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Rise of Socialism in the United States

By May Wood-Simons.



There are two points of view from which the growth of Socialism may be approached—first the changes in industrial conditions that have made such an organization of society as Socialism presupposes possible; second, the actual increase in membership, locals and literature within the Socialist Party.

The study of industrial conditions that have made the growth of Socialism possible was brought about by Marx to a certain point, but since his work closed little has been done by Socialist writers to trace the later developments and point out their significance.

The pivotal point in the industrial conditions that must occupy the attention of the Socialist is the concentration of wealth, and its result on the social organization.

The Socialist looks upon concentration of industry as the logical outcome of competition. Earlier writers, especially Marx, foresaw that "one capitalist devours many," but what they did not and could not foresee was the possibility of the persistence of monopoly throughout a considerable portion of the industrial field during the existence of capitalism, and its consequent effect on the workers.

The Socialist looks upon concentration as an historic stage within capitalism. He recognizes the self-destructive character of competition and its inevitable tendency toward monopoly. He sees that combinations come, not in spite of, but as a result of competition. He also sees in the concentration of industry and its control by a few non-producers evidence that the last stage of capitalism has been reached, since such a condition is manifestly one of unstable equilibrium in a political democracy. At the same time his interpretation of this phenomena leads him to conclude that the next stage of evolution will be marked by co-operative ownership of the essentials of production and distribution of wealth.

There are two different ways in which the aggregation of capital takes place, only one of which was foreseen by the earlier Socialist writers. This first method is what might be called the method of accumulation by which the capitalist adds to his capital through the surplus value of his workers. As his business grows larger this surplus value also becomes larger, both absolutely and relatively. He can produce cheaper, therefore can sell cheaper and compete his industrial adversaries out of existence.

This process produces what may be called the "great industry," which is something very different from the trust or monopoly, and the first fifteen years after the close of the Civil War marked the period when this form of accumulation was dominant in the United States. It is during the period when the few great industries are occupying the field that competition is the most fierce.

When the growth of the "great industry" reached a certain point, however, another form of concentration appeared. This time, instead of one industry competing the others out of existence by a gradual growth in power due to added increments of surplus value, the owners of these industries decide to cease fighting each other and unite and divide the surplus value accruing to the entire industry. This growth by aggregation or combination is practically something peculiar to the last decade, and, in a large degree, to America. This movement must stifle all competition in large portions of the industrial field, and can not but have important effects on the entire economic structure of a society built upon competition.

For each stage of the concentration of industry certain conditions are essential. These conditions, like concentration itself, may be divided into two classes. The first are those which are essential to the growth of the great industry; the second, those which pave the way to the combinations of the great industries and the stifling of competition. As preliminary to the first stage, the most essential thing is a perfected factory system. The establishment of a factory system presupposes the use of improved machinery for production and the application of some form of power aside from the physical strength of men in the operation of that machinery. It demands a division of labor, with high specialization of product for each individual worker, which leads inevitably to the next necessary stage, an aggregation of employes into industrial armies with overseers, superintendents, etc., and implies as a corollary the training of workers in technical schools for these special tasks. (Both Marx and John A. Hobson have made careful studies of the perfection of the factory system.)

A wide circle of the market is a second condition of the growth of the large industry—that is to say, the extent of territory accessible in a profitable manner to the seller of the product must be very great.

In a country as large as the United States several separate circles may be found after this stage has been attained. Within each such circle a single "great industry" reigns, which interferes but little with those occupying other circles. Such a condition is manifestly one of unstable equilibrium. Soon the circles overlap; then they merge into a great national circle, within which competition may continue for some time, since its boundaries, being to a considerable degree physical, are much more permanent than those of the previous smaller market.

The possibility of a large amount of surplus value is essential to any great growth in the size of the industrial unit. This is really a consequence of a perfected factory system and the large circle of the market to which reference has already been made. Until the margin of unpaid labor became great the increment of growth per industrial unit was still so small that it was impossible for one industry to dominate the entire industrial field of any one country. When the productive power per individual worker was increased by

the application of improved machinery and modern factory methods of production and distribution, the profits of capital became so great as to permit a rapid growth in the income available for capitalization and extension of the plant.

The introduction of the corporate form of organization is an important condition of the growth of the great industry. The corporation furnishes an impersonal legal organization, which is unaffected by the vicissitudes of time, is capable of indefinite expansion without the disturbance of its internal relations, and, most important of all, allows a combination of the capital of a large number of individuals without the necessity of reconciling their personal differences. It also permits the employment of an organized force of superintendents and managers of industry. Hitherto managing and organizing talent could only be utilized when it was coupled with the ownership of capital. Through the corporation such talent can be utilized for the capitalist, even though the possessor of the desired talent is propertyless.

The combination of several industries into one great industrial giant was the next natural step. In the United States this tendency began between 1887 and 1890. This second stage in concentration presents not simply quantitative, but qualitative difference. The conditions which gave rise to it, as well as the methods of organization, and the social results are in many ways decidedly different from the preliminary conditions, forms of organization and social effects of the concentration of industry due to accumulation.

Absolutely essential, preliminary to widespread combination, is the development in a very manner of what has been designated by the French as "haute finance." By this is meant the manipulation and organization of the stock market as distinguished from the managing of industry. The class of men who are designated as "financiers," and who soon come to have the supreme power over industry, form a wholly different class from the industrial capitalists. The expert knowledge required of them has nothing to do with the technical operation of industry, or even with the organization of men, methods and materials, but only with the buying and selling of the securities which represent the ownership. This implies a highly developed banking system and widespread extension of credit, the establishment and thorough organization of stock exchanges, and, in short, all the paraphernalia which is today concerned with the handling of industrial paper.

The final product of this system is the promoter. This man is as completely divorced from industrial operations as can be imagined, and, indeed, in some degree, stands in the same relation to the owners of stocks and bonds and the ordinary capitalists as these capitalists do to the "captains" of industry—the superintendents and managers.

Another step of which we can already see the beginning is to be found in the integration of great allied industries as distinguished from competing industries. We see signs of this in the miscellaneous industries, owned by the United States Steel Company and by many railroads. This movement has already advanced much farther than is commonly recognized.

The concentration of industry has had the most widespread social effects. It has entirely changed the relative strength and manner of fighting of the capitalist and the laborer, is reacting upon the organization of the working class and fundamentally affecting all the problems of Organized Labor.

It has had an important and distinctive effect upon the class state of capitalism. New duties are demanded of the governmental machinery, new methods of bending it to the will of the ruling class are being utilized, and in many ways the forms of government are themselves altered, new functions are created, new departments formed and old ones materially changed. Political struggles which, so far as the dominating parties are concerned, reflect the conditions of the capitalist class, have been profoundly affected by these new industrial phenomena.

On this change in industrial conditions the Socialist bases his claim that a transformation in society is near. The result of the development has been to greatly increase the number of those who possess nothing except their labor power—who have no part in the ownership of productive property.

In considering social questions, while the student takes account of all factors that are acting at any time, he must be able to recognize the great, dominant, controlling tendencies. Today that great tendency is the principle of concentration of wealth, giving rise to an increasingly great propertyless class. The corporate form of business has rendered the capitalist functionless in society and it is unthinkable that with the ballot in the hands of the propertyless majority present conditions can long continue.

That there has grown up alongside of this development an awakening intelligence on the part of the workers is evident from a study of the steady increase in the membership of the Socialist organization.

In six years, from 1903 to 1909, the records of the national office of the Socialist Party show the following increase:

	1903.	1909.	Inc.
States organized	32	42	10
Number of locals	1,041	3,152	2,111
Members	13,482	42,180	29,698

This, of course, does not take into account the growth in Socialist sentiment that has not yet been crystallized within the party. That this growth is enormous is indicated by the amount of space which the American periodicals are giving to the subject and also by the increased activity against Socialism on the part of the capitalist class.

FOR OUR SOCIALIST PRESS

CONTRIBUTION FOR ST. LOUIS LABOR AND ARBEITER-ZEITUNG.

Old Friend	\$10.00
Fred Werner	1.00
P. Fritsche	.25
Nick Becker	2.00
First Ward Branch	5.15

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TWO LETTERS BY DR. WM. P. HILL THE REPUBLIC WOULD NOT PUBLISH

Socialism as Abstract and Concrete Propositions Presented by the Writer.

(Our last week's editorial, "Poisoned Taffy," dealing with the St. Louis Republic's "What Is Socialism?" hit the mark, as experience shows. The paper was not in the least anxious to have Socialism explained. Among the first ones responding to the invitation to send to the Republic editor answers to the question "What Is Socialism?" was Dr. Wm. Preston Hill. Much to the Doctor's surprise, the St. Louis Republic refused to publish his communications. In order to further illustrate this latest act of deception and hypocrisy of the Democratic organ we publish the two articles in full, leaving it to our readers to make their own comment.—Editor St. Louis Labor.)

I.

Editor St. Louis Republic.

Socialism, as an abstract proposition, means the ideal and perfect state of society sung and dreamed of by all the inspired poets, prophets and philosophers of the past and present.

All the greatest thinkers of the human race have naturally observed the crudities and imperfections of the governments that have existed in their time and that exist now. They noticed that government so far has been only a necessary evil, tolerated only because it was the choice of the least evil, and replaced a still worse antecedent condition.

They noticed that so far everywhere governments have been practically owned by a small class of the people and manipulated by the few for their benefit.

They observed the evils incident to class rule and the injustice, inequality and oppression meted out to the great masses of the people composing the working classes. They have seen the workers of the world held at first everywhere as chattel slaves, and later on, when the progress of intelligence and the growth of the composite conscience and morality of the world forced the emancipation of the slaves, they have seen it evolve into feudal serfdom, and in turn they have seen this give way or grow into the modern feudalism of wage slavery, which is the indirect slavery of the working classes due to the monopoly of the natural resources, land, etc., by the property classes. They have observed all this and have naturally thought of a more perfect society—in which justice and equality should replace injustice and inequality, in which government shall be administered by all the people for the benefit of all, instead of being the private snap of the few, and finally, in which every man should receive the full product of his own labor and in which, therefore, no one should receive a reward that he did not earn and was not entitled to.

They have observed a natural law relating to the growth and development of the societies organized by man, and that is "that the greater the growth of intelligence among the masses of the people the greater the share they demanded and eventually obtained in the government of their countries." They have concluded from this natural law that governments would tend more and more to be controlled and administered by the masses of the people and therefore to approach more and more to the ideal condition formulated by them. They have noted this evolution going on from the earliest times to the present day, the most irresistible and constant tendency in human affairs. We must go back to the primeval savage to find an example of the real simon pure individualist, and we have been progressing away from him ever since. Individualism means warfare and is expressed by the motto each one for himself and the devil take the hindmost.

Socialism means peace and good will among men. Throw some corn among a drove of hungry hogs and observe the mad scramble that takes place. Observe how the strongest and fiercest crowd out the weak and trample the corn into the mud and waste and destroy it to prevent others from getting any of it. This is a picture of unrestrained individualism and a fair caricature of present industrial conditions.

Now turn from this picture and observe a banquet given to ladies and gentlemen who have been educated in the refinements of civilization, in genuine politeness, which simply means consideration for the feelings and rights of others. At this banquet nobody is in a hurry, nobody is trying to crowd out his neighbor; on the contrary, the strong are anxious to help the weak and to show consideration and kindness for others. The secret of this is that everybody knows beforehand that his rights shall be respected by everybody else.

This is a picture of Socialism, a forecast of the society of the future, a condition to which we are evolving more and more, and the ideal state foreshadowed and formulated by all the mightiest intellects that the human race has produced. Ask anybody if this state is desirable and they will tell you yes. Ask the majority if it will come to pass and they will tell you probably yes, sometime, somewhere in the distant future, when human nature is ready for it. It is a condition, therefore, considered desirable by all, considered probable of the future by many and worked for and hoped for actively by a few enthusiasts advanced of their age.

WM. PRESTON HILL, M. D.

II.

Editor St. Louis Republic.

Having defined in a previous article what Socialism is in the abstract, let me now define it as a concrete proposition.

Our admirable bill of rights of our Missouri State Constitution says "that man has a natural right to life, liberty and the enjoyment of the gains of his own industry; that to give security to these things is the principal office of government." A similar provision is drafted in the Constitution of the United States and in most of the State Constitutions, which shows that this principle is thoroughly believed in by the American people.

By natural right, we mean an inherent inalienable right that man derives from his creator and that he can not be rightfully deprived of even by any government or majority.

Now let us examine this well-grounded American principle.

"Man has an inalienable right to life" involves the proposition that man has an inalienable right to the means necessary to sustain life. Shakespeare makes one of his characters say, "You take my life when you take the means whereby I live; and it is true. It is absurd to tell a man that he has a natural right to life and then fence him up in a desert or close him up in a dungeon where he can not have access to water, food or air. It is equally absurd to talk of this natural right in a community in which all the natural opportunities have become the private property of a few men, because in either case a man could not maintain his natural right without the permission of other men. A full recognition of man's inalienable right to life involves the recognition of his right to free access to nature's opportunities—air, water and land—for to

be deprived of any one of these is equivalent to being deprived of life itself.

Man has a "natural right to liberty." What does this mean? Is this to be only a high-sounding platitude or an actual fact? Man can not enjoy liberty in a community surrounded by his fellow men unless all are equally free. The "law of equal freedom," so powerfully formulated by Herbert Spencer is "that the liberty of each individual shall be limited only by the like liberty of all." If some men in a community or government enjoy special privileges and freedoms of action, it can only be because other men have been deprived of some portions of their liberty, and consequently this great principle has been violated. It has been well said that the chain which is riveted around the wrist of a slave has its other end riveted around the wrist of his master.

As long as some men can not get a job, to wit, the means of livelihood, without the permission of other men, they can not enjoy their natural liberty or be equally free.

Lastly, a man has a natural right to the gains of his own industry. This does not mean to a part of the product of his own labor, but to all of it—every bit of it. The great American patriot, Abraham Lincoln said: "Inasmuch as all good things are produced by labor, it follows that all such things belong of right to those whose labor has produced them. But it has so happened in all ages of the world that the majority of mankind have labored and the few have without labor enjoyed the largest portion of the fruits. This is wrong and should not continue. To secure to each man the full product of his labor is the chief function of government."

It is evident that when a few enjoy the gains of industry without contributing any labor of their own in return that many others must labor without enjoying the gains of their own industry and are thus deprived of their natural, inalienable rights.

Now the concrete demand of Socialism is to make these great and self-evident principles of our Constitutions a living, actual reality instead of the empty platitudes that they are today. These principles are already fully accepted and believed in by the American people, as shown by their Constitutions. They are a part of our national conscience and to those who doubt their realization into actual practice I commend the following passage from the greatest philosopher the human race has ever produced:

"The ultimate development of the ideal man in the ideal state is logically certain—as certain as any conclusion in which we place the most implicit faith.

Humanity must in the end become completely adapted to its conditions and environments.

"Progress, therefore, is not an accident, but a necessity. Instead of civilization being artificial, it is a part of nature; all of a piece with the development of the embryo or the unfolding of a flower. The modifications mankind have undergone, and are still undergoing, result from a law underlying the whole organic creation; and provided the human race continues, and the constitution of things remains the same, those modifications must end in completeness. As surely as the tree becomes bulky when it stands alone, and slender if one of a group; as surely as the same creature assumes the different forms of a cart-horse and race-horse, according as its habits demand strength or speed; as surely as a blacksmith's arm grows large; and the skin of a laborer's hand thick; as surely as the eye tends to become long-sighted in the sailor, and short-sighted in the student; as surely as the blind attain a more delicate sense of touch; as surely as a clerk acquires rapidity in writing and calculations; as surely as the musician learns to detect an error of a semitone amidst what seems to others a very Babel of sounds; as surely as a passion grows by indulgence and diminishes when restrained; as surely as a disregarded conscience becomes inert, and one that is obeyed active; as surely as there is any efficacy in educational culture, or any meaning in such terms as habit, custom, practice; so surely must the human faculties be molded into complete fitness for the social state; so surely must the things we call evil and immortal disappear; so surely must man and the societies he organizes attain perfection."

WM. PRESTON HILL, M. D.

STRIKERS SURROUNDED BY TROOPS.

Labor's Freedom in Canada Graphically Illustrated.

Fort William, Ont., Aug. 18.—The striking dock laborers of the Canadian Pacific Railway will return to work tomorrow morning. A mass meeting of strikers and friends numbering 5,000 persons was held in a drenching rain and addressed by Mayor Pelletier, who urged the men to resume employment and submit their grievances to a board of arbitration under the Lemieux law.

Surrounding the crowd were 600 soldiers, rifles in hand, ready to quell any movement towards disorder.

The general manager of the Canadian Pacific Railroad had, previous to the meeting, given his consent to the mayor to take the men back if they agreed to arbitration.

OPPOSE COMBINATION.

Stereotypers Will Not Do Press Work in the Future.

Kansas City, Mo., Aug. 18.—The convention of the International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union, in session at the Coates House, ratified an agreement with the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union that no combination pressmen and stereotypers will be recognized in the unions in the future.

Some of the smaller papers throughout the country employ one or two men who do the press work and stereotyping combined. Existing contracts will not be interfered with, but in future contracts there must be a man to do the press work and another to do the stereotyping.

Get Naturalized!

Any day and every day in the year is a fitting time for foreign-born comrades to make a start for citizenship. Every local should canvass its membership and see to it that all qualified persons get their naturalization papers. The National Office has for sale, at ten cents per copy, a booklet entitled "The Law of Naturalization Made Easy to Understand." Thirty-six hundred copies have been sold in less than two months. This booklet is printed in the following

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Must Be a Lovely Liar.

Here is a good one: There were once two men talking and one said to the other: "Yes, I started in life without a dollar. To be exact, I had 75 cents and plenty of courage. But I was out to make money, and inside of a week I had turned my 75 cents into \$10. I never looked back.

"At the end of the first year I had made \$500; at the end of the second \$2,500. At the end of ten years I had by my own efforts made a fortune of one million dollars. This was in legitimate trade, without getting the better of any man in a bargain.

"I paid my employes handsomely. I neither smoke, drink, play cards, billiards, nor go horse racing. I am always honest in business.

"What do you think of that, sir?" The other looked at him sadly a moment. "I think," he replied carefully, "you must be a lovely liar."

Which shows that not only is a prophet without honor in his own country, but that some people distrust a profit as well.

The Question of Ethics.

Please remember, when you are considering matters from an ethical point of view, that our ethics are most vitally colored by the Hebrew ethics. The ethics of Christianity have made but slight impressions on our standards, as yet. The Hebrew ethics came from the old patriarchal house. Later, when the family grew to the tribe, and the tribe grew slowly to the State, then they came to be a new ideal, a new standard of duty, a new code of honor, a new line of service, the third grade of ethics. Then came the call for statesmanship. Then we began to consider the interests of the whole, irrespective of blood relationship. Then came devotion to country, which was taught for years by the simple symbol of the King. The King stood for the people. You remember a line from one of Shakespeare's plays—"Hail, Royal England comes!" It was nothing but a man, nothing but the King. But he represented England. That is why the idea of the King carried such weight. Each King represented the whole people, and each man gave his devotion to the King, and through him to the State. Assyrian duty to the King transcended family affection.

The Old and the New.

The old theory of government regarded it as something which governed, which gave orders, which made laws, which managed, which commanded; and people objected to having women put in a position where they were to give orders and to govern. Against that, we have to put the new theory of government, the idea which belongs to Democracy, which is part of Democracy—that government is service. And certainly nobody on earth ever objected to women servants. As soon as we get the new idea of government, that of service, incorporated in our minds, it will do much to alter the objection to giving women the ballot.

The Laborer Is Worthy of His Hire.

Christ, the Prince of justice, taught that the laborer is worthy of his hire, and, of course, should get all the wealth that he creates. But the laborer as a social factor, creates all wealth. Therefore, according to Christ, the laborer as a whole, or society which represents all the factors of production, should own all wealth. Both the Old and the New Testament condemn such wealth as a danger. But Socialism takes the same view; therefore Socialism harmonizes with the Word of God.

Have Blasphemed the Temple of Truth.

For 1,800 years the Church has been repeating the song of the angels when they proclaimed the birth of the Messiah, and has represented the Nazarene as the God of Peace, and in his name Christian nations and people have gone forth to the field of carnage, with the sword and spear and battle-axe—and the earth has been stained with the blood of humanity. In the name of Christ battalions of legions have sung the Hymn of Mars, and the disciples of the Galilean have blasphemed the Temple of Truth with the battle cry of the War-God.

Gets the Capitalist Mind.

The result is that from boyhood to old age the laborer's mind is filled with just the kind of ideas the capitalist class wish him to think. Everywhere that he goes he hears the same story. In day school and Sunday school, in books, pictures and newspapers, from press pulpit and lecture platform his every means of information are controlled by those whose interest it is that he shall learn nothing regarding his own real welfare. Is it any wonder that he has voted, and that a great majority of his class still vote, as the capitalists wish them to vote?

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 climax 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 workmen 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 workmen 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.

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Golden Mean

Fit Into Your Work or Get Out of It

By JOHN A. HOWLAND



MOST young men entering business should prepare for an almost inevitable depression which follows the elation natural upon securing a first entry into a chosen work. In proportion as this untried work is the ambition of the young man, the novice has reason to anticipate this mental reaction. In this way often the first few weeks of the young man's apprenticeship may be the most trying and yet the most influential period of his life.

"Yes, I made a mistake in not sticking there when I had a chance," is the typical expression of regret that many a man has had to make when, later in life, he has been able to look back upon an opportunity which he has let slip him because of its undervaluation.

When it is considered that thousands of young men, too, take up their life work with no great attraction to it, this problem of preparation for the discouragements of the undertaking becomes especially momentous. In the life of most young men prior to entry into business most of their actions have been prompted wholly by the sense of enjoyment and pleasure to be found in them. They have cultivated intolerance for the disagreeable facts of life. In the case of such a young man, drawn to an especial work through rosy anticipations of its duties, the chance for a smashing of his idealism is serious.

Work in the abstract is a serious thing. It requires the serious attention and best efforts of the worker. Expenditure of these forces entails the physical and mental weariness which so easily leaves the worker open to the intrusion of depression. The condition is absolutely normal, yet often it invites the abnormal nursing of such a feeling until the victim has lost all sense of proportion with reference to himself.

What is the trouble with this dissatisfied young man?

Somewhere between this dissatisfied young man and his employer something is wrong. To determine just what that trouble is and to correct it as soon as possible is essential. If the young man is at fault he cannot discover the truth too soon. If the employer is at fault, the change cannot be made too speedily.

The serious trouble with the young and inexperienced man, however, is that nursing his intolerances he may have an exaggerated view of his own hard position which his lack of experience elsewhere cannot serve to restore to an equilibrium.

Disaffection in the young employe is not wholly undesirable. Probably one of the blackest marks that might be set against the young worker could come of an absolute sense of satisfaction in his present work. To be supremely content in his present work, nursing no ambition even in secret to better his work in the world, must be indicative of decay. Here and there the necessities of business may make such a man desirable, but more often it is something upon which the organizer frowns.

Manifestly, somewhere between disaffection and the calm of absolute content, the young man must find the golden mean. He cannot escape the obligation which rests upon him to decide. "Looking for a job" too long has been exaggerated out of proportion to its importance; to reconcile one's self to a life work is of infinitely more importance. Fit into it—or get out. You can't escape the exaction.

German Capital Without Slums

By DR. PAUL ENGELHARDT

of some petentious apartment building. These usually look out upon the garden of the front house and usually consist of a couple of bright, sweet rooms, a kitchen and bath. For this sort of residence he will pay about \$2 a week.

The German workman does not have to wrestle with the out-of-employment problem to the extent that makes life a burden to the breadwinners of most lands. It would be a hard task to engage a man by the day in Germany, for under our law a worker must be given eight days to four weeks' notice before his employer can tell him he is no longer needed.

In addition he must be given opportunity to find a new place of service and the time he takes in looking it up must not be deducted from his wages. Altogether, I should say that the condition of those in Germany who make their living in the sweat of their brow is better than in any nation unless, perhaps, the United States.

Prophecies Never Come True

By CLAUDE D. WHEELER

From time to time letters are printed prophesying all sorts of calamities with apparently no foundation other than the writer's yearning for a chance to leap into the limelight—the "leap" being supplied by any disaster that should chance to happen which they could claim as a fulfillment of their prophecy, even if the forecast has to be bent and twisted to fit the disaster.

One curious fact about these "prophets" is that they seldom, if ever, prophesy anything good or cheerful. One predicts the destruction of all of Chicago lying south of Madison street. Another, a Michigan man, gratuitously makes the pleasant assertion that all of Chicago and all of the animals on the earth will be destroyed. Still another, a New Jersey astrologer, predicted volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, strife, strikes, riots, hard times, war, attempted assassination of President Taft and a cold wave and snow storms for June 6. He even went so far as to give a detailed description of the would-be assassin of President Taft.

Unfair Musicians

To Union Members and Friends of Organized Labor.

Of all the professions and vocations, none is subjected to such unfair conditions as is the musical professions.

Some of these unfair conditions are caused by the thoughtlessness of those responsible for them, but the major portion are caused by musical quacks, who find the musical field a profitable venture when backed by impudent assurance.

There is no profession or vocation that offers so favorable an opportunity for absolute incompetence to pose as members of an honorable profession as that of music.

All others are in some way protected against impostors. A lawyer must have passed an examination and secured a license under state regulation and supervision. The same rule applies to doctors, priests and preachers, who must go through a certain process before they can propound and teach the religious propaganda they represent.

In the trades, a cigarmaker must demonstrate that he can make a cigar, a bricklayer that he can lay brick, etc., but in music, outside of its artistic application in symphony and theatrical orchestra work, any musical mountebank, with a slight knowledge of music, but well impregnated with the Barnumian idea that the "American people loved to be humbugged," and sufficient gall to back it, can usually get a sufficient number of sometimes well-meaning people to back him in his nefarious schemes to line his pocket on the pretense of "elevating the noble art of Music," and initiating his dupes into its mysteries at their expense and his profit.

No man would dare to announce himself as a proficient member of any profession or trade unless he had the qualifications required by law and custom, but any man with no other qualifications than a knowledge of the scale C, sufficient ability to slovenly play it upon some musical instrument, and above all possessed of supreme nerve, or gall, can place "Prof." before his name, hang out a sign, "Music taught in all branches, and furnished for all occasions at the lowest rates," and the dupes begin to prove "that there is a sucker born every minute," and there is nothing can stop this palpable fraud but the intelligence of the people who he is trying to, and too often succeeds, in defrauding.

Every institution maintained for the education and raising of boys has its band. There can be no objection to such bands as an educational adjunct for such institutions, but too often just as soon as they are taught to toot a few tunes so that the melody can be recognized they are at once farmed out in competition with adults, not always for pay, but too often under the guise of volunteering their services, and there is no form of competition so unfair as that which furnishes musical or any other kind of labor free of cost.

These "Juvenile Bands" can not properly perform, as they have neither the experience nor physical strength, and when they are paid, the sum total they receive is appropriated by the "Professor" as tuition fees. The professor is well satisfied, as such sum is more than he could earn at some legitimate occupation that he is much better fitted for. We do not include in this category the legitimate teachers of the young who always refuse to allow their pupils to be used for speculative purposes or to evade the employment of musicians by donating these children's services.

Then there is the lodge band. A musical grafter joins a fraternal organization, and at the first opportunity offers a scheme by which the lodge is to be furnished a band which will do all the lodge work free of cost. The lodge, thoughtlessly, snaps the hook, baited with the band, and spurred by the faker, who has nothing to lose and everything to gain, straightway enlists the whole order to boost this particular band.

By what right does any fraternal lodge enter the competitive field in any line of business? How long would any lodge last in any community that would attempt to establish a distinctive lodge department store, drug store, grocery store, blacksmith shop, carpenter shop, stove works, chair factory, etc.? The question answers itself. A lodge founded on such tenets would disintegrate in no time. Then in the name of common sense and fair play, what excuse is there for fraternal lodges going into the music business in competition with their own members, the members of other fraternal organizations and the many that are not members of any fraternal organization, but who have the right to live without the incubus of the unfair competition of some lodge band?

The members of the average "lodge band" consider it more of a lark than anything else and, as they all make a living in some other trade or occupation, consider anything they can pick up in the way of emolument for alleged musical services "easy money," or velvet, as it is sometimes called. Their entree in the competitive field is simply an unpardonable outrage.

Just at this time numerous schemes are being devised by the beneficiaries of these unfair organizations to force themselves upon the coming Centennial celebration as representative St. Louis musicians, in hopes that a profit may be realized, but more particularly to gain the prestige of the advertisement for future exploitation of the "dear people."

The professional musicians of St. Louis, comprising the 750 members of the Musicians' Mutual Benefit Association, Local No. 2, American Federation of Musicians, who protect the public and employers of music against the imposition of incompetents, through an examination as to the qualifications of all applicants, and whose members have spent the best years of their life to perfect themselves in their profession, appeal to the fair-minded people of this community to assist them in their endeavors to maintain themselves against the unfair competition of thoughtless people, who either do not, or do not, want to understand the situation, but more particularly against those so-called musicians, unable to make a living as legitimate musicians in fair competition with their fellows and who resort to the despicable method of exploiting children for profit under the guise of education, or lodge bands under the guise of benevolence. Respectfully submitted,

MUSICIANS' MUTUAL BENEFIT ASSOCIATION,
Local No. 2, A. F. of M.
D. K. HOWELL, Secretary. OWEN MILLER, President.

WHAT OUR PARTY STANDS FOR

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.

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

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The Allied Printing Trades Council calls your attention to the above label. It is made in different sizes, and is furnished to the printing establishments employing union men. We request the co-operation of all union men, as well as the business men of the city, and ask that they insist upon it being in the office patronized by them, and that it appears on the printing.

SOCIALIST PARTY VOTE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

In 1900 for Debs and Harriman..... 96,931
In 1904 for Debs and Hanford..... 408,230
In 1908 for Debs and Hanford..... 423,898

SOCIALIST VOTE OF THE WORLD.

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

A CAPITALIST MECCA

Mexico is in a state of political revolution. It is a capitalist revolution, following the lines of industrial and commercial development. Mexico presents most interesting conflicts between the old autocracy under the cloak of a so-called republicanism and the new Revolutionary power of modern Capitalism. A republic equipped with Russian militarism, with a dictator, Porfirio Diaz, at its helm.

Mexico is one of the wealthiest countries on the American continent. The natural resources of the land are second only to those of the United States. No one knows this any better than our American capitalists and adventurous speculators, who have invested hundreds of millions of dollars in Mexican industrial and commercial enterprises.

American capitalist influences in Mexico are responsible for much of the present unrest in the neighboring republic. Capitalist class interests are lined upon against capitalist class interests in a most complicated manner, and all the sentimental talk about the welfare of the Mexican people is a subterfuge of the interested capitalist factions to deceive the public on this side of the Rio Grande.

We must confess that we could never understand why the Socialist movement of these United States should at this time take such a lively interest in the Mexican political turmoil. It is true, we are as anxious as anybody to secure for Mexico a more liberal form of government, at least as liberal as that of the United States. We like to see the Mexican people educated, we want them to enjoy universal suffrage, to have the right to organize into labor unions and political parties with radical programs, but all this is no reason why the American Socialist movement should neglect its work at home and concentrate its efforts on the so-called Mexican Revolution.

Soon the presidents of the two republics will meet and shake hands. It will be a business handshake dictated by Wall Street and their allies in Mexico. The object of this presidential handshake will be to protect the American capitalist interests in Mexico and at the same time to assure Diaz of Uncle Sam's political co-operation by rigid enforcement of the neutrality agreements against the Mexican political rebels.

Some time ago, in discussing the Mexican situation with an educated Russian who has considerable commercial interests in Mexico, we were surprised by his line of argument:

"In many respects the Mexican government occupies the same position today as the Czar of Russia. Mexico is a wealthy land, with almost unlimited natural resources. The country has just entered the industrial arena and great efforts are being made to develop the resources and make the best possible use of the labor forces on hand. What Mexico now requires is political tranquility. Political and economic movements tending to disturb this development can not be tolerated at this time. Political upheavals and the activity of labor unions would interfere with the much-needed peaceful industrial evolution, and for this reason the strong hand of Porfirio Diaz is the proper thing."

This is a good capitalist argument. The gentleman forgot to add, however, that these Mexican revolutions are not the work of labor unions or politically organized workingmen, but almost without exception they are engineered by capitalist factions and cliques for well-defined purposes, and the "people" are simply used to get the chestnuts out of the fire for them.

At any rate, while we welcome any progressive movement in this or any other country, we do not believe that the Socialist Party of this country should get hysteric about every little incident or accident that may be reported in connection with the "Mexican Revolution."

The economic, social and political conditions in Mexico are bad enough, but are they very much worse than the conditions in our own southern states—in Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, the Carolinas, etc.? And where is the difference between a Porfirio Diaz and a miserable wretch of the Governor Peabody or Governor Comer sort of politicians?

Mexico will be the Mecca of American Capitalism for years to come, and under such conditions a Mexican labor movement will develop, much in the same way as it developed in this country. Strikes and desperate battles will be unavoidable; they will come,

irrespective of what Diaz may or may not do. But those struggles will be different from the present capitalist political raids and upheavals in the northern states of the Mexican republic. When those struggles take place the Socialist Party of this country will have good reasons to give its undivided support. But until then we should not fly off the handle every time we hear of the arrest of a "Mexican Revolutionist."

WHO PAYS THE PIPER?

Last week we called attention to Mr. Steinbiss' Labor Compendium work against the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union in their fight against the Douglas Shoe Co. It now seems that the gentleman found a new ally in the non-union shoe manufacturers of St. Louis.

Douglas' mouthpiece, the Brockton Searchlight, must have searched the big pockets of the St. Louis shoe manufacturers and succeeded in selling its services at good advantage. In a lengthy writeup the Searchlight (the same paper that circulated the Steinbiss editorial) denounces in most bitter and rabid language the International Boot and Shoe Workers' Union and their officers. Why? Because St. Louis daily papers had published some short news items to the effect that an effort would be made by the international union to organize the eleven thousand or more unorganized shoe workers of this city! Some one vitally interested in preventing this kind of organization work furnished the Brockton Searchlight with these newspaper clipping, and probably with the necessary "axle grease," whereupon the rest followed. The St. Louis shoe workers are appealed to not to have anything to do with the "Tobin Gang," not to join the International Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, etc.

Any man with common sense knows what it means to the St. Louis manufacturers to prevent the organization of eleven thousand of their employees. 'Tis nice to run our own business with cheap labor, and it certainly pays us to pay for a little axle grease for mercenary sheets like the Brockton Searchlight and the Labor Compendium, which has dropped from a weekly to a monthly, issued irregularly for mercenary work.

Indeed, it pays for the St. Louis manufacturers to pay thousands of dollars for corrupt purposes in order to check or prevent any movement having for its object the organization of the shoe workers into a union. Where such tremendous class interests are at stake the question is always in order: "Who pays the piper?"

Editorial Observations

The St. Louis Republic Changed the Heading "What Is Socialism?" to the plain word "Socialism," which gives the opponents a chance to get their work in. But no matter how the Republic puts it, the Socialist Party will win out in the end.

The Conditions Under Which Thousands of Men and Boys were forced to work in McKeesport, in the great Republican state of Pennsylvania, are about as bad as those in Old Mexico, under which the peons have to spend their days of misery and servitude.

What Would Wendell Phillips Say if He Could Read About the "spectacle grandiose" of a mighty Czar of Russia paying visits to all the leading monarchs of Europe without having the courage to put his divine foot on terra firma anywhere? Caged like one of Hagenbeck's Bengal tigers, Czar Nicholas was safely imprisoned on his imperial yacht Standart, surrounded by powerful warships.

While the Bengal tiger is restrained because of the people being afraid of him, the mighty Czar is confined to his stately yacht because he is afraid of the people.

A St. Louis Catholic Paper Advises the Catholic Workingmen to go back into the trade and labor unions and there enter their emphatic protest against the A. F. of L. and State Federation leaders who are advocating the general introduction of free books in the public schools. This is very un-Christian advice.

Martial Law Still Reigns Supreme in Barcelona and in Sweden the general strike has not yet been declared off. King Alfonso and his colleague Gustave may have learned another valuable lesson during the last few weeks. It is the lesson that the working class is waking up and that no ruler by divine right can throw them back into the abyss of stupidity and slavery.

MISSOURI SOCIALIST PARTY

A Jolt for Guggenheim.

The principal product of St. Francois County is lead. Report has it that the benevolent Guggenheim oligarchy (alias Standard Oil) is cock of the walk in that section, having large interests at stake. As in Colorado and elsewhere, the Socialist and labor movement is not liked by the lead magnates. Consequently, when it becomes known that Wm. A. Ward will speak and agitate for six weeks or more in St. Francois County, it is safe to assume that some one will set up and take notice.

County Secretary O'Dam has arranged the following dates: August 29-30, Doe Run; August 31, Farmington; September 1-8, Desloge and Gumbo; 9-15, Leadwood; 16-22, Bonne Terre; 23-29, Elvins; and further dates as may be arranged.

Wherever possible Comrade Ward will speak in churches and make a particular effort to clear away erroneous ideas regarding Socialism and religion. Big Business controls the churches today and always hires the kind of a preacher that teaches a "religion" suitable for Big Business. St. Francois County comrades feel sure that they will be able to reach many people that never heard a Socialist speech before.

Speakers—Here and Coming.

W. W. McAllister is working the upper part of Dunklin County. W. S. Snow, State Organizer of Arkansas, will speak at Monett, Aurora, Springfield and points on the way to Kansas City, commencing at Monett on September 2.

W. R. Gaylord will speak at Kirksville on August 24, 25 and 26. Will give the oestopaths a few things to agitate their cerebellums over.

James Connolly, National Organizer, will speak at points in the northern and central part of the state. Send applications for dates direct to J. M. Barnes.

Said on the Route.

Poplar Bluff—We are sorry you could not give us Comrade McAllister for a week. He is surely the right man in the right place.—Carl Knecht.

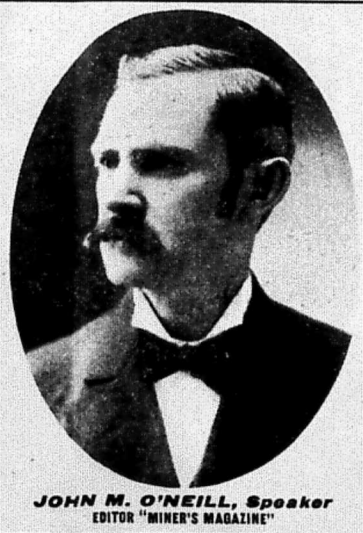
Ozark—Inclosed find 25c for dues as a member-at-large. I was formerly a member of Raley Creek, but that is twenty miles from here. Have been an active Socialist for five years. McAllister is responsible for my conversion.—John Gardner.

Business affairs keep Comrade Garver from doing any speaking at this time. Later on he hopes to be able to hit a few licks as opportunity offers.

Comrade "Bob" Wilson of Wilmathsville is busy arranging a picnic for September. They will probably use James Connolly as a speaker.

Local Nelson gets in good standing again, as do Locals Shook and Morley. There are others, let them do likewise. Never mind the hot weather; just do it now.

Secretary Wilson of Wilmathsville is still enthusiastic over the Mills meeting held there. He says the crowd just kept staying until finally Mills left himself. They figure that the meeting made 50 votes for Socialism.



JOHN M. O'NEILL, Speaker
EDITOR "MINER'S MAGAZINE"

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Latest News From the Field of Organized Labor

THE OPEN SHOP

By Clarence S. Darrow

II.

If employers and employes alike, from the earliest time, have agreed that labor unions benefited the workman by giving larger wages, shorter hours and better conditions, little further proof should be required.

The individual laborer is absolutely helpless in the presence of the great industrial institutions of today. Imagine one workman amongst forty thousand employes of the Pennsylvania Company making a demand for shorter hours and better terms. There has always been one quick and ready answer to such demand: "If you don't like the terms you had better find another job." Individually the man is helpless; the trade union has furnished the common workman the one institution to which he can look for friendship and protection; the one body on which he can rely for the redress of his grievances, and the protection of his rights, and if society were to remove that protection and safeguard, and cut the workman off from his fellows, and leave him to fight his individual battles against the great combination of capital for whom he works, it would leave the laborer stripped and naked to commence his long and painful journey back to serfdom once again; and when he starts out upon this road, the great mass of men whose independence had been won along with the workman's struggles, the great middle class, must go back with him.

Under present industrial methods it is not merely a question of whether a workman can make better terms through his union by collective bargaining. It is the only way in which he can make any terms whatever; without the union the workman has nothing at all to say about his wages, or his hours, or any of the terms and conditions of the employment he takes. Imagine the solitary brakeman on a great railroad system going to his foreman and disputing about the price of service or the hours of service. Imagine one trackman, by this system of bargaining, getting any more for himself than is paid to all the rest. Without collective bargaining the employer fixes the rate of wages, and all the terms and conditions of his contract, and the individual workman may take it or leave it alone, as he sees fit. If he refuses the employment the place is left open until some one more needy than himself shall be found to fill it. But with all the men operating together and a common refusal to accept the terms or conditions offered, they may meet their employer on something like equal terms.

Trade unionism has grown so old and strong and has been so much patronized by surface thinkers, as well as by that large class who always seek the easiest way, no matter how indirect, that the opposition is not now so much directed against the union as against everything it does. Most people are now willing that workmen shall be organized, provided they do nothing but pass resolutions and pay dues.

The fight waged against unionism today is no less bitter than it was fifty years ago. It is simply directed along other lines. Now, as always, both with trade unionism and every idea and institution that points to a different method than the one the world has known so long, the new idea is sought to be placed in the wrong to be against the law and existing things, and utterly without reason and excuse.

Just now the popular line of opposition against unionism is made in the violent demand for the open shop. The contention is supported by all sorts of statements and arguments, mostly false in premises and hysterical in their nature. The reasons that have always prompted unionists to demand the closed shop have been entirely ignored and their arguments made to turn on something else.

So long and vociferously have the enemies of trade unions declared for the open shop that no doubt many of them really believe that they are fighting for some principle of liberty and justice and not to serve their selfish ends. Mainly their arguments consist in various statements of the assumption that every man has an inalienable right to work when he pleases. The word "inalienable" sounds well, for it is taken from the Declaration of Independence, but it has no meaning in this connection. An "inalienable" right is one which can not be taken away, and it is obvious that under present conditions no such right exists. In fact, it is stoutly contended for by the very men that would give a laborer a right or chance to work. Man can not labor without an opportunity to apply his hands to some of the bounties of nature, to some material from which things are made, and still the inalienable right to work is insisted upon by those who have taken all the coal, and ore, and lumber; who control all the factories and railroads, all the land, and every means to which man might apply his toil. There can be no inalienable right to work without a place to work, and neither the government nor those who declaim the loudest or insist the most, have ever furnished the laborer a place to toil. To this class the inalienable right to work means simply the inalienable right of the employer, without let or hindrance, to go out in the open market and bid for laborers on the hardest terms, or, rather, to so order the industrial world that all men and women and children must bid against each other for a right to toil. No organized government and no powerful body of men ever really made any demand or enforced any means that would give to every workingman an inalienable right to work. All the right the laborer has under the law, or under present industrial methods, is the right to go from employer to employer in search of work. His right to work depends entirely upon his ability to find some one who has the means and inclination to hire him, and no matter how willing or anxious he can not force himself upon an employer, but he may be denied this inalienable right upon any reason or pretext no matter what. The great mass of workmen today have practically nothing but their hands. Where are they to go to force this inalienable right? No one knows better than the men who make the statement that the right rests purely upon the master's will, and could trade unionism be destroyed the will would be harder and more arbitrary, and the right to work far less available than it is today. The inalienable right to work is a bit of birdlime, used to catch the unthinking mass, and society, and all industrial life must be made over, or, at least, radically changed before such a right is anything except a far-off dream.

Under the conditions that now seem permanent and well assured, the workman is fairly certain of two things in respect to this boasted right. He has the right to go from place to place and ask for work, and if he finds no one who will take his services at living rates, he has a right to go to the poorhouse for support. Of course, every effort of trade unionists has been made for the purpose of giving him greater freedom and independence, not less; and it is because of this that it has ever met the violent opposition of the employing class. The inalienable right to work can not be said to be greater or more manifest than the inalienable right to play, though it has been much more urged. This is no doubt due to the fact that those who have so strongly defended it on the part of others, have been much more interested in their work than in their play. If the Declaration of Independence can be said to cover and protect any such right it must be by virtue of the clause in the Declaration of Independence, which judges have called the soul of the constitution, which declares that all men have an inalienable right to the pursuit of happiness. But it is manifest that this provision could be much more easily construed to protect the right to play or the right to social enjoyment than the right to work.

No doubt, if the occasion should arise, courts would insist that every man had the right to amuse himself in ways not prohibited by law, provided, always, that he amused himself alone, or found his pleasure in certain places of public amusement that the laws had always stamped as public, for the reason that their owners appealed

to and bid for the patronage of the crowd. But it is very certain that no one would ever contend that the right to the pursuit of happiness gave any one the right to associate with another against his will, to enter his parlor or his home, or his company without invitation, and when his presence was not desired. The workman has as much right to choose the companions with whom he will associate in labor, as the employer has to choose the friends with whom he will spend his pastime. The employer has no more right to force any fellow workman upon another during the hours of toil than the workman has to force his own, or some other person's society upon the master during his hours of recreation. Each must be free to choose, and the choice may be made for the best or the poorest reason as the individual shall desire. For a master to insist that because he is a master an employe is bound to work with any one whom the master shall elect, is not only impudent and insulting in the extreme, but utterly subversive of individual rights.

Of course, both master and workman may exercise the right of association in work and in play, in violation of the highest ethical code, but this has no relation to the right. Men have always been filled with prejudices, just and unjust, against their fellow men. It is, no doubt, only a violent prejudice that could bar many workmen from their employers' parlors in social life, but it is a prejudice that the employer has a perfect right to indulge if he sees fit and to deny that right would leave him no longer the master himself. The reason why a union workman does not choose to work with a non-union workman is plain and evident and founded in the protection of himself and his fellow craftsmen. But if it were prejudice and nothing else his right to indulge it would be beyond dispute. Instinctively men love the society of others of their kind. This is true the same whether this association is for work or play, and the man who desires the society of his companions must so conduct himself that his associates are content to live with him. If he sees fit voluntarily to so arrange his life that his fellows do not desire his company he must accept the consequences, however unreasonable society may be. Whether the boycott is just or unjust, equitable or inequitable, has no bearing on the case. In this world men are not crucified because they are unlike their fellows. Trade unionists for centuries have believed that they are upholding the rights of men, the welfare of their class; that without their organization their liberty and independence would be lost; they have come to regard the non-union man as one who not only refuses to stand with them, but who is unloyal to his class, a traitor to his kind. They look on him as a man who seeks to undermine and destroy his fellow workmen, and from the nature of things there is a great gulf between them and him. This is not a fact in trade unionism; it is a fact in human nature, and is as deep and abiding as the right of self-defense. For, in its last analysis, it is self-defense.

The employing class has exactly the same feeling toward one of its own members who gives his influence and strength on the side of the union workman, and who refuses to stand with them in their opposition to the demands of labor that the trade unionist has to the one he calls a scab. Neither is loyal to his class. Both pay the penalty of their disloyalty to their class; they are cut off from the friendship and association with others of their kind. Doubtless some men take these positions from high motives, but this in no way saves them from punishment, for this social boycott is nothing but the effort of the class to protect itself. The non-union workman is unpopular with his fellow laborer, but he is in good standing with his employers, for they know him to be their friend, and that he helps them against the common enemy who would take a portion or all the profits they otherwise might get. Likewise, the trade union employer is unpopular with his class, for they know that he is working in the interest of the other side, but he is popular with the workmen, for he knows that this man, though a member of the employing class, is his ally and his friend. So long as industry is operated by two classes in hostile camps there will be no compromise and no toleration of a man who is not loyal to his kind.

GOMPERS IN IRELAND.

Official Reception by Dublin Trades Council.

The Irish Labor Journal, published in Dublin, Ireland, has the following interesting statement of Samuel Gompers in Dublin:

"The visit of Mr. Samuel Gompers, the president of the American Federation of Labor, has been availed of by the representatives of Irish trade unionism to extend to their brothers in the industrial movement fraternal greetings and expressions of good-will through their distinguished visitor.

For some time past he has been in communication with men in Ireland, expressing his lively satisfaction and kindly remembrance of his former visit to this country. Mr. Gompers arrived in Ireland on Monday, and on Monday night the Irish Trades Congress and the executive of the Dublin Trades Council did themselves the honor of informally entertaining him.

"Various toasts were duly honored, but none more enthusiastically than the health of the distinguished guest. Mr. Gompers, in responding, dealt with many aspects of the labor movement. He spoke of the necessity of solidarity in a movement which is worldwide, and in which so many of those who fought for liberty in its widest sense, and for human rights and justice in its broadest and best conception, had gone down in death at the hands of their oppressors. A movement which was young in its virility, in its strength, and in its comprehensiveness, was still a battle for right against wrong, a struggle for the uplifting of our poorer brethren, for the protection of the children of the wage earner, and so was as old as the world itself. He had come to Ireland to bear greetings of fraternal brotherhood from his colleagues in the United States, and he advised them to keep on rightly struggling for the right, nobly striving to be free; they held, perhaps, differences of opinion upon the complex questions involved in the political arena of a country situated as Ireland was, but never let them forget that they were wage earners, and that they were continuing in that sense the fight which was being waged by their brothers in every country into which trade unionism had penetrated."

REGULATES LABOR AGENCIES.

New Missouri Law Places Bureaus Under Commissioner's Inspection.

Jefferson City, Mo., Aug. 18.—Among the laws enacted by the last General Assembly is one which licenses all employment agencies, placing them under rigid inspection of the State Labor Commissioner, and making it practically impossible for a concern to exact a fee and keep it without carrying out in full the agreement made with the applicant.

This law went into effect August 15. It contains many other restrictions intended to protect the interests of the unemployed. A bond of \$500 must be given by every employment agency to insure the faithful compliance with all provisions of the new law.

TYPOS CHOOSE MINNEAPOLIS.

St. Joseph Convention Helps Local Celebrate Golden Jubilee.

St. Joseph, Mo., Aug. 12.—Minneapolis was today chosen on the first ballot as the meeting place of the 1910 convention of the International Typographical Union.

Practically the entire day was taken up with the discussion of the request of the Los Angeles union that the fight against Gen. Harrison Gray Otis of The Los Angeles Times of twenty years' standing be taken out of the hands of international officers and turned over to the Los Angeles union. The request was unfavorably acted upon.

NEW LABOR LAWS

Of Special Interest to the Working People of Missouri.

PRINCIPAL FEATURES OF THE NEW MISSOURI BAKESHOP LAW.

Article IV., Section 1. No employe shall be permitted to work in any bisquit, bread, pastry or cake bakery, or confectionery establishment more than six days in one week, said week to commence at a given hour on Sunday and terminate at the corresponding hour on the Saturday following; provided, however, that such week shall not commence sooner than 6 o'clock a. m. on Sunday and end not later than 6 o'clock p. m. on Saturday. No person under the age of sixteen years shall be employed in any bakeshop or confectionery shop between the hours of 9 o'clock at night and 5 o'clock in the morning.

Sec. 2. Every building or room occupied as a bisquit, bread or cake bakery or confectionery shop shall be drained and plumbed in a manner conducive to the proper healthful and sanitary condition thereof, and constructed with airshafts, windows or ventilating pipes sufficient to insure ventilation. Every room or rooms used as a bakeshop or confectionery shop wherein foodstuffs are mixed, manufactured or baked, and all troughs, mixing boxes, steam boxes and other appliances used in the preparation of foodstuffs shall be left open, ventilated and aired for a period of not less than twelve consecutive hours during each week between the hours of 6 o'clock p. m. on Saturday and 6 o'clock a. m. on Sunday, and during said twelve hours no sponge setting, mixing or baking shall be done in such bakeshop or confectionery shop. No water closet, privy or asphalt shall be within or communicate directly with the bakeshop or confectionery shop. The walls of bakeshops or confectionery shops shall be plastered or faced with smooth stone, brick or tile, the ceiling whitened, plastered or covered with lumber, metal or fire-proof material, and shall be whitewashed at least once every twelve months. The furniture, troughs, steam boxes, mixers, pans and all other utensils used in or about such bakery or confectionery, and the floor, walls and ceiling of such rooms shall be kept in a clean, healthful and sanitary condition.

Sec. 3. The manufactured flour or meal products shall be kept in clean, dry and properly ventilated rooms, so arranged that the floor, shelves and all places for storing same can be easily and properly cleaned.

Sec. 4. No sleeping apartments for any person shall be permitted or maintained in any room or rooms used for manufacturing or storing flour or meal or other articles used in the manufacture or production of said products, nor in any room where any manufactured product is stored or kept.

Sec. 5. No employer shall knowingly permit or require any person to work in or about his bakeshop or confectionery shop who is affected with tuberculosis, scrofula, or any venereal disease, or with a communicable skin affection, and every person is hereby required to keep himself in a clean and sanitary condition while engaged in the manufacturing or handling of such products.

Sec. 6. No room or rooms, either wholly or partly underground, not now used as a bakery or confectionery shop, shall hereafter be used as a bakery or confectionery shop, unless the same shall be so situated as to comply with the necessary sanitary conditions, nor shall any room or rooms, wholly or partly underground, now used as a bakery or confectionery shop, which shall hereafter be closed, be again used as a bakery or confectionery shop unless the same shall comply with the necessary sanitary conditions.

Sec. 7. Any person who violates any of the provisions of this article shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction, shall be punished by a fine of not less than ten dollars and not more than one hundred dollars, or imprisonment in the county jail not less than one month, or both such fine and imprisonment.

Sec. 8. A copy of this article shall be furnished by the Factory Inspector and be kept conspicuously posted in every bakeshop or confectionery shop in this state.

This new Missouri state law went into effect August 16, 1909. Every boss baker and every bakery employe should study these sections most carefully and see to it that they will not remain a dead letter. Labor laws are a good thing, but unless there is somebody to enforce them they amount to little. It is especially for the rank and file of Organized Labor to have an eye on the establishments where they buy their bread, and report any violation of the above law the moment they discover same.

New Missouri Law for the Protection of Female Labor.

Section 1. No female shall be employed or permitted to work in any manufacturing or mercantile establishment, laundry or restaurant in any cities of this state which may now or hereafter contain more than 5,000 inhabitants before 5 o'clock in the morning or after 10 o'clock in the evening of any day, nor for more than fifty-four hours in any one week. A printed notice, in a form which shall be furnished by the Commissioner of Labor, stating the number of hours per day for each week required of females, and the time when such work shall begin and end, shall be kept posted in a conspicuous place in each room where they are employed. The presence of such female employes in any of the places mentioned at any hour other than those stated in the posted notice shall constitute prima facie a violation of this act: Provided, that this act shall not apply to any mercantile establishment where three or less such females are employed: Provided, that women may be employed after 10 p. m. in restaurants, but shall not be employed more than nine hours in any one day.

Sec. 2. Any person who, directly or indirectly, for himself or for another, shall employ any female in violation of the provisions of this act, and any employer who shall fail to post or to keep posted the notice required by the preceding section, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall be punished by a fine of not less than fifty nor more than one hundred dollars.

NEW CHILD LABOR LAW

To Go Into Effect in Pennsylvania on New Year, 1910.

That the new child labor law in Pennsylvania is to go into effect January 1, 1910, is announced in the annual report of Chief Factory Inspector John C. Delaney, advance proofs of which were recently made public. Captain Delaney declares the new child labor statute "a step in the direction of improved conditions."

Successful inauguration of enforcement of the new fire escape and exit law and the regulation of moving picture show laws are also announced.

The statistical section shows that last year 611,324 males and 200,078 females were listed in the industrial and mercantile establishments of the state, of whom 32,403 were minors, there being for the first time a slight excess of girls over boys in industrial establishments. Department agents dismissed 716 minors who were employed under age.

The department inspected 12,183 industrial establishments and 1,433 stores, the balance of inspections being of theaters, apartment houses, schools, public buildings and the like. As a result, 656 fire escapes were erected and 1,608 machinery guards installed.

The report shows 114 fatal and 336 serious accidents, the chief inspector commenting upon the negligence shown by persons who suffered accidents in many cases.

STUDIES IN SOCIALISM

THE SOCIALISTS

WHO THEY ARE AND WHAT THEY STAND FOR

By John Spargo

The old Socialism which consisted of ingenious but abortive attempts to create new social systems of preconceived design, to begin the world's history anew, and ignored the natural laws of progressive development, was dead. Science had shown the causes of the failure of the little communal islands which Owen and so many others sought to build and maintain in the hostile currents of the ocean of competition. It had destroyed forever the idea that new social systems could be made to order. True, a few visionaries remained who still continued to make the effort. A few such belated survivals remain with us to this day, but the Socialist movement has nothing to do with their schemes. The new Socialism rose, Phoenix-like, from the ashes of the old Utopian Socialism, or, in other words, the new scientific movement took the place of the old Utopian movement when science demonstrated that the failure of the latter was due to its own inherent weaknesses.

IV.

Modern Socialism, then, claims scientific parentage. It is, fundamentally, a theory of social evolution—a recognition of all that is comprehended in the wonderfully expressive phrase of Leignitz: "The present is the child of the past, but it is the parent of the future." We must be careful, however, to avoid the common error, into which even Socialism has fallen, of confusing the terms Socialism and social evolution and regarding them as synonymous. There are various non-Socialist theories of social evolution, and while every Socialist believes in Socialist evolution not every believer in social evolution believes in Socialism. The essential characteristic of the Socialist theory of social evolution is the idea variously termed "Economic Determinism," "Historical Materialism," "The Economic Interpretation of History" and "The Materialist Conception of History." Reduced to common everyday language, these academic terms mean simply that the direction and rate of social progress are decided mainly, though not wholly, by the economic conditions existing—principally the means of producing and distributing the means of life. It is perfectly obvious that the life of all human beings depends upon their securing a sufficient supply of certain absolute necessities, chief of which is food. Any very serious or far-reaching change in the methods by which these necessities are obtained, must, it is evident, seriously affect the whole life of man.

If, for example, it was not possible for the people of any country to produce necessities and luxuries, or a surplus of necessities with which to buy luxuries, necessities only would be produced and there would be no luxuries. If the production of the actual necessities of life required the labor of all the people, affording them no opportunity for leisure, then all would have to work. There would be no such thing as a leisure class enjoying the fruits of the toil of another class. Only the fact that it is possible for one man to produce more than it is necessary for him to consume, or its equivalent in marketable values, makes possible the division of society into classes of idlers and toilers, masters and slaves.

It is impossible in this little book to explain fully this theory of the development of society about which many elaborate and profound volumes have been written. It is only possible to indicate in a general way what its leading principles are. Without some idea of these it is just as impossible to understand the Socialist movement as it would be to understand mathematics without a knowledge of the mathematical signs. If we take the theory and test it by applying it to a single event we shall be able to understand it more easily. Such a test will perhaps give us a better idea of the theory and its limitations than any exposition possible in these pages. We will take, therefore, an event of interest to us all—the discovery of the American continent by Christopher Columbus. Much has been written of the genius of Columbus, and his discovery has been celebrated by many writers as the glorious fruitage of a brilliant idea. A deeper insight into the history of the age in which he lived, however, shows that the idea itself was born out of certain economic conditions. The control by the Moors in Africa and the Turks in Europe of the only route of transit for European trade with Hindustan, and their extortion of immense revenues from the traders through that control, created the necessity of a new route to the world's treasure land, and it was, therefore, the direct cause of the adventurous voyage of Columbus and his splendid discovery.

The same principle can be applied to every historical epoch, and to almost every important social or political change. The American Revolution, the Civil War and the war with Spain can be properly understood only when viewed in the light of economic conditions. Scarcely a move is made on the chessboard of international politics except at the promptings of economic considerations. This is now pretty generally recognized by the greatest historians and sociologists, though few of them make known the fact—in many cases because they are unaware of it—that it is a cardinal principle of the Socialist philosophy.

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 uninspected factories.

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

Political Demands.

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

9. A graduated income tax.

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

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

12. The abolition of the Senate.

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

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

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

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

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

18. The free administration of justice.

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

Women Have Accomplished Something.

It may seem to be asking too much of people who demand a common right that they should be expected to go without that right, and accomplish things without it. Consider the facts involved. We have been working for the ballot for some fifty years. We have certainly accomplished something in that time. During that fifty years many things have been accomplished by suffrage workers without the ballot which they expected to accomplish only with the ballot. In that time we have seen it proved, at least, not only that women have accomplished much for the public in the line of service, but that they knew what was for the public good. That, in itself, is one of the best arguments for woman suffrage. Jane Addams and others in Chicago, and many women in New York and Boston, and in every great city, have proved what they could accomplish. These things are a living proof of the capacity of women for further use in public affairs, for further public service.

We All Know About It.

A certain Prime Minister of ancient Assyria went shooting with

A LIST OF UNION BAKERIES

WHERE YOU CAN GET UNION

BREAD

EACH LOAF BEARING
The
UNION LABEL

AND BAKERY GOODS MADE BY UNION BAKERS

Becker, Louis	2320 Menard st.	Machatschek, Jos.	1960 Arsenal st.
Burkhardt, Chas.	West Walnut Park	Manewal Bread Co	Lami and Broadway
Dalies, R.	1027 Allen av.	Marschall, L.	2908 S Broadway
Dintelman, H.	1824 S 10th st.	Messerschmidt, P.	2225 Cherokee st.
Eckert, Theo. F.	2869 Salena st.	Michalke, F. L.	1901 Utah st.
Enz, Aug.	6700 S Broadway	Mueller, Fred	2012 Gravois av.
Foerster, Chas. J.	5228 Virginia av.	Nichols, E. S.	4136 N Newstead
Geiger, H.	1941 Lami st.	Old Homestead Bky	1038 N Vandeventer
Graf, Ferd	2201 S 2nd st.	Papendick B'ky Co	3609-11 N 22d st.
Hahn Bakery Co.	2801-5 S. 7th st.	Rahm, A.	3001 Rutger st.
Halleman, Jos.	2022 Cherokee st.	Fedle, Geo.	2106 Lynch st.
Harms, John	4652 Nebraska av.	Reichelt, H.	3701 S Jefferson
Hartman, Ferd	1917 Madison st.	Rottler, M.	2500 Illinois av.
Hoefel, Fred	3448 S Broadway	Pube, W.	1301 Shenandoah st
Hollenberg, C.	918 Manchester	Schmerber, Jos.	3679 S Broadway
Huellen, P.	4101 N 20th st.	Schneider & Son,	2716 N Taylor av.
Hucs, Fr.	7728 S Broadway	Schueler, Fred	3402 S Jefferson av
Imhof, F.	7801 Lynch st.	Seib Bros.	2522 S Broadway
Koenig, Wm.	4022 Lee av.	Silber, Aug.	1531 Franklin av.
Kretschmar, Ferd.	1605 N 18th st.	Speck, Geo.	311 W Stein st.
Kubik F. J.	1723 S 11th st.	Svehla, Math.	826 Allen av.
Laubis, Herm.	1958 Withnell av.	Valtin, W.	2137 Gravois av.
Lay Fred	8509 S Broadway	Vogler, Mrs. G.	3605 S Broadway
Leimbach, Rud.	1820 Arsenal st.	Widensohler, C.	5827 S Broadway
Liepert, H.	4709 Lee av.	Witt, F. A.	3558 Nebraska av.
Links, John A.	2907 S 13th st.	Wolf, S.	3110 S 7th st.
Lorenz, H.	2700 Arsenal st.	Zipp, And.	1834 S 7th st.
		Zwick, Mich.	7701-3 Virginia av.

GET YOUR HAMMER AND KNOCK THE BREAD TRUST. KEEP ON KNOCKING TILL THE SIDEWALK IS CLEARED OF ALL THE HEYDT-FREUND-MCKINNEY-CONDON-HAUCK-HOERR-WELLE-BOETTLER-HOME AND ST. LOUIS BAKERIES BREAD BOXES. ALL THESE FIRMS ARE OWNED BY THE BOYCOTTED BREAD TRUST WHICH REFUSES TO RECOGNIZE THE BAKERS' UNION.

ASK FOR

MANEWAL'S BREAD

If you want the **BEST**. Baked in their New Sun Light Bakery and made by Union Labor.

MANEWAL BREAD CO.

Broadway and Lami Street

Both Phones

the King. The King was fond of the chase. He drew his arrow-head and took aim at a young man in the distance, and shot him, to show how well he could shoot. The Prime Minister proved to be the father of this young man, and such was his devotion to the King that he merely praised the King's marksmanship. That was what an Oriental despot required of his subjects. Devotion to the State was carried to a very lofty degree, and through all periods of human history we find examples of sacrifice for the King, for the country. The highest sense of duty was to serve King and country. And when our country was nearly torn in two, all of us, almost to a man, to a woman, recognized our highest duty and gave our lives freely, gave our property, gave our husbands and our sons, gave everything for our highest ideal to the country, to the principle of liberty and truth and justice for which this country stood. But we all know about that. That is Fourth of July talk.

Get a Good Sewing Machine

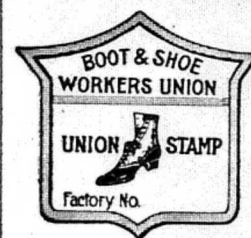
By communicating with the office of St. Louis Labor. First-class machine at reasonable price. Shipped from the factory direct to your residence. If you are in need of a good machine call at the office of St. Louis Labor, 212 South Fourth street.

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

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You help better shoemaking conditions.
You get better shoes for the money.
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DO NOT BE MISLED

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

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

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246 Summer St., Boston Mass.

John F. Tobin, Pres.

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Bartenders' Union Local 51

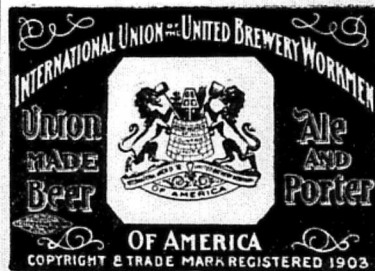
Patronize only and where Saloons displaying the Bartenders wear the Blue Button



OFFICE: 918 PINE STREET : BOTH PHONES

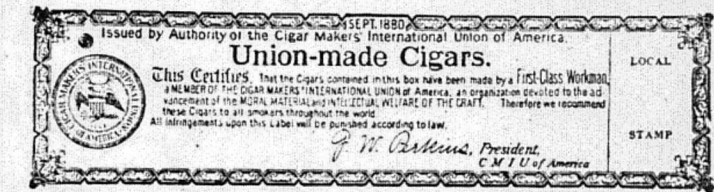
Drink Only UNION BEER

(Fac-Simile of Our Label)



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

Remember, no CIGARS are Genuine Union-Made



UNLESS THE BOX BEARS THE

Blue Union Label

When You Buy

Mercantile and "305"

CIGARS

You get the BEST Tobacco handled and made into Cigars by EXPERT WORKMEN.

We do not advertise on billboards and take the cost of the advertisement out of the quality of our goods.

F. R. Rice Mercantile Cigar Co., St. Louis, Mo.

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HATTER AND HABERDASHER

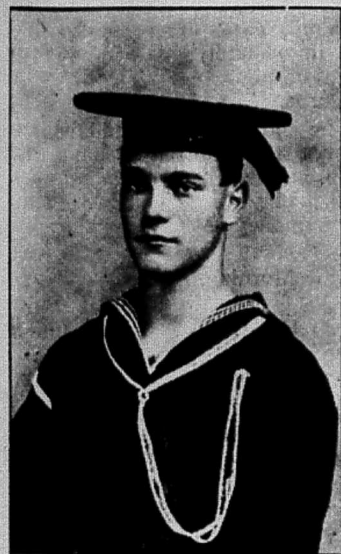
THE BEST \$3.00 HAT IN THE WORLD

A LETTER FROM JAPAN

By John Kaut, Jr., on Board U. S. S. Denver.

Nagasaki, Japan, July 1, 1909.

Having left Yokohama on the 15th, we proceeded northward to Hakodate, the most northerly city of any importance in Japan, situated in the southern part of the Island of Hokaido, which is separated from the "mainland" or Island of Nippon by a narrow neck of water—the Straits of Tongaru. This trip was very unpleasant, for almost immediately after leaving the shelter of Tokyo Bay the sea became very heavy and we were overtaken by dense fogs, which lifted only at short intervals. At times the white mist became so thick that it was impossible to see five steps ahead and, as we were steaming in single column, with intervals of 400 yards between ships, there was great danger of collision should an accident befall the ship ahead, causing her to slow down. And so the fog whistles on all the ships were going continually at intervals of about a minute, driving the men almost frantic by the continual tooting. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon of the 17th the fog became so dense that we slowed down to five knots an hour, and at 4:30 we were forced to anchor, owing to the unknown waters in which we found ourselves, for the sun had not shone since we left



port, and the navigators had been unable to find their exact position. And well it was that we dropped anchor, for, when at 5 p. m., the fog slightly lifted for a few minutes, we found ourselves in a narrow strait, with a rocky and forbidding coast, barely a half mile away to port. So close, indeed, had we run upon this dangerous coast that we could hear the angry surf as it dashed itself against the rocks. From the charts the navigator ascertained that we had anchored in Tsugaru Straits, the strip of water separating Hokaido, the island on which Hakodate is situated, from Nippon, the mainland of Japan, and he figured out that we must be only about twenty miles from port. But so long as this fog continued we were powerless to move, for we were surrounded by land and hidden rocks, and so we must lie here and wait patiently for the dense mist to rise. But we had not very long to wait, for at 4:30 a. m. of the 18th the fog had completely risen, and where, but a few minutes before, had been a thick, impenetrable mist, the air was now clear as crystal. With all speed the squadron got up anchor and, leaving the straits, steamed into Hakodate, where we arrived at 7:35 a. m. Six splendid Japanese battleships lay at anchor in the roadstead and gave us a noisy greeting, for there were two admirals with the fleet, and the saluting and counter-saluting lasted all morning.

The city of Hakodate is built upon the side of a steep rock, about half the height of Victoria Peak, and in every way reminds one of Hong Kong in miniature. On June 20 the business men of the city invited the bluejackets of the squadron ashore to a big dinner and they certainly showed us a fine time. After visiting the few show places of the city—the market, postoffice and foreign consulates—we went to Hakodate Park, one of the prettiest little parks in Japan, where dinner was spread under the huge cryptomaria for about a thousand men, and the eating, drinking and merry-making lasted until late in the evening. Overnight liberty was not granted, and all hands had to be aboard by 7 p. m. Each man as he left was given three souvenir postal cards, one of which I sent you.

At 4 a. m. of June 21 the squadron got up anchor and proceeded to Vladivostok, Siberia, and early though it was, the shore was lined by thousands of spectators, who cheered us as we steamed by. As soon as we were out in the open sea we were again overtaken by a heavy fog, but as we were now clear of land, that did not much hinder us or retard our speed of 12 knots per hour. The sea was very calm, and early in the morning of the 22d we sighted the mainland of Siberia on our starboard hand. At 4 p. m. we approached Amur Bay, on which Vladivostok is situated, and at 4:45 we entered the roadstead, passing the first of a series of heavy fortifications guarding the entrance of the harbor. At 5:15 we were inside the harbor, and moored to a buoy a few hundred yards from the big five-stacked Russian cruiser Askold, which was covered with shot and shell and glory during the late unpleasantness.

I have little to say of Vladivostok, for I was decidedly disappointed in my expectations of the place. From the harbor the city looks very fine and imposing, for there are many large, well-built stone buildings, and as the city is built on a steep hillside these show up to great advantage from the water. But once one gets ashore the illusion vanishes. The big, fine buildings are in the minority, the city being a collection of low one and two-story dwellings and shops of the crudest architecture, and the streets are crooked and narrow and extremely dirty, sidewalks being unknown here. The principal means of conveyance is the "droshky," a four-wheeled vehicle something like a barouch, only much heavier and clumsier.

The streets swarm with people—gayly-clad Russian officers, business men in European clothes, well-dressed women, peasants in rags and tatters, Chinese, Koreans and the flotsam and jetsam of a great seaport town—these jostle and crowd one another, passing up an down the one main street the city boasts of in gay succession; and to stand off in a corner and watch this homogenous mob pass and repass is about the only interesting sight in this city.

We left Vladivostok at 4 a. m., June 26, but after we got outside the harbor the squadron separated, the Chattanooga going to Gensang, Korea, the Charleston and Cleveland proceeding to Nagasaki at 12 knots, while we followed slowly down to eight knots, owing to a shortage of coal.

At 9:30 the ship's fitter, going below into the storeroom to get a tool, was horrified to find the storeroom keeper lying face downward in a pool of blood, an open razor near him. He immediately notified the doctor, and the unfortunate man was carried to the sick-bay, where a hasty examination showed that he was dead, the jugular vein having been cut. Overwork and worry had driven the man to suicide. We buried his body in the afternoon, and there is no more impressive yet simple ceremony than a burial at sea. At 5:45 "assembly" was sounded and all hands in full-dress uniform mustered aft on the starboard side of the quarterdeck. When the chief master-at-arms had reported "everybody up and aft" to the officer of the deck the bugler sounded "silence." All heads were bared as the body, neatly sewed in canvas, was carried on a stretcher by six men and laid in the starboard gangway, feet pointing to the sea. The ship was "hove to" (stopped), the colors half-masted, and the captain read the funeral service, short but impressive. At the words "I commit his body to the deep," the stretcher was suspended and the body slid slowly overboard, the two 60-pound five-inch shells attached to its feet carrying it quickly to the bottom. Then three volleys were fired, the bugler sounded "Taps" and the ceremony was over. The bells clanged in the engine room, the propellers turned slowly over, and the ship started forward on her way, leaving behind the body of the unfortunate man to be devoured by the fishes or cast upon some rocky shore. How cheap is human life after all! True, while the sad, thrilling notes of taps resounded over the quiet waters many an eye in those solidly-packed ranks of blue was dimmed with tears, but half an hour later the monotonous sea routine was renewed and the sad incident forgotten!

We dropped anchor in the pretty little harbor at Nagasaki at 4:30 p. m. and, having rigged coaling gear out at sea, we immediately commenced coaling. The natives put the coal aboard—50

tons—and it took them barely an hour to do so. This is the first time in over a year that we stood around and looked on while somebody else coaled for us—the most hated of the sailor's duties. On our first visit to Hong Kong, in February, 1908, the Chinese coaled for us.

The Charleston, Denver and Cleveland got under way at 4:30 p. m. and proceeded to Woo Sung, China, where we will meet the Chattanooga, who went to Gensang, and here also the navy transport Buffalo will meet us and give us a large draft of recruits, for we are again short-handed. With best greetings to you and all our friends in St. Louis, I remain,

JOHN KAUT, Jr.

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE DEPARTMENT

WOMEN, ECONOMICS AND THE BALLOT

By Frances Squire Potter, Professor of English in the University of Minnesota.

Buying and Selling Votes.

There is an evil existing in American politics known as the selling of votes. It is an evil to which in all probability all democratic countries are more or less subject. All honest persons unite in condemning it. Recognizing and condemning the immorality of it, let us, for a moment look into the mind of the man who sells his vote. What moves a man to sell his vote? He wants to make money. He regards his vote as his property. He argues that he has a right to dispose of his unused railway ticket to a scalper. His vote has, it seems, a money value, for that money value he is willing to sell to somebody else his personal opinion in politics. For \$5 he sells to another man his representation as a citizen.

Why does the second man buy the vote? In the first place he feels that he has a right to acquire anything he can pay for. For some reason the vote he buys is worth more to him than what he pays for it. He is making an investment, expecting returns in the future which will more than justify him for his outlay. This simple transaction proves, therefore, that the ballot, for the man who sells it and the man who buys it, is something which has money value.

Now public opinion condemns both these men. Why? Because it discountenances a transfer of individual opinion as though it were property. It condemns the man who sells. Public opinion thinks shame of that man who puts his little \$5 personal advantage above his citizenship obligation to honestly represent his own opinion in something that concerns vitally not himself alone but his community in general. Public opinion, in short, rightly judges that a man's vote belongs to him only when he conscientiously makes it represent his own citizenship. Citizenship is not property, and public opinion thinks shame also of the second man who tries by any other means than that of legitimate education to influence the vote of another or of others.

Yet wait a minute! Who is the more contemptible, the man who sells his vote or the one whose confirmed inertia confesses that he does not value it? There is more hope from the seller than from the latter, for the seller at least has enough interest in the ballot to seek to market it, and, if he can be made to see that it is more to his interest to wield his own vote, he cheerfully will do so. On his own immoral plane he is willing to play the game, wants to play it. Who is the more contemptible, the man who openly buys the vote of another man, or the man who bullies and threatens and coerces another man's vote, or throws dust in his eyes while he steals it? There is more hope of the open buyer, for he, at least, is willing to give some return for what he takes. On his own immoral plane he is willing to play fair. The persons who are hopeless for the making of citizens are the ones who can not be made to see that there is a value to oneself in citizenship, and that every other person has a right to the value of his citizenship also.

Let us go into the significance of the ballot a little further. I said that the man who sells a vote, if he could be made to see that it was to his interest not to sell it, would keep it. He might even value his own opinion so much that he would buy other men's votes to reinforce it. He then would be in the position of the man who used to buy his vote. He is still on just as low a moral plane, but he has developed in sagacity, he has become a controlling agent in the political market. Unhappily this quickened mental development is more common in America than is quickened moral development. But in the evolution of the race mental activity precedes the ethical sense, so, with plenty of time in mind, we may take hope. This man is, I say, a despicable citizen still, but there is more hope of him than there was before in this respect that he can see further, and, if he can be made to see further still, to see that it will be to his interest not to buy votes nor yet to bully or throw dust in other people's eyes, then he will no longer buy or steal them. The boss, then, instead of buying votes, undertakes to convince his fellow citizens that, if he is elected, they, as well as he, will profit by it, not by a cheque in the hand, but by open saloons, or shut saloons, or cheap education, or reduced taxes, etc., etc. He will have become a keener and more influential factor in the game and his mental activity will be of a higher order. He is still immoral, but if he survives politically, there will come a day when he will see that it will be for his interest to do his level best for the general prosperity in order that he may secure his personal prosperity, or justify it. This may have to be forced home to his type, through many generations, by rebellion and revolution, but see it, he must, at last, in his ascending political and intellectual pilgrimage. When he sees it, he will have developed what we may call a utilitarian political conscience. For selfish reasons he really will work for the success of the many.

Now it is not a very high argument to use in any political campaign that the success of certain candidates will mean plenty of money, business activity, things doing in the commercial world regardless of wrongs or injustices that may be crying out for correction. And yet this is just about as far as we have got today. However, it is higher morally, because it is wider and more impersonal, than is the view of politics which allows the buying and selling of votes. Under this higher, but none too high, conception of citizenship a great body of our voters are investing their own votes at every election expecting that returns will come to them in general conditions which will better their economic well-being. This is higher morally than the individual buying and selling of votes, for transfer of opinion is not allowed as transfer of property, and in the recognition of the fact that the economic good for oneself, there has crept into our calculations, care for the public good. We still are selfish, but our self is bigger, and we bear a personal responsibility.

FREE SAMPLE COPIES.

Send us the name and address of friends and acquaintances and we will send them sample copies of Labor.

Rather Queer Explanation, Is It Not?

We all know, as a matter of fact, that every few years there does come a time when almost all of our industries stop, when mills lie idle by the hundreds, thousands of workmen and their children starve, and millions of people have too little food and clothing to keep them alive and well. We call these times crises and say they are caused by "overproduction." The fact that people are hungry is explained by saying that there is too much to eat, and we are told that there is so much clothing that millions must be poorly clad; there are so many houses that millions must be homeless. Rather queer explanation, is it not? Before we are through we shall try to find a better one.

Summer Costumes



The costume on the right is one of the most popular for midsummer wear. The hat is black with pink lining to the brim. The figure on the left shows a white frock, with pink-crowned hat, the brim being black.

LINE EYELETS WITH COTTON AFTERNOON WRAPS OF LACE

Secret of Smooth Openings for Open Borders So Popular in Madeira Embroidery.

Black Spanish a Fabric from Which Some Beautiful Designs Have Been Made.

Few women can work smoothly the open eyelet borders so much seen in Madeira embroidery. There is sure to be roughness and unevenness where one eyelet joins another, and the general effect is spoiled.

The reason of this is that the work is not properly done. An instructor who had a number of natives from the Island of Madeira exhibiting their work in this country disclosed the secret of the smooth openings.

Each eyelet is outlined with cotton in the usual way; is then slit, if the shape be oval, and pierced if round, and the edges turned back with a needle. This is as any one would do, but in the working of the over-and-over stitch lies the difference.

Instead of finishing each eyelet at a time, as most of us would do, it is worked half-way round on each side, to where one opening joins the next one. Then that eyelet is done in the same way, and so on around the entire outer line of the border. The work is then reversed and the upper half of the eyelets embroidered in the same way.

With this treatment there is no unevenness, pulling or ugly ridges where the stitches meet, so hard to avoid by ordinary method of working.

Long Gloves Out of Fashion.

Glove lore reads in about the same words from year to year, for the same materials are used and the same colors. But this year the woman with the slim pulse may rejoice, for the long glove of great price which every one was bound to wear last year, has diminished, and the length of sleeve has grown so that now one may purchase for a dollar a pair of gloves to be worn on any occasion.

The chamois glove, which sprang into unusual use last summer, has lost none of its popularity, but it now reappears in a far more satisfactory form with one button. It is easy to wash, quickly dried and comfortable to wear, and even men are beginning to realize this, for they frequently are seen on masculine hands and in the business district. Chamois is only an "undress" glove material, like woven silk and cotton, although it is one step above these. One may wear chamois gloves for shopping or for morning visits, even if the gown be of foulard. Silk and cotton gloves are only properly worn on shopping tours if the frock be of plainest gingham.

Double Up in Hosiery.

What next? Now the modish woman has taken to wearing one pair of stockings over another to produce the very fashionable changing effect. Of course both stockings are of the very sheerest and cobwebby sort of thread silk, and the under pair is usually of a brighter color than the stockings worn outside. Bronze over yellow is a favorite combination; green over blue gives a peacock effect; black over green is very smart with a green parasol and black frock showing green touches. It makes one think of the ingenious young man who had no wife to darn his stockings, but always wore two pairs so that "the holes would not come under each other."

Reversible Wraps.

Quite the smartest wrap of the season is the reversible one, so cut that the wearer can wear it either side out.

Often we hear the older woman ask: "What shall I get for an afternoon wrap? Pongee is not dignified. I cannot wear the masculine ulster, nor are the chiffon things becoming. What shall I do?"

To this question one would first answer: "Lace;" but to the next question "renaissance" would be very inadequate. What kind of lace is dignified, handsome, yet not reminiscent of parlor curtains?

Black Spanish lace, of course. Wonderful wraps are made of this beautiful fabric. Sometimes it is woven into the proper shape for a three-quarter coat and again it is a scarf arranged upon a foundation.

One of the loveliest wraps of the kind was a black crepe de chine, collarless and straight of line. A Spanish lace scarf was taken in at the back, so that it fell straight over the shoulders and was tied in a knot on either side of the front, just below the line of the bust. The ends were spread and tacked, and the lace was also tacked to a foundation at the back, on the shoulders and around the neck, but not too stiffly. Could a prettier coat be desired?

THE FINISHING TOUCH.



Pretty hat of pale blue linen, lined with black silk. Soft crown of pale blue muslin. Wreath of blue roses and long strings.

Engagement Luncheon.

A recent engagement luncheon was arranged in this manner: A loving cup was placed in the center of the table and was filled with tiny boxes of bonbons. Ferns and roses were arranged in the cup. Ribbons were drawn from each gift to the plate and one little box, when opened, held a tiny card with the engagement announcement on a placard that has a heart and silver dart run through it. This may be placed in a conspicuous place on the mantel.

Lingerie Waists.

To iron a lingerie waist having innumerable tiny buttons down the back, simply lay the back, button side down, over several folds of Turkish towel and iron right over the buttons. It will be perfectly ironed between all the buttons and be straight and smooth.

FROM OUR READERS

Contributions must not exceed 500 words. Write on one side of the paper only. Names and addresses of writers must be signed to communications (not necessarily for publication, if so requested) as a guarantee of good faith.

MADE IN ST. LOUIS—OR HELL. WHICH?

Editor St. Louis Labor.

The inclosed letter appeared on August 11: To the Editor of the Post-Dispatch.

There appeared in this evening's paper an article "How to Be a Lady on \$11 a Week." Would like to ask how to live and be a lady on 40 cents a day. I am a young lady of 17, living at home, with a year's experience as a hand sewer. I answered an advertisement which appeared in the paper Sunday, July 25, advertising for bright, neat girls capable of neat slip stitching. I worked from Tuesday morning until I turned sick from the heat Friday, 3 p. m., and received as my pay \$1.50 for almost four days' hard, steady work, out of which I had to pay 40 cents for carfare.

A WORKING GIRL.

Now we are to have "Made in St. Louis Sales" this week. I suppose the garments made by "A Working Girl" will be among the number. Methinks "Made in Hell" would be more appropriate; for, surely, even there more inhumanity could not be practiced. I wonder to what church this manufacturer is united as a pillar? B. St. Louis, Mo., Aug. 16, 1909.

SCAB PRINTER-PREACHERS, ETC.

Editor St. Louis Labor.

I rejoice that even a "Union Printer" is interested in my letters, but must decline attaching myself to more ministerial pants. Moreover, why should I go to Alton, at expense of several dollars, when the supply is large at home?

As to the scab printers being transformed into "Christian preachers," that is easy. They only need the same inspiration as prompts them to be scab printers, viz., dollars to boot, and then to answer satisfactorily questions propounded by men of abbreviated intellects, and the thing is done.

"The love of Christ doth me constrain,
To seek the Wandering Sons of Men,"

don't have to come in necessarily. And his spirit, of helping somebody else, is unknown to the "scab," who seemingly only wants to profit by the self-denial of the "union printer." As to the question: "Can any union printer permit himself to be guided, or conducted, to heaven by scab printshop preachers?" Well, that depends; for instance, if a union printer votes the scab political ticket, either Democratic or Republican, why any sort of a heavenly guide ought to satisfy him! And, it is said, there are some union printers who demand the "label" on all printed matter, but fail to demand it on all things they use, not even excepting St. Louis-made goods. I do not believe my querist is guilty of such conduct. His determination to avoid the scab printer's company, even in heaven, reminds me of a slave who escaped and was sent to England to be educated. He used to tell stories of his life and of his master's piety and religious activities. (I'll not mention the creed.) His tutor asked him one day if he expected to meet his old master in heaven? "Well, if my old master goes to heaven, I don't want to," was the prompt reply.

And I guess the sufferings the scab printers have put upon the union printers will not prove to be "the tie that binds."

I hope my "Union Printer" querist will hang on to the pants of Reverends Berry and Brown until they land in the union and are ready to help their fellow men this side the river, at least, and so give them an heavenly frame of mind here on earth.

J. T. ARRAB.

P. S.—Some printers never part company with the "devil" on earth, what do they mean by thinking of heaven, anyway? J. T. A.

Socialist News Review

Rhode Island State Convention.

A very successful state convention was held by the Rhode Island comrades August 11 at Providence. A state platform was adopted and a full state ticket, headed by Fred Hurst for governor, was nominated.

Nebraska State Convention.

A formal state convention of the Socialists of Nebraska was held at Lincoln July 27. A state platform was adopted, a state chairman and a state central committee were elected to comply with the primary laws.

Picnic of Singing Society.

The Workingmen's Singing Society Vorwaerts will give its annual festival and picnic at Wagner's Garden, Cherokee street and Texas avenue, Monday, September 6. Admission 10 cents a person; children free.

Finnish National Convention.

The national convention of the Finnish Socialist Organization of the United States will meet at Scott's Hall, Hancock, Mich., 10 a. m., Monday, August 23. Headquarters at Mac Hotel on Quincy street, opposite the convention hall. A reception will be tendered the delegates by the comrades of Hancock Sunday, August 22, at 9 p. m., in Germania Hall. By direction of the national executive committee, the national secretary will attend the convention.

NEW SUBSCRIBERS

Have been sent in by the following comrades and friends: L. C. Diesel, 1; Hy. Riedmann, 1; Robert Turner, 1; W. M. Holman, 1; Mrs. L. Mattig, Nome, Alaska, 1; F. Stocker, 2; F. J. Kloth, 1; Richard Hanel, Staunton, Ill., 1.

Outside renewals: E. Besselmann, Cal.; Chas. Hahn, St. Charles; F. Reibach, East St. Louis; R. O. Biggs, Illinois; Mrs. L. Mattig, Nome, Alaska; Ernst Besselmann, San Diego, Cal.; Ernst Seidel, Staunton, Ill.

Mexican Refugees Want Reading Matter.

Magon, Villarreal and Rivera, the Mexican comrades recently sentenced to the United States penitentiary at Yuma, Ariz., for publishing a paper advocating better conditions for the peon slaves of Mexico, are now paying the penalty for daring to antagonize the plutes of this country and Mexico. At Yuma the thermometer registers during the hot months as high as 135 degrees. As a result of more than two years' confinement Magon is in the prison hospital with a disease that may end his life. Villarreal writes that the situation at Yuma is almost unbearable. Rivera, a man of slight figure and delicate constitution, is given hard jobs which prostrate him daily. These comrades say that life would be more endurable were they supplied with something to read. Villarreal asks that Socialists out of jail send books and periodicals to these imprisoned Mexican heroes. Socialist literature is most wanted. Address matter to Antonio I. Villarreal, P. O. Box F, Yuma, Ariz.

COAL

Are You Ready to Order Your Coal for Winter?

WHY NOT ASSIST ST. LOUIS LABOR AND ARBEITER-ZEITUNG BY PLACING YOUR ORDER WITH US?

SATISFACTORY SERVICE!

Our connections with one of the leading and most reliable Coal Merchants of this city enables us to guarantee best service. SEND YOUR ORDER FOR COAL TO OFFICE.

ST. LOUIS LABOR
212 South Fourth St.

Telephone, Kinloch,
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The Irish Socialist Monthly.

The August issue of "The Harp" contains a good installment of "Spailpin's" caustic criticism upon men, matters and events under the head of "Harp Strings." The other features include "The Making of Ireland and Its Undoing—1200-1600," "Ireland's Two Imperial Overseers," by X.; "Science and Invention," by Justus Ebert; "The Clergy, Marriage Fees and Emigration," and an excellent cartoon by J. F. McCabe. The office of "The Harp" is 749 Third avenue, New York City, and the subscription price 50 cents yearly.

Editor Knowles in Jail.

Lead, S. D., Aug. 16.—Freeman Knowles, editor of The Lantern, the Socialist weekly paper published at Deadwood, was taken to the Pennington county jail until a fine of \$500 imposed for an alleged misuse of the mail is paid.

"I will die in jail before paying the fine," says Knowles. "It is a charge founded on no basis whatsoever. It is merely one of the results of the persecution of the Socialist press by the federal authorities. I will not admit that I have done wrong by the payment of a fine." Knowles, who is 63 years old, fought in the civil war and has since taken a keen interest in politics.

Do You Ride a Wheel?

If so, call at the office of St. Louis Labor. For \$25 we can furnish you with a first-class bicycle direct from the factory. Best wheel in the market. See Comrade Hildebrand about it. St. Louis Labor, 212 South Fourth street.

ANNOUNCEMENT

To the Socialists and Trade Unionists of St. Louis

Annual Socialist Fall Festival Will Be Held At Risch's Grove, September 19th

MEET US AT RISCH'S GROVE.

Comrades: This is to inform our comrades and friends in our party and trades union movement that the Annual Fall Festival of the St. Louis Socialists will be held at Risch's Grove, Luxemburg, Sunday, September 19.

Normandy Grove Boycotted.

The picnic contract which we had with Normandy Grove was promptly canceled by the Socialist Party as soon as we learned of the brutish assault of the Normandy Park management on Brother Peter Beisel, the Business Agent of Bakers' Union No. 4, in the presence of Chas. Goodman, business agent of Cigar Makers' Union No. 44. Normandy Grove was declared unfair by organized labor, and the Socialists promptly canceled their contract with the boycotted place.

Newspaper Carriers Assist Socialists.

It was difficult to secure another picnic place at this late date. Practically every park had its dates filled to the end of the season. The management of Risch's Grove informed us that the Newspaper Carriers' Union had the grove engaged for Sunday, September 19. Our committee conferred with representatives of said union, and after careful consideration, the Newspaper Carriers showed their fraternal spirit toward the Socialist Party by deciding to give their date (Sunday, September 19) to the Socialists, and have their own picnic one week later.

Risch's Grove Will See Big Crowd.

All indications point to the possibility that on Sunday, September 19, Risch's Grove will see the biggest picnic crowd ever assembled in that park.

A Fine Program.

There will be a fine program with amusing and entertaining features for everybody. Races for men, women and children, games, bowling, concert, dancing, etc.

Prominent and Able Speakers.

One of the main features of the Risch's Grove picnic will be the Socialist speeches. Comrade John M. O'Neill, editor of the Miners' Magazine, in Denver, Colo. (official organ of the Western Federation of Miners), will be the principal speaker of the day. He is considered one of the ablest speakers of the country, and the St. Louis Socialists and progressive union men will give him a rousing reception.

There Will Be a "County Fair."

One leading feature of this Annual Fall Festival will be the "County Fair," where several thousand presents will be distributed. We request our comrades, especially our Socialist women friends, to send in their presents for this "County Fair." The time is short and we wish to commence with the publication of the list of presents in St. Louis Labor and Arbeiter-Zeitung not later than next week.

Send your presents direct to the office of St. Louis Labor, 212 South Fourth street, so they will be promptly published.

Will Be a Grand Family Affair.

In order that we may have absolute control of our festival, the

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Monday, Sept. 6 (Labor Day)

AT

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Admission, 10 cents a person; Children free. Beginning at 2 p. m., Everything Strictly Union.

committee decided to make it a strictly family affair and not admit any "undesirable guests."

Family membership cards will be \$1.00. Refreshments and coffee will be furnished free of charge. Dancing will also be free.

Announcement Cards Ready.

A fine announcement card, bearing the picture of Comrade John M. O'Neill, with a good writup of the importance of the Socialist press, has been printed in thousands of copies, now ready for distribution. Get a good supply. We want them distributed in unions and factories, from hand to hand, in the nature of a personal invitation.

Membership Cards Are Ready.

The membership and admission family cards are ready for distribution, and every comrade should immediately get a supply of these tickets and get them into circulation.

Fine Show Cards.

We have also several hundred fine show cards printed, which must be put up in the workmen's districts. Insist to have one put up in your grocery or barber shop, in boarding houses, saloons, butcher shops, etc. Don't be bashful. The average business man is just as anxious to get the Socialists' money as he is to keep his Democratic or Republican customers.

Will Commence in the Morning.

The grove will be open from 9 o'clock a. m. till 8 o'clock p. m., and the comrades and their families can spend a pleasant day under the beautiful trees of Risch's Grove, Sunday, September 19.

Don't Forget to Send Your Present.

to the "County Fair" to this office, and it will be announced in our next week's papers. Make a start, and the rest will follow.

Comrades of St. Louis!

Let us make up our minds to have the most successful Socialist Family Reunion and Picnic at Risch's Grove, Sunday, September 19.

COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENTS.

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