussion. It is a valuable article, because the conditions therein pictured and criticized exist not only in Australia, but in France, England and America.

### THE CONTROVERSY.

The Brisbane Worker, in its issue of Feb. 27, 1909, published the following communication:

#### Revolutionary Socialism and the Labor Party.

To the Editor.

Dear Sir:—Under the heading "Jack London on the Labor Party," in your leader of Feb. 20, 1909, you are claiming that the Australian Labor Party is in line with the great emancipatory movement of the world's proletariat. Jack London, as well as the organized Socialist parties of Australia, deny this assumption, and assert the Labor Party is reactionary in aim and on the eve of collapse as a working class movement. What are the facts?

In theory, as stated by its platform, the objective of the Australian Labor Party is (a) "The cultivation of an Australian sentiment, based upon the maintenance of racial purity, etc." The principle of international Socialism, on the contrary, is summed up in the motto: "Workingmen of the world, unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains and a world to gain!"

Or do you claim the "Revolutionary Socialism" of the Labor Party is contained in the objective (b), "The securing of the full result of their industry to all producers by the collective ownership of monopolies and the extension of the industrial and economic functions of the State and municipality?" Then why the repeated outcries in your columns of the sweating prevailing in the railway workshops, the goods sheds, the postal department, the laborers on the roads, etc.

By your own quotation of the Communist Manifesto it is proved that an extension of the functions of the present capitalist State is not the aim of Socialism, and can only result in the strengthening of the powers of the economic dominant class, the capitalists. Marx defines the State in your quotation as "The proletariat organized as the ruling class," which presupposes the political supremacy of the proletariat.

Nor does your second quotation help you out of the dilemma, but rather strengthens the case against your assumption. Marx there stated that with the advent of the political supremacy of the working class, "despotic inroads on the rights of property are effected, which outstrip themselves and necessitate further inroads upon the old social order." Can you point to one solitary instance where the advent of a "Labor Government" in Australia has resulted in even a slight inroad on the right of private property? Are you prepared to say that the Fisher Ministry is the beginning of the "new social order?"

The facts speak against you. Labor Governments in Australia are administering the capitalist State in the interests of Capitalism or else are made to resign. Their cry for "industrial peace," when there is no peace, is but the re-echo of Capitalism.

You claim the Labor Party stands square on the fact of the class war. And the Labor leaders are never tiring in asserting "they are for all classes," and their actions prove their claim, so does their platform. Thirty pieces of legislation, or "steps to Socialism," are claimed to have been enacted by the Labor Party. The wages boards is the one that looms most largely here just now. Are we to assume these are "the means of forming the workers into unions, calling them to gather under the banner of class interests, and teaching them how, by class unity and purpose, to achieve the Co-operative Commonwealth." Were this true your case might stand. But is it true?

In New Zealand and Victoria these "steps to Socialism" have been in operation. Instead of "calling the workers together," it has separated them by craft distinctions and craft interests. Within each trade or calling it has split the bodies into factions, each fighting each for an extra farthing or halfpenny per hour.

By the Labor Party's advice we are going through the same process here. Arbitration, the next great panacea of Laborism, has so ensnared the workers of Australia in legal fetters that nothing but open revolt seems possible to clear the work for the working class progress. Strikes, the only other weapon, are made criminal offenses in New South Wales.

When, with elemental force, the class struggle does assert itself, in spite of all, as was the case of the tramway men in Sydney, the rock choppers, the coal lumpers and the miners, we have the spectacle of the political Labor Party arrayed against the workers. Justly and rightly the International Socialists of Australia stand clear of a party such as this, although it calls itself "Labor."

Yours for working class emancipation, E. H. KUNZE.  
South Brisbane.

### II.

#### A REPLY BY THE EDITOR OF THE "BRISBANE WORKER" The Discussion Is Resumed.

The letter from E. H. Kunze, printed elsewhere, in reply to last week's editorial mill, is an interesting contribution. But it sheds no light on the question at issue.

We are anxious to know what Jack London and other critics of the Labor Party mean when they speak of themselves as "Revolutionary Socialists." Mr. Kunze does not tell us.

It seemed to us impossible to conceive of a form of Socialism that was not revolutionary, that did not imply the death of the present system and the birth of a new one, and we asked in what sense are they "revolutionary" that other Socialists are not. Mr. Kunze does not tell us.

We wanted to know if it was to palliative measures they objected, such as old age pensions, workers' compensation, early closing, and factory laws. Mr. Kunze does not say.

We inquired if it was their belief that capitalism should be left free of legislative restraint, that things ought to be permitted to get worse and worse, without making any effort to ameliorate the conditions of the workers, in order, to use Jack London's words, that the capitalistic system might "come to a head?" Mr. Kunze supplies no answer.

Nor does he meet the arguments we advanced to prove that the Labor Party is revolutionary in the Marxian meaning of the word.

His letter, instead of stating in precise terms what he and his friends understand by "revolutionary" Socialism, and so enabling us to compare their attitude with that of the Labor party, resolves itself into an attack on Labor governments and leaders. We are not backward ourselves in such onslaughts when the occasion demands it, but we fail to see how it helps us in the present discussion.

How does a jibe at the Fisher Ministry assist us to comprehend what Jack London & Co. mean by the label of "Revolutionary Socialists" which they stick upon themselves?

It is an utterly irrelevant jibe. Or are we to infer that in their vocabulary the splendid word "revolutionary" stands for no more than a policy of ungenerous fault-finding and a program of cheap sneers?

What we ask them to do just now is to leave the other fellow alone for a few minutes and tell us about themselves. They go around shouting, "We are Revolutionary Socialists. None other is genuine. This way for Salvation; all other ways lead to hell!"

And when we ask them what their creed is, and which is the way they recommend, the only reply we get is, "Those other fellows are frauds."

Let us grant, for the sake of getting on, that they are. They are frauds. How does that enable us to be sure that you are not frauds, too? The Labor way leads straight to hell. Right. But until we know which is the way you would have us go, what guarantee have we that your way, also, does not lead to the very undesirable place before mentioned?

That is the point. The Labor Party's aims and methods are frankly and plainly stated. You object to them. Very well. Now tell us what it is you want.

So far we have only heard vague and incoherent sounds, with the word "revolutionary" recurring frequently but by no means lucidly. Tell us, in simple and exact terms, what you wish, and how you propose to realize your wish.

At present we are completely overwhelmed by the amount of information we don't get.

The methods of the Labor Party we held, faulty though they may be, are the methods of all the great Socialist parties of Europe. We asked to be shown one that has not a platform of immediate demands of a palliative nature, strongly resembling our own. Mr. Kunze has not shown us one.

We claimed, moreover, that the Labor methods were on the lines laid down in the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels. Mr. Kunze denies it, but he makes no attempt to support his denial.

The Communist Manifesto, like the Labor Platform, declares that the working class must "use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the State."

That is the Labor Party's objective and the Labor Party's method to the very letter. Put them side by side:

Objective in Communist Manifesto.	Objective in Labor Platform.
The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the State.	The securing of the full results of their industry to all producers by the collective ownership of monopolies and the extension of the industrial and economic functions of the State and municipality.

Mr. Kunze's only piece of criticism—it is a very little piece—is that "Marx defined the State as 'the proletariat organized as the ruling class,' which presupposes the political supremacy of the proletariat."

Of course he did. And so does the Labor Party. Till the workers are politically supreme little can be done. That is why, in perfect harmony with the Communist Manifesto, the Labor Party is endeavoring to capture the electorates—to make the proletariat supreme.

When that is accomplished, when a Labor Government sits in power with a Labor majority behind it, then it will set to work, precisely as Marx indicated, by the introduction of measures supplanting "by degrees" the capitalist system, and "centralizing the instruments of production in the hands of the State." (See how easily the Labor Party can describe its plan of action in the very language of the most revolutionary document ever issued!)

Mr. Kuntze, as stated, points out that the measures referred to presuppose the political supremacy of the proletariat. And then, with very un-Marxian inconsistency, he girds at the Labor Party for not having carried such measures already before this political supremacy has been won!

Marx says the measures of the Proletarian Government, in the beginning, "will appear economically insufficient and untenable," the very fault which the self-styled "revolutionaries" find with the Labor platform. But Marx goes on to point out in the Communist Manifesto that these measures, "in the course of the movement outstrip themselves, necessitate further inroads upon the old social order, and are unavoidable as a means of entirely revolutionizing the mode of production."

(Note how Marx uses the word "revolutionizing" in that sentence—as marking the gradually achieved result of an evolutionary process.)

Immediately following on the above quoted passage, so that there might be no doubt about what he meant, Marx in the Communist Manifesto set out what these measures of the Proletarian Government would probably be.

We are now going to show our "revolutionary" friends that those measures, drawn up by Marx and Engels, are either in our Federal and State Labor platforms or have already been secured by Labor agitation.

#### Program of Marx in Communist Manifesto.

Abolition of property in land, and application of all rents of land to public purposes.	Immediate stoppage of all further sales of Crown lands. Tax on publicly-created land values.
Heavy progressive or graduated income tax.	Progressive income tax.
Centralization of credit in the hands of the State, by means of a National Bank, with State capital and an exclusive monopoly.	Commonwealth Bank of Issue. Deposit, Exchange and Reserve. (Post, telephone, telegraphs, and railways are already in the hands of the State.)
Centralization of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the State.	Collective ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange by the extension of the industrial and economic functions of the State.
Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the State.	(Free education already secured.) (Abolition of children's factory labor in form referred to already accomplished.)
Free education for all children in public schools.	
Abolition of children's factory labor in its present form.	

That parallel between the Marxian program and the Labor platforms proves their practical identity. It proves that Marx and Engels were animated by the same principles, and aimed at their consummation by the same methods as the Labor Party of Australia.

The similarity is indeed so remarkable that every criticism leveled against the Labor Party's platform is one directed against the Marxian method.

How people who make a fetish of Marx, and spend their days in the study of his works, can be blind to this obvious fact, is something to marvel at. It can only be explained on the assumption, which we are loth to make, that prejudice has induced a kind of mental strabismus, rendering them incapable of discerning the true relations of things.

Even in the use it makes of the capitalist parties the Labor Party

is acting upon the tactics outlined by the Communist Manifesto.

Here is a passage from that grand and inspiring production: This organization of the proletarians in a class, and consequently into a political party, is continually being upset again by the competition between the workers themselves. But it ever rises up again, stronger, firmer, mightier. It compels legislative recognition of particular interests of the workers, by taking advantage of the divisions among the bourgeoisie itself. Thus the Ten Hours bill in England was carried.

And thus many a palliative bill in Australia has been carried. There is only one party in this Commonwealth to whom that passage applies—the Labor Party. Look at the matter as you will, the identity between the Labor Party and the Proletarian Party described in the Communist Manifesto is complete.

Our "revolutionary" friends are on the wrong track. They have studied their Marx too microscopically, and have failed for that reason to perceive the sweeping comprehensiveness of his principles. They have done what Marx said the Socialists do not do—formed themselves into a separate party.

"In what relation do the Socialists stand to the proletarians as a whole," Marx asks. And here is the answer:

"The Socialists do not form a separate party opposed to other working class parties."

But the "revolutionary" Socialists do, and are thus branded as anti-Marxian by no less an authority than Marx himself.

He continues: "They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own, by which to shape and mold the proletarian movement."

The "revolutionary" Socialists do. By standing aloof from the greatest organization of the working class in Australia they are turning themselves into sectaries, and violating the spirit of the Marxian teaching.

By refusing to come into this movement of wage earners they are reducing themselves to impotency; by belittling it instead of influencing it they are dooming themselves to be left behind in the onward march—obstinate doctrinaires, who will not move unless some impossible formula of their own is first complied with.

Mr. Kunze does not like the section of the Labor objective referring to "the cultivation of an Australian sentiment, based upon the preservation of racial purity." He seems to imagine it is opposed to the international spirit. It is nothing of the sort.

The worst that can be said of the section is that it is unnecessary. The Australian sentiment does not require cultivating. It is breathed in the atmosphere. The only way to get rid of Australian nationalism is to get rid of Australia. Like our old acquaintance, human nature, to whom it is indeed closely related, nationalism can not be abolished.

But it no more conflicts necessarily with internationalism than family sentiment conflicts with the larger civic sentiment.

Again, Mr. Kunze says, "an extension of the functions of the present capitalist State is not the aim of Socialism, and can only result in the strengthening of the powers of the economic dominant class, the capitalists."

How you will strengthen the powers of the capitalists by taking the instruments of their power from them, is a conundrum we give up in despair.

We have always thought that State capitalism was to be the last phase of the capitalist system, an inevitable stage in the transition to Socialism.

Engels, Marx's collaborator, was of that opinion, too, and we will content ourselves here by quoting him:

"The relation of capital is not removed (by nationalization), rather it culminates. But at the culmination comes transformation. State ownership of productive forces is not the solution of the conflict, but it contains in itself the formal means of the solution, the handle to it."

Thus the Labor Party's methods, tested from every sound standpoint, are abundantly justified. They are in accordance with humanity and good sense, and they are productive of the best results possible in the existing state of economic development and education.

With all its blemishes and failings, with all its weaknesses and perversities, the Labor Party is the true proletarian party. It represents all that the working class are at present capable of. Its faults are their faults, its shortcomings are their shortcomings. But it has their virtues, too, and its destiny is their destiny.

And now, as the "revolutionaries" don't seem able to furnish us with any definite account of themselves, we'll conclude by telling them what they appear to us to be.

They are persons, in our view, who have formed such Utopian notions of the proletarian movement that they can't recognize the real thing when they bump against it.

### CIGARMAKERS' UNION VICTORIOUS.

#### American League Baseball Park Manager Signs Contract With the Union.

The differences between Cigarmakers' Unions 44 and 281 and the management of the American League Baseball Park have been amicably adjusted. A committee consisting of Charles Goodman and Phil H. Mueller of Union 44 and Assistant Secretary Shanessy of the Central Trades and Labor Union called on the park management last Saturday and, after a conference which lasted for some time, brought about a settlement of the controversy satisfactory to both sides.

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Joseph Medill Patterson has thoroughly exposed the rottenness and degeneracy of "high society" in his latest book, "A Little Brother of the Rich." It was 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.

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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.

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# STUDIES IN SOCIALISM

## THE MISSION of the WORKING CLASS

By Rev. Charles H. Vail.

### II.

One of the strangest things is that people should consent to leave their industrial interests in the hands of irresponsible persons to be controlled for private emolument. The present economic rulers hold the livelihood of the people in their power and admit of no responsibility. This department of life is of the utmost interest to every man. Why should a man be deprived of a voice in the industrial group of which he is a member more than in the political group? Of what value is it to have democratic politics and not industry? Socialism proposes to substitute a popular self-government in the industrial as in the political world. Economic democracy is a corollary of political democracy. Socialism would bring this industrial regime under popular government, to be exercised by the people in the interests of the people.

The present industrial regime is despotic. In place of this despotism it is proposed to substitute a social democracy. There is no reason why we should have sovereign rule in the industrial realm any more than in the political; or why we should abrogate chattel slavery and leave untouched wage slavery.

Industrial democracy being in the line of evolution is certain of attainment. Democracy has already been attained in politics and religion, and industry is passing through similar stages of development.

In the early period of human history men fought singly. Next they gathered into groups for self-preservation, forming the tribe or nation, which necessitated a leader, chief or king. When these rulers began to abuse their power the people rose in their might and asserted their independence. They dethroned the monarchs and selected their own governors, making them responsible to society for their official acts.

In religion we find the same development. Men first worshiped alone, then they gathered into groups and formed religious societies. These organizations were led by men appointed for the purpose. When the priests began to abuse their power the people rebelled. Reformations were inaugurated and religious democracy established.

Do we not find the same thing in industry? Men, as we have seen, first worked individually, as in the Handicraft Stage, then gradually they became associated in groups and division of labor was introduced in the Manufacturing Stage. These associations grew into greater and greater magnitude, as in the Factory Stage, each requiring special direction and management, and so the master workmen developed into an industrial chief—a captain of industry. These rulers, like those in politics and religion, have perverted their power and the people are rising and will make their economic rulers, as they did their political and religious rulers, responsible to themselves. Democracy has always followed despotism. Will it fail in the industrial realm? No. We shall have an industrial republic planted upon the foundation of our political republic.

Socialism, then, logically demands the socialization of the instruments of production to correspond with the socialism of production on the one hand and political democracy on the other.

Now, is there any evidence that this demand is nearing realization? A careful discernor of the times realizes that the Kingdom of Socialism is at hand. The rapid development of modern industry evidences that the transformation is much nearer than many seem to think. We have traced the evolution of industry from the handicraft stage of production through the period of manufactures and on into the era of modern mechanical industry. But this last period has taken on several phases.

In the beginning of this era there was an individual ownership of social tools. But as machinery developed and the wastes of competition necessitated the massing of large capital that production might be cheapened and rivals undersold, it has been more and more difficult for the individual capitalist to furnish the requisite means, and so the joint stock company arose.

From the individual ownership of social tools, then, we pass to the next stage—the joint stock or corporation ownership of social tools.

The origin of the joint stock company completed the evolution of the individual capitalist. We have seen how at first he was a manual laborer working with his men, but the possession of a little capital raised him above manual labor and he became a mental laborer, a manager, who received wages of superintendence. But the possession of more capital raised him above even the laborer of direction and he handed this function over to an hired employe, thus becoming a mere interest receiver or profit monger. When the corporation entered industry the two functions of manager of industry and owner of tools became divorced.

The capitalists united in a joint stock company do not pretend to labor, but hire a manager, in whose hands they place their capital, and whose business it is to make profits for the stockholders. The whole capitalist class, as such, have thus become superfluous, the services previously performed by them being handed over to hired managers. If the capitalists should take it into their heads to emigrate to Europe or the moon, industry would go on just the same, for industry is today socially organized from the bottom to the top. The capitalist today is purely a useless organ in production, and being such he must disappear. In economics, as in biology, as soon as an organ becomes useless it is eliminated.

The next phase of this development was the union of these companies into a trust. The appearance of the trust upon the industrial horizon is the most significant phenomena of the present day.

In New Jersey—that little state which has the honor of doing so much for Socialism by aiding in the trustification of industry—there are incorporated 4,495 companies, aggregating a capital of about \$1,400,000,000, nearly all of which are trusts in the most popular sense of the word; that is, combinations having for their object the monopoly of a certain product of industry, public service, or valuable mines, real estate, water power, etc. The New York Journal of Commerce, a recognized authority on matters commercial, makes the statement that the trusts now control 90 per cent of the capital which the census of 1890 showed as the total invested in manufacturing enterprises.

This gradual development of competing industries into monopolies is destined, at no distant future, to realize the ideal for which we labor. One who understands the causes which have led to the substitution of combination for competition, well knows the impossibility of ever returning to the latter. The choice must be made between monopoly under public control, for monopoly in some form is bound to obtain. As the corporation is more powerful than the individual, so the trust is more powerful than the corporation. Concentration in one industry necessitates concentration in all.

(To be continued.)

Better Days Will Surely Come.

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 shathe.

### The Father Owned the Child.

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.

## OUR PRINCIPLES PLAINLY STATED

### Line of Arguments for Socialism.

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 censor 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.

Be Just and Fair in the Matter.

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.

### ANCIENT SOCIETY.

There is just one American who is recognized by the universities of Europe as one of the world's greatest scientists. That American is Lewis H. Morgan, and his title to greatness is found in a book first published thirty years ago. Its title is:

Ancient Society; or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress; From Savagery Through Barbarism to Civilization.

It is the classic statement of a long series of vitally important facts without which no intelligent discussion of the "Woman Question" is possible. It traces the successive forms of marriage that have existed, each corresponding to a certain industrial stage. It proves that the laws governing the relations of the sexes have constantly been changing in response to industrial changes, and thus explains why it is that they are changing still. It shows the historical reason for the "double standard of morals" for men and women, over which amiable reformers have wailed in vain. It points the way to a cleaner, freer, happier life for women in the future, through the triumph of the working class. All this is shown indirectly through historical facts; the reader is left to draw his own conclusions.

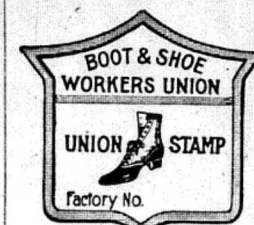
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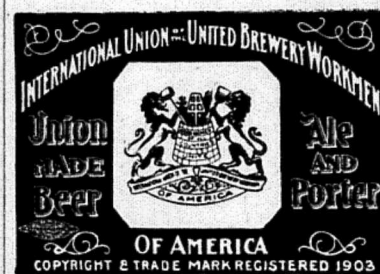
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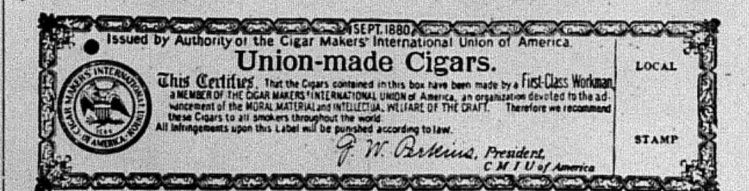
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UNLESS THE BOX BEARS THE  
Blue Union Label



## The Passing of the Retail Dealer

By A. M. Kinney, Kansas.

The dealer's face was very sad, the dealer's speech was low; As darkly looked he at the mail, the ally of his foe. "These catalogues will swamp us!" he cried in mournful tones. Then tore his hair in awful rage and uttered fearful groans.

"Is there no bold Horatius to meet and stop this foe? Is there no hand to dash aside our bitter cup of woe? Will we at last be turned adrift to hustle with the HERD, For wages that will scarce suffice to keep life in a bird?"

For ages we have taken toll from rich and poor alike; We were the slickest, smoothest crowd that e'er came down the pike. We traded goods for farmers' wares, we sold them goods for cash; And always took our profit, though sometimes we sold them trash.

We patted farmers on the back and told them they were IT; But now when we appeal for aid we get the 'chilly mit.' For when the farmers spend their 'mon' Sears-Roebuck gets the 'dough';

Or else they send their orders to Montgomery Ward & Co.

'Tis true that not so long ago when farmers o'er the land Asked us to help them pass some laws, we smiled and hid our hand. Their OX recovered from it's hurt, and now they should forgive; For if we do not get their cash our OXEN can not live."

And so the dealer worried, and so the dealer swore; But no Horatius volunteered to sacrifice his gore. While always in the daily mail more catalogues arrived; And as the dealer's profits shrunk the M. O. business thrived.

He parted with his auto car; he dressed in seedy clothes; His clerks he fired one by one, but still his trouble grows. Until at last there comes a time when business does not pay; And so he goes to shoveling coal at just six-bits per day.

## How Our Party Views Conditions

Declaration Adopted at National Convention.

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, although 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.

Here is a Good Pamphlet for Democratic and Republican Workmen 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.

## BE A TRUE UNION MAN.

Assist the Hatters in Their Struggle for the Union Label.

The United Hatters are having a hard fight with the union-smashers. Not only are they victims of a big damage suit for boycotting scab Loewe hats, and contesting what is virtually a national lockout including injunctions, but now comes the news that a counterfeit label has made its appearance. The bogus label is of an oblong shape, of a pink color, and of a strange design. In small letters it bears the words, "Felt Hatters' and Trimmers' Union." Secretary Lawler of the hatters says there is no such union in existence. Members and friends and sympathizers of Organized Labor should remember that the genuine hatters' label is square, of a light brown color, and in a circle it bears the inscription of "The United Hatters of North America." Below this it says, "Registered." Within the circle is the design of a globe, under which two hands clasp. Above the globe, in small, type, the words "Union Made" are printed. Assist the hatters in their great struggle by refusing to purchase hats that do not bear the foregoing label.

## Honestly if Possible, But 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.

## 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. Stollenberg & 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.
- WALL PAPER—William Bailey & Sons, Cleveland, O.
- WATCHES—Keystone Watch Case Co. of Philadelphia, Pa.; Jos. Fahy, Brooklyn, Brooklyn Watch Case Co., Sag Harbor; T. Zurbrugg Watch Case Co., Riverside, N. J.
- WIRE CLOTH—Thos. E. Gleeson, East Newark, N. J.; Lindsay Wire Weaving Co., Collingwood, Ohio.
- BILL POSTERS—Bryan & Co., Cleveland, O.; A. Van Buren Co. and New York Bill Posting Co., New York City.
- HOTELS—Reddington Hotel, Wilkesbarre, Pa.
- RAILWAYS—Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad; Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railway Co.
- TELEGRAPHY—Western Union Telegraph Co. and its Messenger D. M. Parry, Indianapolis, Ind. Thomas Taylor & Son, Hudson, Mass.
- C. W. Post, Manufacturer of Grape Nuts and Postum Cereal, Battle Creek, Mich.
- FIBRE WARE—Indurated Fibre Ware Co., Lockport, N. Y.
- FURNITURE—American Billiard Table Co., Cincinnati, O.; O. Wisner Piano Co., Brooklyn, N. Y.; Krell Piano Co., Cincinnati, O.; Derby Desk Co., Boston, Mass.
- GOLD BEATERS—Hastings & Co., Philadelphia, Pa.; J. J. Keeley, New York City; F. W. Rauskolb, Boston, Mass.
- LUMBER—Reinle Bros. & Solomon, Baltimore, Md.; St. Paul and Tacoma Lumber Co., Tacoma, Wash.; Gray's Harbor Commercial Co., Cohnopolis, Wash.
- LEATHER—Lerch Bros., Baltimore, Md.

## 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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IF NOT, WHY NOT?

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They are opposed to short hours and high wages.

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

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

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

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

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 Party Before Board of Freeholders on Charter Revision

Comrade L. G. Pope Presents Statement of Socialist Charter Revision Committee.

In accordance with instructions by the Local Executive Board, the Socialist Party Committee on City Charter Revision made arrangements to get a public hearing before the Board of Freeholders and present suggestions for the new City Charter. The committee agreed on an "Address to the Board of Freeholders on Charter Revision," and decided that Comrade L. G. Pope appear before the board as soon as a hearing would be granted.

The Board of Freeholders met Friday, May 14, and the Socialist Party was duly notified to have its representative present. Comrade Pope read the address and made some additional explanations concerning the various suggestions made by the party. The Socialist arguments were attentively listened to by the Board; the suggestions presented by Comrade Pope were, in substance, as follows:

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.

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.

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 mediaeval feudalism and should find no recognition in modern democratic government.

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.

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 805-1000ths 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.

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.

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.

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 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.

The Charter Revision Committee of our party will have regular sessions and keep a close eye on the Charter Revision work, which may take from one to two years.

### Everything on Purchasable Basis Under Commercialism.

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."

## Missouri Socialist Party

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

### Where Mills Will Speak.

The route as now made up for Walter Thomas Mills is as follows: June 1, Kirksville; 2, Desloge; 3, Centaur; 4, Union; 5, Eugene; 6-7-8, Elton; 9, Olean; 10, Sedalia; 11, Windsor; 12, Nelson; 13, Marshall and Independence; 14, Greenwood; 15, Rich Hill. Several dates in the southern part of the state can not be filled on account of their isolation. The various places are making preparations for large meetings and are boosting for all they are worth. Desloge and Greenwood will charge 15c admission; the rest of the meetings are free and the comrades will depend on the collection to make expenses. Locals that do not receive their advertising by May 24 should at once write Carl D. Thompson, 344 Sixth street, Milwaukee, Wis.

### We Must Reach All Kinds.

Mindenmines.—I am almost at a loss for words to express my feelings in regard to the great religious sermons on Christian Socialism that Comrade W. A. Ward delivered to the people of this community last week. He preached Socialism in the Christian church here for six nights, beginning May 2. As a proof that the people are anxious to learn the truths of Socialism and applied religion the church was filled to its utmost capacity each night. Brother Ward has few equals as an orator and his great ability as a teacher makes him a power in the pulpit. His sermons made the best impression of any minister that this little town has had since your humble servant has lived here. Forty-two people put down their names as members of the Christian Socialist Fellowship. The comrades here are glad to know that for once the so-called Christian people of this vicinity have heard the gospel of Jesus applied to their present conditions. Socialism must and will come; it is Christ's way, and lies in the course of human events.—A Lowe.

### The Real Thing.

"Lest we forget," it is well to bear in mind that the Socialist program will bring about real temperance—something the prohibition craze will never do. So long as the grind for profit exists we will have intemperance, and the only chap who intends to take the profit out of the business is the Socialist. Let's keep the main issue in sight.

### In the Summertime

You will want to get together with the Socialists of your vicinity and county and become acquainted with each other. A good way is to arrange an encampment at some likely spot for two or three days. Secure some good speakers, music, recitations, games, etc., and all have a good time together. If you can do something in this line, then write the State Secretary about it. Nearly everybody goes on a picnic sometime during the summer and there is no reason why the Socialists should not have a picnic and use it as a means of propaganda at the same time. You can invite all the folks to come and see how the Socialists enjoy themselves. What do you say?

### FROM ST. CLAIR COUNTY, ILL.

#### As to Proposed Constitutional Amendment.

East St. Louis, Ill., May 18, 1909.

To the Editor of St. Louis Labor.

As a member of the local which originated the proposal to amend the National Constitution of the Socialist Party so as to allow woman members of the party who are not engaged in gainful occupations and who are not in receipt of an independent income from any other source, to pay, at their option, as dues, one-third of the regular amount charged for that purpose, I desire to reply to the resolution in opposition of this plan which has been issued by the Woman's National Committee of the Socialist Party and which is now appearing in the party press.

The resolution asserts that the proposed amendment "provides for a special privilege with its implied inferiority and subservience, and snatches of that old chivalry which has ever granted to women these petty privileges and withheld from them equal responsibility with men in civic and political affairs."

I beg to point out that the proposed amendment provides that "the rights and privileges of such woman members (as would be entitled to avail themselves of the opportunity of paying the lower dues) shall be equal to those of other members." It is difficult for the lay mind to perceive wherein this affords any indication of a desire or intention to "withhold" from women "equal responsibility with men in civic and political affairs."

The object of the proposed referendum is to enable and to encourage women who are the wives of poorly-paid workingmen who are already party members and are paying the regular party dues, to take an active part in the movement alongside of their husbands, and without feeling that they must pay what is equivalent to a double tax in the form of dues at the regular rate, as at present, on their own account, and which extra dues are more than they feel they can afford. The proposed amendment is based upon the recognition of the fact that the majority of working class women, in the present society, are in an even more helpless and inferior economic position than is the mere wage slave; being, in fact, practically the slaves of the wage slaves, and having, therefore, neither wages nor any other source of revenue out of which to pay upon the same scale as their somewhat more fortunate masculine lords and masters; the money cost of their joint emancipation.

With all due respect, therefore, for the opinion of the Woman's National Committee of the Socialist Party, the comrades throughout the country, both men and women, are requested to work and vote for the proposed referendum; and it is hoped that a sufficient number of locals will second the motion for the proposed amendment as it appeared in the Official Bulletin for April as will bring the proposition at an early date before the general vote of the party membership.

Other Socialist papers are respectfully requested to copy. Yours for the revolution that will free both men and women. RAPHAEL BUCK.

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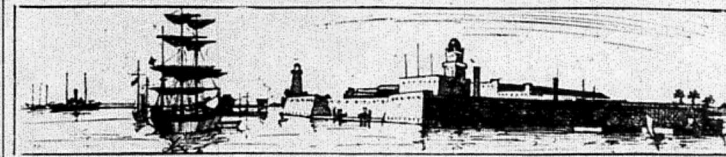
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## The Private Prison of Diaz

By JOHN MURRAY



San Juan de Ulua: The Private Prison of Diaz

THIS is the leading article in the International Socialist Review for April. It is a graphic story of horrors that suggest the Middle Ages, yet it comes from Mexico, and tells of our own revolutionary comrades slowly dying in dungeons today.

Recent photographs scattered through the story make it more vivid and remind the reader that it is all fact, not fiction. It will make revolutionists out of those now indifferent. Read it and get your neighbor to read it.

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. Quetch 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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